

A
SECOND COLLECTION
OF
SCARCE and VALUABLE
TRACTS,
ON THE MOST

Interesting and Entertaining Subjects:

But chiefly such as relate to the

History and Constitution of these Kingdoms.

Selected from an infinite Number in *Print and Manuscript*, in the ROYAL,
COTTON, SION, and other Public, as well as Private Libraries;

Particularly that of the

Late LORD SOMERS.

Revised by EMINENT HANDS.

VOL. I.

*The Bent and Genius of the Age is best known in a free Country, by the Pamphlets
and Papers that come daily out, as the Sense of Parties, and sometimes the Voice of
the Nation.*

Preface to KENNET's Register.

Judex qui aliquid statuit, unâ parte auditâ tantum & inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum
statuerit, haud æquus fuerit.

Ld. COKE & JUST. *Inst.*

L O N D O N :

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MDCCL.

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MDCCLXXIII.

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Bellum Grammaticale: A Discourse of great War and
Dissention betwene two worthy Princes, the NOUNE
and the VERBE, contending for the chiefe Place or
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Turned into *English* by W. H.

Imprinted at London by Henrie Bynneman, dwelling in Knightrider-strete, at
the Signe of the Mermayde. Anno 1569.

LECTORI.

SYTH Time permits, refuse not, nor disdayne
To learne aright such things as here be founde:
For why? this Author first herein did take the Paine,
Hereby to shewe of Grammer Rules the Ground.
In Order good thy Workes will then appeare,
And from right Rule not seeme to swarve a Jote,
If all the Actes of these atchieved here
Accordingly thou well do weigh and note.
Come nigh therfore (I say) and take a Taste
Of pleasant Liquours here detected plaine,
If that thou covet speedily in haste,
Of *Latine* Stile to choose the fruitfull Graine:
For all Things fade, as Brouches, Golde and Stone,
When Vertue swimmes, and scapes to Shore alone.

To the Right Worshipfull Master THOMAS POWLE, Esquier, Clerke of the Crowne in the Queenes Majesties honourable Courte of Chauncerie, and one of the Six Clerkes of the same, *William Hayward* wisheth Health, with long Life and Prosperity.

AS *Seneca* shamed not to recite the worthy Saying of the Poete *Hesiodus*, so I doubt not, but I may also (from so sufficient Authoritie, as by *Seneca* himselfe in a certaine Epistle by him alleaged) partly seeme to overthrowe that most horrible Monster Ingratitude, and thoroughly to displace so unnaturall Affection before he shall by Entertainment in so simple an one as I, (not able to be thankful) cause any Part of Oblivion for the Benefites that have bene towards me in any Part extended: For (as I remember) he sayth: *Nullum officium magis quàm referenda gratia, necessarium*, that no Duetie is more necessary than rendred Thanks to those that have ministred such ample Benefits as some have bestowed: and to render Thankes (sayth he) with greater mesure than they used to receyve Commodities. For as *Cicero* sayth, *Lib. 1. de officiis*, If rendred Thanks be due to suche of whome we hope to be benefited, howe muche more then is due to those by whom we have had already Profit? Which albeit that I of my self in every Point am mozte unable to do, yet good Will of overmeasuring (if Possibilitie were in me) shall not seeme utterly to be absent, neither thinking that I can or am able to make any Shewe of Remuneration, and for that my Insufficiencie is such as it is, it might seme on my Part but Presumption to attribute any suche Worthinesse unto him, that is altogether voyde of desiring any such Preeminence. Yet among diverse and sundry Practises that by my poore Industrie I have attempted, confideryng that Commoditie and friendly Aide that your Worship hath procured by your laborous travaile toward that Company, of which I am a Member: and then waying my greate Unabilitie to requite in any way the least Parte of your manyfold Curtesies, I was dismayed to represent in this Place any Part of them, least I should seeme of the Wise too greedie of Commendation. But being imboldened with your favourable Benevolence, and accustomed courteous Lenitie imployed towards all Men: and making bolde of your woonted good Will, that is, (and ever hath bene) ready to accepte a simple Thing proffered and freely given, rather than to reject and cast off that which is meerely grounded of poore Simplicite, after I had perused the rable of my poore Labours, founde among them this one, which then I was encoraged to dedicate unto your Gentlenesse, not for the Worthinesse therof as concerning my Labor, but confidering your Worships Minde often tymes with serious Matters to bee encombred both in Carefulnesse toward the weale publike according to your Office, as also for the Benefits of such poore Men as I. Some thing therefore after your earnest Businesse, to revive and recreate your wearied Minde with honest lerned and profitable Mirth, I have presumed to offer this my little Labour unto your learned Eares, it being the first Fruites of an unproined Orcharde, in reading wherof, (notwithstanding the unfaverie Sappe of sundry Water boughes) may appeare both learned and
fruitfull

fruitfull Matter. And therefore I chiefly tooke upon me to translate the same oute of the *French* tong, as earst it was, for the like pleasure and pithinesse cause turned from out of *Latin* into *French*, in which tong it was first (by a righte learned and famous Man) written and invented. In which devise is contained a most perfect shew of horrible and bitter Contentions in the most fertile Region and Countrey of *Grammer*, by variance that grew betwixte two high and mightie Princes, Possessors of the same, the *Noune* and the *Verbe*. *Nomen*, with his Substantives, and Adjectives, Commons and Propers: With also the Nobles of the House of Masculines, with the Worthinesse of the Genealogie of Feminines, Neutres, Doubtfulles, and Epicines, the Heteroclitites, with their noble Capitaines, and Gentlemen, the Defectives, and Redundantes, with his moste mighty Brother the *Pronoune*, and his sworne stoute Warriors the Gentiles. Agayne *Verbum* with his Nobles, with the Participles, Modes and Tenses, with Gerundes and Supins, in the great Fielde of Conjunctions contending where they met for Superiority in Governement. Wherein although but spoken *Allegoricè*, or rather written by the figure *Hypothesis*, sheweth in part the Troubles of a fained Common-weale by intestine and civile Contention sprong up in the same. With such pleasant *Metamorphosis* and ardent Allegories the ancient Poets used to beautifie their Workes, as *Demosthenes*, who used suche covert Fable against *Philip*, (that required ten of the *Athenienses* Oratours) saying how the Wolfe persuaded and besought the Shephierdes to tie up their Doggs, and so to joyne with them in Friendship. Which when the Shephierdes had granted, the Wolfe then as it were with a covered and licensed crafty Crueltie spoiled their Flocks. So wrote *Esop*, *Horace*, and divers other, which although but in part as Fables, (as this after a sort is) is yet in some respect duly to be noted, as *Saint Ambrose* affirmeth, saying: *Etsi fabula vim veritatis non habeat, tamen rationem habet ut juxta eam veritas manifestari possit*: That is: Although a Fable have not the Strength of the Truth, yet hath it a Reason, that by it the Truth may be uttered. Such was the Manner of Philosophers, as *Aulus Gellius* sayth, to allure Men's Mindes to the Understanding of the Trueth. Which thing now as it is but fained, yet knowyng it to be devised of so learned a Man at the first, thought with myselfe, that those whiche had Capacitie mighte reape some Fruite of his travellous toyles. And agayne, supposing that if the same wer englished, some might the easlier gather the Sense of the first Author. Therefore as the Translator therof out of *Latine* did for the Recreation of a noble Personage labor in the same, so I for the pleasant Profite of sundry of my Countrey Men, so duely as I coule after my President, turned it into Englishe. And therefore as first and chiefeft (it being also the first of my Labours) I exhibite it to your Worshipe, not as a Gift, (for any part of my deserving) worthie to be received: But by Way of Duetie offered, of meere good Will, making you the Patron of this my first enterprised attempt: Chcoosing rather to suffer the reproche of the wise and the curious carping checke of *Momus* and his Mates, with the pernicious taunt of privie Parasites, than to seem altogether oblivious of my Dutie, and so be accounted ingratefull. Which poore and slender Thing, if it please your Worship to receyve with

a friendly Aspect at my simple Handes: Your favorable Encouragement shall hereafter procure me to finishe some greater Effect to the Benefite of my Countrey men (I meane such as are desirous to employe their Labour in reading:) And in especially to manifest Gods doing in me, whom in the meane Season I beseech to conduct and guide youre Goodnesse forth in that well doing that he hath alreadie begon in you (in the Suppression of godlesse Games, the very Nourice of Noughtinesse: The Sufferance of which are the Decay of Commonwealthes, the Corruption of Youth, the Breach of Brotherhood and all true dealing.) I ceasse to speake of such Singularitie as all Men shall see ensue of your dayly Endeavours, and of that due Commendation that may be sayd of your Princely Practise, that Maynteyner of honest Exercise: Whereof right worthily your Worship is Maister, being a most perfect President in that Practise (I mean of that laudable auncient and noble Science of Shooting in the long Bowe) for every one to folowe in Effect. The necessary Use wherof, howe needefull it is to be looked to, howe beneficiall the Use thereof hath beene to this our Countrey, howe daungerous the neglecting thereof is, and howe hurtfull the Lacke of usyng the same of our Youth in *Englande* hath bene, is too apparaunt. The Almighty ease us, whome I beseeche so to endue you with present Consolation hoped for in Chryste, in thys Lyfe your Dayes may be long: And that after this Life, youre Lotte (as *David* sayeth) may fall in a good Ground, that is, in Lyfe everlasting. Amen.

Your Worships dayly Welwisher,

WILLIAM HAYWARDE.

The PREFACE upon the historicall Discourse of the *Grammer Warre*, first made in *Latin* by the learned Lord ANDREW GUARNA of *Salerne*, and after translated into *Frenche*, and now for the Worthinesse of the Historie turned into *English*.

THE first and auncient Philosophers that wrote their Poesies couertly bidden under subtile and wily Matter, dydde constitute Pallas the Daughter of Jupiter, borne in hir Soveraigne Heade to be Goddesse of Wisedome sayd Minerve, and of Warre, call'd Enyo or Bellona. Gyving hereby to understande that of one and the same beginning, in one Time altogether and in one Substance, are two principall Things inseperately joyned together: Whiche two Properties are so knitte, that the one wythout the other is of no Force, and the other without his fellow, of smal or no Accompt: Yea, they are the Principles whereby Men attayne to the Top of Honoure, and famous Felicitie, advauncing meane Men to Honor in their Life time, and immortal Fame after Death. They are learnyng and martial Prowesse. Of these two together noble Grece, made Separation in his two Metropolitanes, when the Citie of Athens florished in Learning, and the Citie of Sparta or Lacedemonia, glorious in Feates of Armes. The noble Fame of the Romains grew by the one, and by the other they did alwayes defend them, so that they dyd successively

successfully greatly sette Store by them. The worthy, valiaunt, and myghtie eloquent Cæsar was decored with them bothe, and by them dyd eternise bys Renoune. Beholde (gentle Reader) nowe these two so worthie Things, whiche are no lesse Principalls to the Governement of Empires, Realmes, Reipublikes, and for all Estates of the World to be aptely understode, which did so much ennoble Grece, so greely honour the Romaines, and eternise the Fame of the great Cæsar, are in this present small Volume comprised, compact together by the industrious and pleasaunt Artifice of the firste Author, under an angry Argument, and historicall Narration of the Grammer Warre, of this pleasaunt and figured Historie, no lesse profitable than delectable. Lucian an eloquent Greke Author made the first Draughtes in the Battayle of the Alphabet Letters: But this Author hath waded further even unto Verbes and Nounes, being principall Heades of Oration, and to the Adherents of Speach, as well to the congruate Worde, (being the Opener and the Declarative of the Sense) as otherwise, wherin resteth al Arte and Knowledge, wherin also all the Wisedome of Man is comprised; shaping and fourming these two Heades, and the Auxiliate ayding Parties with such fayned Personages and pretie Properties so apt and to them so quicke in Qualitie, that hee giveth Life, Bodie, Weapon and Armour to deade Wordes, yea, and sounding Voice, to Substances inanimate and without Soule: So that the Reader in the Lecture of this (though fayned) Narration and dreadful Discoverie, shall deeme them no more to be vocall Wordes, but by a strong Judgement shall thinke them dapperlye disguised, being transfourmed into livlie Persones, going, speaking, and sharply resoning with continual Terrors of martiall Expedition and Exploites, with allegoricall Constietes of bloudie Battaille, not onelie in hostile Contencion Abroade, but also in civile, yea, and intestine Warres at Home: So that in the Discoverie hereof he is nothing Oblivious of anye thing that appertaineth to the Deduction and safe guiding of so great Affaires, even from the first Causes and entermixed Medlies of their Adventures, unto the last Ende of all their Attempes and Endevors, with all their Circumstances, all their Tumults and Uproares, with their Doubtfulnesse of Victory among manie Martialistes, how of bloudie Battaille divers Losse and Daungers doe followe, and how in the Ende finall Peace ensueth. All which Matters be so properlie penned, and so cunningly compact in this Tragedie, that the Warres of the Peloponneses, and the Civile Warres of the Affricanes in Thucide, in Salust, and Lucan, are peradventure more high and diffusedlye described: But with more Arte or more Compendiouslye, I am sure they are not. So that it is sothly to be saide, that our Author through the Excellencie of his learned Wisedom, doth as the good Geometricians doe, with the invincible Greatnesse of the Heavens and the Earth do reduce in a simple Circuit, describing the same in a small Sphere or manuel Compasse. So hee hath placed the mightie, huge, and fearfull Faëtes of Armes under the Figure of so small a Thing as of the Congruitie or Discordaunce of Words in Oracion, joyning Letters with Weapons, teaching the Arte militaire with the Arte litteraire, so well, and so exactlye, that the Reader besides the Delyght and Pleasure that he shall have in the reading of so pleasaunt an Allegorie, shall receive further Benefite: For herein is represented in one Conteipt two Understandings knit together, the one proper and naturall, the other tropique and figured. Beside this, he shall comprehende in this same verie Substance and by the onely Labor of one reading,

reading, those two so worthy Things above remembred, that doe eternise the Fame of their Fellowes, that is Lovers of Learning, and prudent Martialistes. The Science litteraire, and militaire, that is to say, the Arte of Grammer, yea the Graundmother of al Arts and Sciences, and the Arte militaire of deduced Warres, under pleasaunt Metaphoricall Figures, transported and tourned, bereaving the Minde of the litterall Understanding of small Things verball, to the Consideration of greater, more royall and reall, doth manifestly shewe by Example the ambitious Movings, the imperiate Desire of Princes to have Government, the Tumultes and Parcialities of People, the profitable and perverse Counsaile of sundrye Counsailers, the seemely Sentences, and modest Messages of the artificiall Erraundes on both Parties, their enterprised Attemptes and martiall Orders, the somoning of Souldiers, the Chartes of Defiaunce, the denouncing of Heraldes, the high and statelie Stomackes of the adverse Parties readie to joyne Battaile, the seeking of Alliaunce in Extremitie, the Compact confederated of Cuntrimen, the Slightes, Treasons, Espies, Embushements, their sodain Entrappes and Skirmishes, the Ordinaunces of Armes, the placing of the Campe, the pitching of their Arrayes, the noble chering of the Captaines to their Souldiers, the taking of Townes, the marching of their Men, the cruel Conflits and worthy Feates of Armes on all Sides, the lamentable Losse of Capitaynes, the cruel Combat of the Fighters, the great Slaughter on both Parties, the fearefull flying on all Sides, the doubtfull Meetinges of many, the Indifferencie of their Victory, and the finall pernicious Accidents that ensue thro' the Wars to both Sides, the robbing, the reaving, the Rapine and Disorder that is then in ure, the depopuling of inhabitate Cuntries, the desolate Destruction that divers are damnified by the Commodities and Advantages that one Realme enjoyeth throughe the Detriment of an other: And contrarily the infinite Utilities that ensue, thorowe Peace and Concorde, to all Realmes and Reipublikes. All which Things are by wonderfull Cunning, and pleasaunt Fygures, by most exquisite Rule and perfect Methode, treated summarily in this Booke, first written in his owne and pure Latine Tongue, and after (for the Pleasure and Profite that therein may be gathered) was translated into our English Tongue, through the Commaundement of a learned Personage, one who is no lesse a Lover of Learning, than vertuous in Condition, who for the Worthinesse of his Example is to be followed as a meete Patron of humane Curtesie.

Wherefore (gentle Reader) when thou art delighted with the profitable Lecture of this historicall Discourse, attribute the Thankfulnesse of thy good Wil to be the Causer of this English Translation, wherein albeit that there be not the same Sweetnesse in our Phrase that it hath in his owne Tongue, yet I doubt not but it shall seeme to digresse but easilie from mine Author: For as the learned knowe, it is an absurde and harde Matter in this Treatise properlie to english the greatest Part of those Words that touch the Argument in apt Phrase correspondent to the Latin, sithens the same coulde not bee done by a learned Translator into the French, which Tongue doth nearer appropriate it than ours: Therefore whereas of some I may be thought little to alter in Translation from the Latine Author, therein may the Reader judge me to followe the Frenche Phrase who is my Patrone partly in most of my Translation, and when I shall seme in anie point to digresse from the French Translator, I doe it the nearer to follow the first Author, so that the Reader,

Reader, I hope, will judge indifferently of my Doings. Wherefore in my Translation I thought it requisite, (yea, and also no less necessarie) to leave the most parte of the Wordes of this Argument in their own Tongue, especiallye for that this Discourse of the Grammer Warre was made upon the Grammer of the Latine Tongue first, and not of the French. What will it then awayle (will some saye) to have translated it into English? whereto in the first place it may thus be answered, that for that it was the free good Wil of the Translator, that in his Labour on this Behalfe thought not to offend, neither to do wrong or displeasure to any, but that through his meane the simple and unlearned English Readers, aswell as the learned Latinists, might enjoy part of the Pleasure that is had in the Lecture of this delectable Discourse of this figured Warre, and b'oudlesse Battaille, without mortall Shot, sweate or Cannon Poulder. And furthermore that his Meaning was, for the Utilitie of our English Children beginning to studie the Latine Tongue who reading this pleasaunt fight in their owne Tong (as the French in theirs) might learne by Waye of Mirth and merrie Pastime, the principal Pointes of the Romaine Grammer: Finally the same might serve for an exemplar, aswell historicall for the Instruction and Guide of martiall Affaires, as morall, therein to consider the Harmes that ensue thorowe the Dissention of Princes and great Lords, Parents, Kinsmen or Neighbors, how the Communalities of Realmes and Cuntries can not easelye profite in anye Wealth and Aboundance, without Trafike and quiet Passages one to another, and howe Dissention procureth diverse dangerous Damages to them and theirs: Shewing also on the other side the singular Benefites that Peace procureth, what Commodities are enjoyed by the Uniformitie of Kings and Princes raigning in one Regiment or Country lovingly together in one Faith, Lawe, and Tongue, friendly as one: Which Things, (as I suppose) are the principall Causes whye this Booke was first compiled by mine Author, which by Chaunce happening into my Handes, and by me over redde, to my singular Delight in both Tongues, determined with my selfe to participate parte of my Understanding to the Youth of my Nation, thorowe the Request of a Friende, who might have commaunded me. Wherefore if I espie the friendlie Receipt hereof, in no lesse gratefull Parte, than it was friendly favoured of some, I shall be the readier encouraged to bid thee hereafter to some better Banquet. In the meane whyle let the courteous Reader use a friendly Guestes Parte, not mistyking any thing that is set freely before him. And albeit that this my Translation be not so exquisitly englished on my Parte as many better learned can doe, yet in Consideration of my painefull good Will, I doubt not your friendly Receipt of the same. And though that the French Tongue (wherout I extracted this Worke) in Adages and breef Termes have an easier Conclusion of Speach than our English Tongue, yet let the Reader be assured what soever Termes be altered (if any be) the Matter is persfite, pleasaunt and profitable to the Reader, and much Matter contayned in this small Booke, both of Delight and delicate Lyking, such as the gentle Reader maye gather great Fruite, Wisedome, and Worthinesse by, if hee applie his Diligence thereunto. And for my Parte I bestowed my Labours in this Behalfe, not to winne Fame or Favour, but to bestowe my Leysures well and to fruitful Exercise, to the Benefit of my Countrey men, and to encourage those that can doe better to the like Exercise. And if any unfit Wordes happen to be espied of better and more eloquent

eloquent Heades, yet I trust that such will not condemne a goode Worke for an ill Wrighter, neyther a good Worde for an ill Speaker. What or howe effectuall Matter is contayned in this Booke, in the Sequele is manifest.

Farewell.

The Discourse of the GRAMMER WARRE: betweene two Kings, the NOUNE and the VERBE, contending for the chiefe Place in Oration, wherein thou shalt see the VERBE to prevayle.

THERE is none so simple in Judgement, that doubteth the Soyle of the Grammer to be the fairest and happiest of all the renoumed Parts and Provinces of the World, aswell for the Pleasantnesse of the Place wherein it is situate, being in good and hollesome Ayre, and aboundaunt in all Fruites and other good Things, without which this mortall Lyfe may not easilye be passed: As also for that shee hathe alwayes and ever, beene the Nourse and Bringer up of all People of Renoune. For even as in this Age, even so long Tyme heretofore, the Custome and Maner ever was in all Landes and Countries (except among the rude and barbarous Nations) where anye were espied of prone and readie Nature, bent towarde forward Wit, they were sent thither to be taught and instructed, and perfity to learne the most holy and learned Sciences: For by this onely Way and Passage is the Entrie and Accesse to the highest Countries, and noble Houses, as *Dialectice* (that is Rethorike) *Philosophie*, that is learned Wisdome, and *Theologie*, that is the most high and excellent Knowledge in Divinitie. In so much that unlesse they enter thorowe the Province of *Grammer*, no Soule were able to attaine to the worthy Secreates of the other Provinces. And albeit that the same Regions abounde in all Pleasure, yet notwithstanding, it is so environed about with high Mountaines, and such sharpe Rockes, right difficile and harde to be got up upon, that hardlye without a good Guide, any maye ever attaine to the plaine and pleasant Path of them. And therefore bicause Mankinde shoulde not be restrayned from so necessarie a Benefite, the good and laudable Custome ever was, and yet reasteth to the Kings of the saide Lande, to sende abroad through every part of the universall Worlde, some of their expert Knights and worthy Capitaines of olde Handes, properly call'd *Pedagoges* and Schole Masters, that they might ayde others, and surely conduct them of tender Age to the princelye Pallaces of the saide Kings, (as for the mightie, and suche as nowe drawe towarde Age, hardely suffer to bee taught of anye,) to the Ende that the Youth there being taught in the Sciences of the Greeke and Latine *Minerve*, might the easier and more lightly ascende and go over the foresaide Countries. There have all learned *Grekes* and *Latins* made their apprenticeshode, who by their worthy Writings, or by the Actes of others, are immortalised with renoumed Fame. Being there thus well taught and learned, they have afterwarde so flourishinglye lived through the high Praise of their illustrious and splendant Actes, that they living, were unto all Men in their Time great Setters forth of vertuous Examples and after they were deade (yet

(yet as alive) shewed to those that survived them, as it were by poynting with their Finger, the right Path and readie Way to attayne honorable Life, and immortall Fame.

But although that this Lande of *Grammer* be none other but indevidate and without Partialitie, yet neverthelesse there are two mightie Kings, that there raigne and governe, that is to weete, the *Verbe* and the *Noune*. The *Verbe* hath to Name *Amo*, and the *Noune* *Poeta*. Who a verye long Time raigned together in such Concord and Quietnesse, that to fourme Oration perfect, wherein the Beautie of them both (the highest Place of the one, and the chiefest Seate of the other) dependeth no Dissention, Displeasure or Contencion was ever hearde betweene them: For in all their Territorie there grew nothing more esteemed, more worthie, or more sounde, than Oration, which being beautified with the most Coulers of fundrye Flowers, and decked with the most faire and fine Figures, and with the most sweete and perfumed Buds of set Roses, was of such singular Comlinesse and Authentie, that she not onely drewe unto her all Mankinde (when the same is right and aptly applied) but may also withdrawe any of the Goddes which Waye she will winde them. By reason whereof *Euripides* sayth, That which Force coulde not gayne, that faire Speache did soone attaine: *Pirrhus* also used sometime to saye, that *Cyneas* dyd winne more Townes with his Tongue and comelie Speache, than he with hys Warres. These two Kings then being in such Concorde, as all the Affaires of *Grammer* were in good Apparence and better Estate, it happened that for a smal thing Dissention sprang betweene them, whereby upon a verye sodaine, all was bewrapped in Uprore and martiall Dyspleasures: For what Harme is that that Wine and insaciate Eating cause not? That and so great Amitie and Union betweene these two Princes was so overthrowne at one onely Banquet, wherein they were both droncken: and Ebrietie set them in so great Ennimities one against another, that eyther of them, pricked forward with ambitious Desire of Regiment (as wilde Bulls stong of gadde Flies) almost utterly over turned their own Realmes, and the noble Empire of *Grammer*.

But nowe let us shewe howe their Debate happened, to the Ende that everye one may knowe, that there is no Bande or Knot of Amitie so strong, that Desire of Superioritie may not breake. And therefore the olde *Dennis* used not causelesse to saye, that even he that hath the Lordshippe in his Lap, hath Cause himselfe to feare, and to beware of Friendes: seing that it is certaine, that every Man loveth rather to be served, than to serve other.

As these two Kings on a Time were at a Banquet, in the midst of the hoate Summer, neare to a pleasaunt and cleare Spring, having the Water Bancke on the one Side, and the other most pleasant and singulerly shadowed with the Braunches of greene Willowes and high Plane Trees, after they had sufficiently banquetted, warmed with Wine, and lightned wyth Drincking, a Question arose betweene them, to weete, whether of them two were greatest in Authentie, and of most Importance to performe Oration? Then the *Verbe* minding to holde the worthiest Place, was sharpely withstoode of the *Noune*, affirming, that without him, Oration and Speach might not be, and that

through him altogether, the same is understood and of better Grace. And what dost thou (saide he) without me in Oration? if I withhold me a Parte never so litle, the Hearers understande thee no more than one that were dombe and spake not. Gather a while a small Part of Speach wythout me, and do that the Hearers may understande that which thou speakest.

Doubtlesse if I be not there for an Interpreter, none maye so much as gesse the least Thing of thy Meaning. Moreover thou shouldest note, that in so much as I am elder than thou, so much more am I approoved worthiest. Who is he that knoweth not the *Noune*, before the *Verbe*: Or who is he that is ignoraunt, how the Beginning of the *Noune* is more auncient than the *Verbe*? It is infallible, that God made all Things, who if hee made all, made also the *Verbe*. Nowe God is a *Noune* and not a *Verbe*: wherefore now of Consequence, by the *Noune* were all Things made, yea, Oration itself was made of God, and so the *Noune*. As for thee, O thou *Verbe* (that arte so proude) thou hast thy Calling of me: hast thou never red, that among the Sonnes of Women, is not a greater than *John Baptist*? this is God's Sentence, it is not lawfull to go against it. Wherefore if none be greater than *John*, for that it is writen that his Name is *John*, and agayn that his Name was *John*, it is apparaunt to be seene, that there is not, neyther may any thing else, be greater than the *Noune*. I coulde alleage to this Matter sixe hundredth Places, whereby it is proved clearer than the Day, that as in Worthinesse and Antiquitie, even so in Authentie and chiefe Place the *Noune* is preferred before the *Verbe*. All which Things I sette and leave a part, to the Ende that Men thinke me not to precede the *Verbe* more thorow much Babling, than of just Cause. O *Poeta* (answered the *Verbe*) I marvayled before now, why that Divine *Plato* had expulsed thee out of hys common Weale: But now knowing how shamelesse and light thou art, so to intermixe the Holy Scripture among thy Follies: I know well that the learned and wise *Plato* judged rightlye of thee. For had not he exiled thee with manye other, forth of the Reipublike that he ordayned, thou haddest by thy false Ceremonies, fearefull Goddes, and other Things, corrupted the civile Maners of his Citizens. For what pernicious Thing durst not thy great Pride and Arrogance, enterprise and attempt? Yea seing that by thy devised Deceiptes, and false writhed Witneses, thorowe Force writhed from Holy Scripture, thou laborest to cast me down from the Dignitie of the chiefeest Place, which I have long Time in this Lande possessed.

But certainly, for that it shall not seeme to thee, that thou alone arte learned, I will easlye alleage more manifest and plaine Testimonies of the same Holye Scripture that maintaine mine Authentie, I wil set here formost the very Beginning of that evangelicall Scripture, where it is thus saide, In the Beginning was the Worde, and the Worde was with God, and God was the Worde. Open thyne Eares now, wherefore hidest thou thy Face so? God (saide he) was the Worde, and moreover, all Things are made by him: And withoute him nothing was made. It is not therefore the *Noune* then that made all Things, but the *Verbe*. Again, God was a *Verbe* and not a *Noune*.

Moreover,

Moreover, by the Worde the Heavens were made firme and sure, and all their Powers.

What wilt thou now say? There is no Meane to defend thee by holy Allegations, but thou maist perceive them to make for me, and not for thee. But let us bend to those Poyntes that aptliest tende to our Cause: Tell me I praye thee, whence commeth to thee this Folly and Madnesse? And whence hast thou so sodainly taken such Stomacke and Heart of Grace, that thou darest usurpe upon thee the worthiest Place in Oration? Knowest thou not that all Comelineffe, Beautie and Sweetnesse commeth of me alone? and that the *Noune* is alwayes ruled of the *Verbe*, and not that the *Verbe* is ruled of the *Noune*. The comelye Featnesse of the *Verbe* is that, that beautifieth and enricheth Oration: and if I governe thee not therein, thou shalt be halfe handed and of no Force. Knowest thou howe to make a Construction, wherein forthwith the chief Place is not given me? Beholde all Men knowe, that I onely that holde the Seigniorie over the *Verbes*, can without the Aide of any other make perfect Oration. Wherefore then speakest thou so impertinentlye? And (as *Horace* sayeth) why throwest thou so thy proude and disdainfull fixe cornered Words? who art thou? what art thou? of what Force? or howe great? not of such Auctoritie as thou boastest of I am sure, that so goest puffed and swollen, that it is marvell thou burstest not in the middest. I am (thou wilt say) the King of the *Nounes*. But what is thy Name? thou wilt aunswere *Poeta*. And what is *Poeta* other then a Pratler, a Seller of Gaudes, a Deviser of Fables, a Maister of Mischiefe, a Brabler, a Lyer, a Dronckerd, and a foolish Dolt, that coloreth that which is Truth, and putteth forth Falshoode, and such a one as by thy prattling, fillest and perturbest all the Worlde.

Which also by thy Chat usurpest so much Auctoritie among the common and simple Sort, that thou darest strive for the Dignitie against the renoumed Stocke of the *Verbes*. Follishly do those Fathers that give thee their Children to be taught of: for what is in thee whereby the Youth maye be encited to Grace and vertuous Encouragement, but the Stewes of the adulterous *Jupiter*, the Jelosie of *Juno*, and the Whoordom of *Venus*, and of the Ruffian *Mars*, and such goodlye Devises imagined of thine owne Brayne, that having droncke a little more than well, thou, as filled with a devine Ghost, and overladen with wine, madlike or divelishly, darest mixe Heaven with Earth, and Earth with Heaven.

At these Wordes *Poeta* the King, all fiered in Ire, not able to suffer the Shame nor the Injurie that was sayde of hym, aunswered thus: O thou most most mischievous Heade of Man, darest thou speake so boldly such contentious Things of us? And therewithall caught a Cuppe in his Hande, which had violently hit hym on the Face, had not one of the Standers by, (holding him by the Arme) tourned the Stroke a part. It is not to be doubted now, that in the Rage wherein both Partes were then, but that Wordes were no Blowes: but certaine of the elder Sorte and wisest came upon the same, and they bare away the sayde Kings all droncken into their Pallaces: and on the Morrow after the Friendes of the Parties were assembled, there was great Enquirie and Disputation of the Contention happened the Day before. Then

of the Parte of the *Nounes* was sharpelye blamed, the open Throate and unbecoming Talke of the King of *Verbes*, and the most Part of the *Nounes*, especially the yonger of them, marvellously muttered, saying, that the Tongue of King *Amo* ought to be tamed, and to give him to understande, that the mightie Majestie of the *Nounes* was never subject to such Reproch and Contumely.

But although the Elders that were then there present, especially *Terence*, admonished them that nothing might bee unadvisedly done, but that it was requisite rather first to take Counsaile than Weapon in that Point, following the wiser Sorte: Yet notwithstanding, all the *Nounes* with their King, were so fleshed to fight, that it was forthwith fully determined and accorded to offer Battaile to the *Verbes*: And thereupon was sent forth a Trumpet to the King *Amo*, assuredly to denounce and indict open Warre against him. On the *Verbes* Parte was no wiser Counsailes helde, for when all their Nobilitie were come together, ther was nothing else treated of among them, than to defend the Dignitie of the *Verbes* in the Lande of *Grammer*, and to depresse and throwe downe the Pride of the *Nounes*. Add behold, hereupon came the Harolde of the King *Poeta*, who diligentlye declared the Charge of his Errande. They aunswered, that with good Will they receyved the Desiaunce, and from thence forwarde all their Mindes were bent wholly towarde martiall Affaires. Afterwarde the King of *Verbes* sent Trumpets and Messengers to all Nations and Landes that were under his Seignorie, commaunding that all such as were able to beare Weapon, should be founde readie in good Order at the Day assigned.

First before all other came *Quando* the Duke of *Adverbes*, with six of hys Capitaines, *Ubi Quo Unde Qua Quorsum* and *Quousque*. *Quorsum* and *Quousque* were companied with their Bands, and under the first Ensigne were these renoumed Champions, *Hic Illic Isthic Intus Fores Ibi Ibidem Sicubi Alicubi Alias Alibi Usque* and *Nusquam*. Under the seconde, *Huc Illuc Istuc Intro Foras Alio Nequo Aliquo Siquo Illo Eo* and *Eodem*. Under the thirde, *Hac Illac Istac Alia Nequa Illa* and *Eadem*. Under the fourth, *Horsum Illorsum Istorsum Introrsum Extrorsum Dextrorsum Sinistrorsum Aliorsum Aliquorsum* and *Deorsum*. Under the fifth, *Hactenus Hucusque Eousque Usquemodo* and *Usque nunc*. To the sixt Bande the Capitaine himselfe bare the Ensigne, marching in the middest of his Men, so that two of the saide Bands were in the forward, and the other three at the Taile.

Many other *Adverbes* served for Forerunners, and these discovered the Wayes and served for Partisans, the rest covered the Wings and kept that the Bandes marched not out of Aray. The Names of them are *Peregre Pone Super Supra Inter Infra Extra Citra* and *Ultra*, with many other. After them came other *Adverbes* great of Quality, Quantity, and Number, among whom were those hideous swering *Adverbes*: as *Ædipol Enimvero Ecastor Mediusfidius* and *Profecto*. Also the calling *Adverbes*, as *Heus*, &c. the Answerers, as *Hem*. The Laughers, as *Ha Ha He*. The denying *Adverbes*, *Minime* and *Nequaquam*: which *Nequaquam*, albeit he were valiaunt and greatly trayned up in the Wars, was yet notwithstanding the most untrue and deceitfullest of them

them all, and would never say Truth but thorow Conſtraynt: The *Greekes* called him *Holophant*, which is as much as altogether a Denier, or deceitfull Interpreter: Many mo Things could I report of this Ruffler *Nequaquam*, that moſt dangerous and hurtfull Beaſt, but bicauſe that the Wordes at theſe Dayes are not in common Terme, I willingly ceaſe of them, beleiving doubtleſſe that it is loſt Labour to warne the Shepe how he ought to keep him out of the Wolfes Daunger. Now theſe *Adverbes* were armed with three Kinde of Armure, for they had Kynde for a Buckler, Signification for an Head-piece, and Figure for a Sword. Many other *Adverbes* came to the Ayde of their King as Indicatives, Frequentatives, Meditatives, Diminutives and Denominatives, with their Bands, which were not to be contempned. The mighty Lord of *Nounes* Animales (being *Nounes* out of Rule, that beare great Sway and Lordſhippe in the Borders of *Grammer*) were not laſt and hindmoſt: doubtleſſe worthie Men of Warre, but yet not able to holde their Arraye: they are called, *Sum Volo Fero* and *Edo*. By reaſon whereof it was permitted them to pitch their Tents in anye Part of the Campe where they would, leaſt they might raiſe Uprore among the Souldiers. The Nation of the *Verbes* Defectives came alſo thither very brave, and in goodly Order, *Memini*, *Noui*, *Cepi* and *Odi*: Alſo *Vale Salve Aio Inquit Faxo Cedo*, being all armed Poynt device readie to joyne Battaille. After them folowed all the *Verbes* Actives, clothed in Bone and Bravery, with alſo the Neuters, with the Deponents, Commons and *Impersonals*: All of them of fundry Fourms and ſtraunge Languages, and were armed with Genders Tenſes Moodes Kindes Perſons and Numbers.

The King *Amo* after he had thus aſſembled his Hoſt, pitched his Campe in the wide Playnes of Conjunctions, in a Place called *Copula*, and encamped his Hoſt there, neare to the Hoſt of Diſjunctives called *Sine*: And devided his Hoſt into foure Conjugations, giving to everye of them a meete Place (except to certayne familiar *Verbes* who were encharged to beare the Baggage of the Infinitives: Their Names are, *Incipit*, *Definit*, *Debet*, *Vult*, *Poteſt*, *Jubet*, *Audet*, *Nititur*, *Tentat* and *Dignatur*, with ſuch lyke: this Office was aſſigned them, for that they were willing therto, and had ſturdie Strength and Abilitie. Laſt of all came certayne *Verbes* extract from high Place, and of great Dignitie, as *Pluit Ningit Fulgurat Tonat Fulminat* and *Adveſperat*: bringing with them certayne Bands of their moſt worthy Champions: But the Gerundes with the Supines, forſaking the *Nounes*, came and yelded to the *Verbes*.

When *Poeta* King of *Nounes* heard the great Preparation of his Adverſarie, fearing to be ſurprized with ſome ſodaine Alarum, if he abode the Furie and Force of his Enimies without Purveyaunce to defende him, commaunded all the Subjectes of his Realme, that in the ſpedieſt Maner they might, they ſhoulde make themſelves readie to be in the Fielde armed, and ſo aptly equipped, as in beſt wiſe were poſſible for them. Then to the Aide of the King of *Nounes*, firſt came the Dukes of the *Pronounes*, as the neareſt Kinſemen, who for the moſt Parte were often times Princes *Ego*, *Tu*, *Tui*, being of the Bloode Royall, and of the Stock of the *Aſacides*, with whome were,
Meus

Meus Tuus Suus Noster and *Vester, Nostras and Vestras, Ille Ipse Iste Hic* and *Hæc*. All the *Pronounes* were parted in manye Fourmes, and under sundry Ensignes. Some were *Primitives*, other *Derivatives*, some *Possessives*, and some *Gentils*. After them came the right worthy *Articles*, who had a long Time haunted the Warres, of which the first was *Hic Hæc Hoc*: The seconde *Hic & Hæc*: the third *Hic & hæc & hoc*, armed with *Genders*, *Numbers*, *Figures*, *Persones*, and *Cases*. After them came the graunde Capitaynes of *Interrogatives*, *Infinitives*, and *Relatives*. *Quia qui que quod vel quid*: and these joyned to the Host. These were the generall Referenders of all the Land of the King of *Nounes*, with whome were all the *Relatives* and *Demonstratives*, devided into two Bandes: that is to weete, in *Idenditie*, and *Diversitie*. In the first were, *Is Suus Ipse Ille Idem*. In the seconde, *Cæter Alius Reliquus* and *Alter*. The Prince of the accidentall *Relatives* was *Qualis*, under whome fought *Quantus quot quotuplex quatenus quotenus quotifariam cuius* and *cuiusgenæ*. The Queene of the *Prepositions* called *Ad*, came thither also with *Ab* and *In*, the Husbandes of *Nounes* *Casuals*, and they brought with them three Ensignes of worthy *Amazones*. Under the first were *A ab abs cum coram clam de è ex pro præ palam sine absque tenus*, which served to the *Ablative Cases*. Under the seconde were *Ad apud ante adversum adversus cis citra circum circa contra erga extra inter intra infra juxta ob pone per propter prope secundum post trans-ultra præter supra circiter usque secus penes*, all serving to the *Accusative Cases*: But *In sub supra* and *subter* served to both *Cases*, to weete, to the *Ablatives*, aswell as to the *Accusatives*. Under the third were, *Di dis res se an con*, whose Office was to purvey Potation for the Souldiers, for it was then Lent. Who albeit they were by Composition inseparable, least they should at any time be voyde of that was enjoyned them, were yet so inconstant, that sundrye Times they clave to the *Nounes*, and some while to the *Verbes*: and therefore they were accompted the common Roges of the Campe.

Nowe the *Nounes* thus devided by Bandes, marched in goodlye Aray, that is to weete, the *Substantives*, likewise the *Adjectives*, *Nounes* proper, *Appellatives* and *Participles*: After whome were the brave and rich *Comparatives*, *Superlatives*, *Possessives*, *Patronymiques*, *Gentils*, (which were noble) *Numerals*, and *Multiplying*, which governed the outwarde Borders. Every of them were devided by five *Declinations*, to weete, by the first, the seconde, the thirde, the fourth and fift, and they were all armed wyth *Kindes*, *Genders*, *Number*, *Figures* and *Cases*. All the sayde Bandes reduced in one, *Poeta* the King of the *Nounes*, caried his Host into the same Playne of *Conjunctions*, and pitched his Campe on the other side of the saide River *Sine*: So that betweene both the Hostes was nothing but the River: By reason whereof, sundrye Times there happened sharpe Skirmishes, betweene those that went there to the Water, notwithstanding yet without open Battaille, for that had both the Kings forbidden, bicause all nedefull *Necessaries* for the Warres, were not yet very readie.

Nowe eyther of these Kings coveted to induce to his Parte the *Participle*: a Man doubtlesse of very great *Auuthoritie* through all the Lande of *Grammer*,
yea,

yea, in Puissance and Dignitie, altogether next and nearest the King: who without doubt was able also to cause Victorie to whether Side he woulde winde him. By Reason of this, aswell the *Verbe* as the *Noune*, left nothing unassayed, eyther of them hoping to have him on their Side. *Poeta* the King of *Nounes* putting forth formost, wrote to him in this Maner. I doubt not (O my Brother) but that thou knowest with what Pride and puffed Stomacke *Amo* the King of the *Verbes* is risen against mee, and against the Dignitie of *Nounes*, and by what Lawe I minde to occupie the chiefeest Seates to construe Oration: For which Thing, seeing that the same doth so much move and displease me, I am forced to take Armes and set Souldiers in the Fielde, that his Pride being beaten doune, we maye keepe oure Seigniorie in his right, uncorrupted. And sithens thou knowest howe much thou art bounden to the Nation of the *Nouns*, and what great Benefit thou hast receyved of us, as Genders and Cases, Numbers and Figures: Thou shalt therefore doe a Worke worthy of thy Faithfulnesse and Friendship, if with thy Men of Warre and thy Souldiers, thou come to joyne with us to defende our common Titles, our common Ritches, and common Hope. For if the Dignitie and Lordship of *Nounes* be destroyed, thinke not thou to finde anie sure Place in the Lande of *Grammer*, and so fare well: Beseeching thee to set forward thy coming in the speediest wise thou mayest.

On the other side, *Amo* the King of *Verbes* wrote to the saide Participle in this Wise. I know very well (O deare Brother) howe thou art by our Enimies verye instantly solicited to be on their Part, to warre against us: And albeit that we have Hope, that by thy singular Wisedome thou wilt not doe any thing so rash or unadvisedly, yet neverthelesse it semeth good unto us, to admonish and advertise thee, that thou consider in thy selfe, what Commodities thou hast receyved of us, and what Increase of Dignitie the *Verbes* have made thee, in making thee Partaker of their Tenses and Significations, Numbers and Figures. And if thou hast any smal Benefit of the *Nouns*, those that thou receivest of us are much more, yea and also greater. Thou shalt therefore doe best if thou repaire to our happie Folde, not alone to keepe and defende us, and the Lordship of the *Verbes*, but also thou thy selfe, and thine. For thus thinke with thy selfe, that if I have the worst, mine Enimies will not with-holde them from running upon thy Lordshippe, and turne their victorious Armes (which God forbid) against thee: that they all alone may with their mad Will runne in and spoyle al the Land of *Grammer*. Farewell.

The Participle after that he had red the sayde Letters of the two Kings, thought nowe of the one, then of the other, and had fundry Thoughtes in his Heade, considering with him selfe that he coulde holde Part with neyther of them, without great and evident Losse of his owne Goodes. Contrarily if he shoulde seeme to minister, he might not onely enjoye the Favor of them both, but also that he rather wished, to see them low brought thorowe the Hazard of the Warres, that they being destroyed, he might afterwarde alone withoute Resistaunce, possesse the sayde Lande of *Grammer*: and therefore thought good to dissemble, feeding them with faire Wordes, untill he knewe
who

who should have the better, therefore he wrot to them in this Maner. I have most puissant Kings, receyved your Letters, and I have red them with great Sorowe and Trouble of Minde, knowing that betwen two such Princes so knit, is fallen such Discorde, that you can not withholde you from overthrowing thorow cruell War, your owne Lordships, and that renoumed Empire. But wherewith are ye vexed? or what Harme holdeth you? and whence commeth this Madnesse? I beseeche you for God his Sake to consider a little whither you go. Howe will our common Enimies (those beastly Citizens of Ignorance, and that slovenlike People of *Barbarie*) rejoyce, understanding the Strength of their Enimies to be so wasted through their owne contentious Quarrelling? I adjure by the high Gods above and beneath, that ye withholde you, and forbear such deadly, mortall, and abhominable Battayles, least that through a damnable Desire of Superioritie, you bewray in Uprores and Slanders the goodliest Province of all the Worlde. But if Destinie will have it so, and that you be so fully purposed to debate your Quarell by the Sword, I purpose to take Part with neyther of you, seing my Lordship dependeth in Part of the *Verbe* and in Parte of the *Noune*. And for that I am greatly bound to you both, with what I can I will ayde you both with Vitayles, Munitions, and other necessarie Things: But as touching Facts of Armes, I will withholde me, and I wyll cause my Souldiers to be assembled in Armes, to kepe in at home, that through Incourses no Injurie be done by any, on the Frountiers of mine own Lande: I pray God give you better Counsayle. Fare ye well.

And albeit that he had thus written to them, this subtill and wily Fox neverthelesse, through all possible Meanes he might, maintayned the Quarell, and by his privie Letters incited the Mindes of both Nations eagerly to ytche against other, hoping thereby (as I have said) that he shoulde easily attayne to the Seigniorie of the whole *Grammer* after their totall Destruction. Then having assigned a Day for his Subjectes to be assembled in, was in a most trim and brave Companie. First the Terminat in *Ans ens dus rus tus sus xus*, were there with the *Nounes* verball in *Tor trix* and such like, which were Neighbors of the *Verbes* and *Nounes*, and joyned with the Participles. Likewise the Gerundes and Supines, to avoyde these civil Wars, withdrew them also from the *Verbes*, and fled to the Participles. These Things thus appointed, the Participle sent great Giftes to both Sides, to be alwayes and still in their Favour, and first he sent to the *Verbe* these under named neuter Passives. To weete *Gaudeo soleo audeo fio prandeo Cæno juro titubo placeo nubo careo mæreo poto taceo* and *quiesco*. To the King of *Nouns* he gave the Ending in *Tor* and *trix*. He sent also for Wagis to the Host of *Verbes* an hundred Waggones of Preter Tenses, of Present and Future Tenses. Item a thousand Camels laden with Figures, Simples, Composites, and Decomposites: And to the *Noune* he sent by the River *Sive*, tenne Ships laden with Nominative and Genitive Cases, with as manye Singuler and Plurall Numbers, and a great Number of other, Masculine Genders, Feminines, Neuters, Commons and all. This done, he helde him in his Country with his Men of Warre, awayting to whether side Fortune woulde tourne hir. In the meane while,

while, these two warlike Kings having verie well made Provision of all Things necessary to give Battaile, awayted nothing else than some trimme Occasion to commence the Warre. But it chaunced that two of the wor-thiest Townes of *Grammer*, (to weete) *A* and *V* were taken unappointed by the King of *Verbes*, albeit than then all Townes were indifferently subject, and payed equall Tribute to both the sayde Kings, asmuch to the one, as to the other, being moreover in nothing more in Service to the one King, than to the other.

When *Poeta* the King hearde this, he toke by the like Policy three other Towns *EIO*: The other hearing this, kept them to their strongest Watch, and keping their Liberty, wer comon to both Parts, whose Names are, *BCDFGLMNPQRSTXZ*, and of them doubtlesse commeth all the Force of *Grammer*. To eyther of the Kings were given two Dipthongs to be their Trumpets, for they were taught by Sounde of Trump, to move the Spirite of all the Souldiers for to fight, *Æ* and *æ* served to the King of *Nounes*, *Au* and *eu* to the *Verbes*. Beside this, certayne jesting or gibing Women folowed both the Hostes, that moved the Mindes of the Souldiers in sundry Affections: for some wept and bewayled the Slaughter that shoulde be among them of *Grammer*, yea and that they felt the same neere them al-readie, as *Ob ha be heu* and *bei*, other were dyspleased, and reproved the Contention of these Kings, as *Vab væ* and *atat*. Other wondered of such Dissention fallen betweene so great Friendes, as *Papæ vabu* and *vba*: other as Fooles incited and encouraged the Souldiers to fight, as *Eia* and *Evax*. Moreover, all the Men of Warre and Souldiers being well appoynted and readie to enter into the Battaile, it seemed good to the King of *Verbes* that on his Part gladly withall his Hart he would withdrawe to commence civile Warres, and to cloke his doing in or with some honest Maner, wrote a Letter to the King of *Nounes*, in this Tenor. O *Poeta* thou hast well understoode in what Appoyntment and readie Strength I am come downe to shewe my selfe in the Fielde to give thee Battaile: and agayne thou mayst knowe that there are not in thee sufficient Forces able to abide and withstande the violent rushing in of the Legions of my Men of Warre: Therefore thou shalt doe wisely, if in leaving me in my Estate thou withdrawe into thy Territories. But if thou be so senselesse, that it must be had by the Edge of the Sworde, then know thou that three Dayes hence I will be readie with mine Host in the playne Fielde to fight, there to receive thee.

When the Trumpets *Au* and *Eu* had given their Letters to the King of *Nouns*, he aunswered them according to his Counsaile in this wise. O *Amo*, thou ever hast too many Wordes, but it is not now a Time to amase the Eares of the Hearers with thy much babbling: thou boastest thy valiaunt Host, and thy fearefull prepared Ordinaunce, as if on our Side wee had not but Dwarfes and Grashoppers. Thy Possession hath ever bene very lyttle in O-ration: But yet thy Follye leadeth thee thither from whence thou mayst not flie, untill with that Parte of Lordship (by thee wrongfully woon, worse governed, and naughtely retayned) thou be by just Warre chased out. And for that thou shalt knowe how litle, not I onely, but mine, doe way thee,

and how smally we feare thy Threatnings, our Heraldes *Æ* and *æ* shal shewe thee their bare Buttockes if thou wilt: farewell, such as I wish thee: adewe to the Devill for ever and aye.

By these Letters the Heartes of them poysoned one against another, did all awayte with fierie Stomackes the last assigned Day of Battayle. In the meane while, by occasion of suche troubleous Time, there arose (as comonly doth in such Businesse) a Licence of most mischevous Deedes, and there went forth a Company of privy Pilferers through the whole Province of *Grammer*, seeking their Pray, and especially in wooddie Places, and from the Hills espied the Passengers, and spoyled the Vittailers that went to the Campes: Whereby great Dearth and Scarfitie of Victuales daylye encreased in both the Hostes. By reason wherof, certaine worthie Capitaines, with sufficient Number of Souldiers were by the Consent and Decree of both Kings sent out to flea these Robbers, or else to drive them far out of the Lands of *Grammer*. They being come thither, the Souldiers did enclose a very thick Wood, where they hadde understoode that there were a great Number hidden: so they beset them, that one escaped not untaken. Among whome was a certayne Fellowe called *Catholicon* that drave a great Assie laden with *Greeke* and *Latine* Words bound up together, and caried them into *Italie*. Item an olde *Duns* called *Hugution*, with a yong Yonker surnamed *Garlandia* which also with a great one eyed Mule drave a Waggon laden with false and broken Rules, and fowle Fourmes not onely of olde Phrases, but also of *Latine* Termes, wherewyth he hoped to be enriched in the Borroughes and Townes, selling them as precious Things set in Glasse, to make laten of Glasse which might have Day seene through it. Moreover this Yoncker of *Garlandia* was found stuffed full of false Peces of Money and counterfact Coyne, being base Bullion, which he caused to be taken for good, being of an untrue Stampe which he had forged, and of the sayde Money he had filled all the Lande of *Grammer*. Lykewise there was taken a great and greasie lasie Lourden, that made himsele be called *Grecismus*, that had made leane all the Victayls that went to the Campe, to stufte a greate foule ranck stincking and rotten Calves Paunch with. There was also taken one *Pylades*, that had robbed all the Wayes he went in, and was become ritchie. All these were there bodily punished as they had merited, some quartered and made in Pieces, some brent in the Fire, other cast into the Dongeons of perpetuall and stincking Prisons. He that toke and punished *Grecismus* was a right worthy Capitaine called *Toussan* or *Tusan*. The Robberies of *Pylades* was discovered and debarred by a noble Capitaine very well acquainted in the Warres, which was called *John* of *Cuella* that so swelled that he was in Perill to be Dropsie, but one gave him a short Clister, that did yelde him in slenderer Fourme, and more leane and easie to be borne than he was. All the rest of this robberous Rable were destroyed, slaine and buried in a great and darke Dongeon. *Catholicon* that among them was called the great, was brought to the Campe wyth his Assie, who confessed on the Racke albeit it were a Thing manifest) that he had stolen all these Wordes in the Lande of *Grammer*. Then when he was asked ought in *Greeke*, he aunswered that he understode not the *Greke*, and of the *Latine*
but

but a very little. Then sayde the Judges, wherefore cariest thou wyth thee *Greeke* Wordes, seing thou then understandest not?

Then he aunswered, there is so great Ignoraunce of learning with us (saith hee) that albeit I speake grossely, yet can I easily make them beleve that I am through lined in every Corner with all the Eloquence of *Attica*. All they which were there, hearing this, fel in a great Laughter, and said: by Saint *George*, seing that thou hast such Hearers as thou hast, that which we know not the due Owners of, thou shalte carrye with Saulfconducte to thy People and Nation: but that which we shall know to belong to any, that we thinke good to be rendred to the due Owners. Then after they hadde made diligent Search, all the *Greeke* Words almost were given to *Isydore*, whose they were, and the Remnaunt to the *Latines*: to which Businesse was appoynted the Mayster of the Trenchmen, called *Calepin*, with the courteous Capitaine *Anthonie* of *Nebrisse*. The intermixed, rotten, and secret hidden Words were given him, and so they permitted him to go his Way with his Asses lighter laden than before: neverthelesse they forbad him at any Tyme ever after, to be so hardie as to call hymselfe a Gramarian, except among the rude and barbarous People. In these busie Businesse, one *Priscian* a very renoumed Man, and of great Honour in the Lande of *Grammer*, for that he coulde not suffer the saide Lande to runne in totall Ruine through civile Warre and Contention, hasted toward the Campe in Post to make an Agreement, and being taken, was spoiled and sore beaten of the felonish Fellowship of *Catholicon*, and was so wounded on the Heade, that there was no Salve able to heale him. Shortly after, among these Fellowes was taken one who falsely and shamefully sayde that he was an Historiographer, and had gathered together a great Bundell of jesting folishe Gaudes in a great Volume, called *Supplementum Chronicarum*, who forced thorowe Question, confessed that all they were stollen Things: and so he was exiled for ever into the Lande of Ignoraunce. As these Things were doing, certaine of the *Verbes Anomales*, as *Sum volo fero*, with three Companies of their Handmaides, made an Assault and toke away a Prisoner of the Capitaines of the *Nounes* named *Cæter*, which was of the Race of Relatives, and they toke him hidden with his Fellowes in an Embush, in what Cave I knowe not, neare to the by path way of the Conjunctions *Quod* and *Quam*, and him they slue with all his Singulers, his Plurals seing the Daunger they were in, made a Vowe to *Jupiter*, to sacrifice him the Remnant of their Goods, and so they escaped hole and sounde miraculously. When Tidings hereof were told to King *Poeta*, he was marvellously mooved, and it greatlye greeved him to lose such a Capitayne: for this *Cæter* was very stout and ful of Stomacke even to the uttermost, and in Feates of Warre he had no Peere.

The King of *Nounes* therfore feeling himself greatly endomaged with the Losse of *Cæter* and his Singulers, diligently awayted Occasion whereby he might render double the lyke to his Enimies. But Fortune, who can in all Thinges do very muche, and chiefly in Warre, gave hym shortly after the Way to revenge him of the Wrong. For in those Dayes many Legions of *Verbes* of no small Authoritie were taken Prisoners by certayne lyght Horsmen

of the *Nounes*. Among whom was *dice*, *face*, *fere* and *duce*, of the Bande of the Imperatives and Commaunders. From whom thorough great Ignomie was cutte away by the Kings Commaundement, the hynder Skirtes of their Garments, so that they shewed their Buttockes, and so sent them away againe, so that ever since they were called only *dic*, *duc*, *fac* and *fer*. Afterward he commaunded that the Prisoners should be slayne, namely, *fuo*, *specio*, *leo* and *pleo*: whose Goodes were by the King of *Verbes* given to their lawfull Children, discending of them in right Line, as *fui*, *fuera*, *fuissem*, *fuisse* and *futurus*. And to the Children of *specio*, who were a great Number, as *aspicio* *conspicio* and such like: and also to them of *leo* and *pleo*, as *doleo* *impleo* *compleo* *suppleo* *repleo* *expleo* *oppleo*. At the very same Season was bewraied a great Treason to the Hoast of the *Verbes*, how certaine horribe Hoorefons of the Stocke of Preterperfectes, being Souldiers, to cloake their Treason, and not to be knowen, were disguised after the Maner of the *Greekes*, though they were of the *Latin* Tong, and beyng taken, had two Heades. These had conspired and layd Watch for the King of *Verbes*: but being taken and convict of the Fact, were declared Traytours, and condemned of Trespasse against the King, they were called *momordi* *cecid* *cucurri* *pependi* *spopondi* *pepigi* *didici* *poposci* *tetuli* *cecini* *peperi* *tutudi* *pepuli* *fefelli* *mini* *pupugi* and *tetigi*, from whom was cutte of one Head at that present: so that wheras they were before time called, *momordeo* *cedo* *cucurro*, they be nowe called *mordeo* *cedo* *curro*; and so of the rest. From *tetuli* were cutte of both Heades, as well of the Preter, as of the Present Tense: albeit that *Terence* through Pitie thought to simon on the same agayne of the Preter Tense with Baulme, but it helde not. Now as the Time of Fighting drew neare, the sayd King set up in the hyghest Place of their Host, a red Cloake, to advertise the Souldiers that they shoulde shortly joyne together in Fight, that they might prepare and propose them selves thereto, takyng their Repast, and whetting their Weapons, might sharpen their Munitions ready, with all other Thinges pertayning to suche Affairs. In the Morning, after the Souldiers had dined, on both Sids without any Noyse makyng, the whole Hoast assembled to the sayde Place. Then when they had all raunged in Battayle Aray with displayed Auciontes, the said Kings besought and required their Souldiers earnestly to behave them selves wel and worthily: but it was no neede, seyng that they of themselves were already fired ynough. For al as mad Men shooke their Pikes with so great and stout a Stomacke, that they taried for nothing but to strike, and awayted nought but the Signe of the Onset and Alarme: and herupon, behold, the Trumpettes blew the Onset on both Sides. On the other Part the Earth resounded and rang againe, and in both Hoastes were made great Shoutes and Cries, the Heades of both Hostes made great Vowes to God, and every of them stomacked and cheered up their Souldiers. Then every one dyd what he coulde and knewe to be done, they strake together with great handy Strokes of Swordes, brake their Pikes, that the Ayre rang againe of the Cry of the Fighters. In the Ayre was nothyng seene but Cloudes of Smoke and Brymstone: on both Sides were great Store wounded and of dead CorpSES plenty. O there was a
goodly

goodly Sight to see the *Verbes* Defectives (among the rest) fighting against the *Nounes* Heteroclites. These *Nounes* accompanied with their Nominative Cases, with their Genders, also with their Genitives and Plurall Numbers, dyd fiercely lay upon their Enemies. The *Verbes* Defectives did stoutly and courageously withstande and put apart these *Nounes* Heteroclites, with their Indicatives, accompanied with their Preterperfect Tenses, so that by their Conjugations they brake thorowe Force, the Nombres and Genders of the other.

Of these *Verbes* there was one called *aio*, who using singular Hardinesse, did for a long Space resist two *Nounes* Heteroclites, so long that in the End being no more able to withstande their furiously Forces, lost diverse of his Persons, Modes, Tenses and Nombres, and then rested only unto hym, *ais*, *ait*, *aiunt*, *aiebam*, *aiebas*, *aiebat* and *aiebant*: the rest passed thorough the Sworde.

As the Hoastes were thus in Fight there was such a Mixture, that one knewe not an other, and they were al so fiered and fleshed to fight, that none of them al once perceyved the feareful Earthquake that was at that present, and in the same Country there: yea such a one, and so great, that it destroyed the Townes nere therto, turned the Streames of mightie Rivers the other Way upside downe, and thrust the Sea into the Floudes, and with his hideouse Roaring, overthrewe the hygh Mountaynes with a mighty Fall. But let suche be styll, that accompt that for a Tale: the Accident that happened in that same sharpe and harde Warre, wher the *Romayns* were so trounced by the *Penoys*, neare unto the Lake *Trafimene*, the Citie of *Croton* yeldeth sufficient Testimonie, whiche (as *Lucan* saith in the Booke of true Narrations) was before situate on the Brynks of the Shore of *Trafimene*, at the very present, thorough a Tempest of a Whirlewind was transported into the Mountayne, where it is at this Day. Doubtlesse of this and such like Examples lately befallen, *Titus Livius* may wel glorie in, for that he hath so great a Testimonie to have sayd Truth: for that it is sufficient to confirme the Things that he hath written. The Ayre was obscured and made darke with the Arrowes that the Numbers Singulars and Plurals shot. The Shot of the Figurs Composite and Decomposite flew whistelyng so rounde and rightely into the Eares of every one, that they were all as deafe. A great Number were hurt by the Dartes of the Kindes of Primatives, and Derivatives. The Trumpettes lykewyse that went on every Side founded a fearefull and terrible *Taratantara*, so that the Sounde thereof encouraged the Fighters marvelous ful of stomacke and hardy, to beare the Blowes and sturdie Strypes of their Enemies. And these troublous rayling Women, the Interjections that went about the Arayes, vexed and sore troubled them all, through their moved and fickle Affections: Among whom for the most parte were often hearde these pitiful and dolorous Cries, *heu* and *hei oh ab eh*. Notwithstanding this Warre was more fierce and cruel than long in fighting, and had it not bene for great Aboundaunce of Rayne, that thorough a sodayne Storme and Tempest which fell from the Cloudes even at that present, made the Medley to depart and breake off. Then doubtlesse had there bene an Ende of al the Forces of *Grammer*. Such and so great was the furious Rage that they

they had every one of them, one against another, yea untill that Pointe, that albeit the Trumpettes sounded the Retraict on both Sides, and they all greatly encombred with the Water, might neverthelesse be unmingled and separate asunder one from another, to returne them under their Ensignes.

The Victorie aboade doubtfull and incertayne, neyther was it knowne of any, whether had the better or the worse, for on both Sides there was a marvellous many, as well of fore wounded as of slayne, not only of common Souldiours, but also of the hie and chiefe Captaynes. It is not possible for any to tell the great Losses that were ther on both Sides. Notwithstanding I will assay to shewe playne and manyfestly, and in the openliest Maner I may, that which some did winne or lose there, (though I can not say of every one in particular) this will I do, to this End, that they that come after, may therto take Heede. First the Parte of the *Verbes* Defectives, in Fight lost all them that were descendent from him, all his Genders, Tenses, Modes, Persons and Numbers that were of the Fourth Conjugation, of Figure Composite, and of the Singular Number. He hymselfe (as God woulde) escaped safe, for seying hym selfe in Perill, he made a Vow, that of no Conjugation of Mariage, he wold after any more beare the Livery: and therefore he was at that Brunt so fore feared, that since he hath bene very seldome seene publicly in the Land of Grammer. *Fore* was bereft and robbed of al his Goods, execept *fores foret* and *fore*, which are of the Optative Mode, of the Third Conjugation, *vale, ave, salve*, of the Kindred and Stocke of the Imperatives (lost a great many of their Fellows) which are yet lyving, the rest were lost. *Faxo* of the same Stocke of Actives escaped only with three of his, al the rest of his Band after him were slayne, except *faxis faxit* and *faxint*, who saved them selves with him by flighty Footing. *Inquio* of the Stocke of the Neuters, kept *inquis inquit inquiunt inquam inquires inquiet inquiet inque* and *inquam*. The rest perished in the Warres. *Inquiens* at that Time was with the Participles wherof he happened well. *Apage* and *apagite* when they had lost all their Fellowes, escaped alone. *Diet* lost also all his Fellowes except *diescit*. *Facio* was put from his Sonne *facior*, who notwithstanding before he dyed, dyd constitute by knightly Testament an Heire *fio*. *Posco disco metuo timeo renuo respuo compesco urgeo linquo*, and all they of the Race of the Actives, lost their Supins. Some *Verbes* lost their Pretertenses of the Thirde Conjugation, and in Place of them, they after recovered the Pretertenses of the Fourth Conjugation: among whom was, *cupio peto quero arcesso facesso* and *fero*. Some *Verbes* having lost their Future in *am*, to the Ende that they woulde not thencefoorth wholly lose the Hope that was to come, bought other Futures in *bo* at the Faires of *racana*, as *eo queo* and *veneo* (but *Horace* by his Au^{thor}itie gave to *lenio lenibo*,) al *Verbes* belonging to Beautie lost all their Supins, among whom was *luceo fulgeo splendo polleo* and such like. *Fulcio* using a singular Hardinesse escaped out of Peril, and held his *fultum*, but seying we have recounted and told of them that receyved Losse, it is not mete to holde of no Accompt these *Verbes*, that behaving them selves wel and worthily had both Spoiles and Dignities, whiche they receyved of their King, beside these others that they first had and enjoyed: among other were elevate
and

and set up in great Honor, *ceno juro careo mereo nubo* and *prandeo*: for beside their owne Preter Tenses, they receyved also the Preter Tenses of the Passive Voice. *Redimo* was enriched in his five Senses of Nature, and at that present obteyned foure Significations, as to deliver, to leade and governe, to decke and ornate, and to take to ferme. *Solor* wan three Significations, as to be alone, and to comfort and exhort, *explicat*, beside his own Sense which is to explicate and shew foorth playnly, receyved, that he might declare, shew, that he might drawe, that he might represent and deliver. *Valeo* beside his owne Sense, which is to be in health and whole, wan so much, that when he sayd *vale*, that he might salute also, and sometime curse too. *Presto* had foure Significations as, to lend, and to be aloft, to do good, and bold Promise, with divers other Significations. *Haurio* was as much enriched, for he had foure Significations, as to draw out, to wounde, to heare and see and diverse other such lyke, and all they when Neede is are reduced in one. *Pasco* receyved two Understandings, to feede, and bring up. *Vaco* albeit he meddled not much among the Fighters (for as *Socia* sayth in *Plautus*, the fiercer they fought the faster he fledde) neverthelesse Fortune that oftentimes giveth Rewarde to the slouthfull, woulde enriche his Cowardise with the best of the Spoiles: for as he espied certaine of his Enimies that wer fled and gone away, he crept out of his Cabin and clokod them in his Fist: who after bought them againe with a great Summe of Silver, and he wan beside his owne former Sense seven other, to wete, to understande, to leave of, to serve, to be superfluous, to be lawfull, not to have, and to be empty. *Studeo* wan three Significations, as to sollicite, to desire earnestly, and to be very paynfully busied. *Pango* receyved three Senses, as to sing, and hath given to *panxi* in his Preter Tense to make Truces, and hath gyven to *pepigi* to fasten and joyne together. *Sapio* from that Day had two Senses, to wete, to give Knowledge, and to be wise. *Fero* one of the foure Anomales gayned three Senses, as to upholde, to desire, and to beare. *Confiteor* had three Senses, to praise, to purge, and to make manifest. *Supero* receyved seaven Senses by reason of the great Authentie that he had among the *Verbes*: as to remayne in part, to overcome, to be neare, to go further, to escape, to overlive and exceede. Some *Verbes* there were, whiche havynge lost their owne Preter Tenses, had of their King the Goodes of other *Verbes* Passives whiche were slayne at the Battayle: as *audeo fido gaudeo soleo* and *fio*. These pestiferous and perillous lying *Verbes*, whiche alwayes have in their Heart and Minde other than in the Mouth, albeit they had no parte of the Praie, yet ought not they and their Names to be left in Oblivion, but spoken of, to the Ende that every one might know them, and so beware: seying that alwayes under the Colour and Cloake of doing, they beare the Passive Voyce: they are called *exula veneo nubo liceo* and *vapulo*. This last of all is the most wily and subtillest: and therefore so muche wyser as the Boy is, so muche the more Heede wyll he have to decline his wily Ambushes, yf he have good Care to kepe his Buttocks. Now seying we have already shewed as well as we are able, that which happened to the *Verbes*, it seemeth good in our Accompt that we speake also of the *Nounes*. Oversight was made in and thorowe the

Hoast

Hoast of the *Nounes*, and it was found howe Fortune had bene as muche diverse to one Parte as to an other. And to the End that we begin by the Positives, there was certaine of them, that beyng hurt in their Comparatives, receyved Dressing and Cure through the Diligence of certayne expert Phisicians, as *melior minor dexterio sinisterio plus magnificentior*, and *munificentior* al irregulate, and descending of the second Declension. But *pious arduus egregius tenuis* and such lyke, lost their owne Comparatives. The *Nounes* ending in *er*, lost *imus*, in their Superlatives: and for the same they had *rimus*, as *tener*, and *saluber*. To others for that they had lost *simus* was given *limus*, as *humilis facilis gracilis similis agilis*, and to *vetus* was geven *veterrimus*. Among Trees were certayne *Nounes*, that quitting them selves manfully, by a sodayne Miracle chaunged altogether at once their Kinds, becoming of Females, Males, every one astonied at the sodayne Case, demaunded whence came suche Transformation to them: of them were *rubus* and *oleaster*, which *Titus* sayth were evyll and unluckie Tokens, and therfore affirmed he that they ought to be cast into the Bottome of the Sea, or else to be exiled out of the Lande of *Grammer*. But the King *Poeta* jestyng at the fonde Superstition that they had in the Miracles, dyd prohibite all and every of them, to harme, or any way to hurt them: saying that it was not an evyl Signe, or unhappy Accident to be chaunged from Women into Men: sayng that out of a noughty and croked Kind, they were turned into a good and better. From certaine *Nounes* Heteroclitites, fighting against the *Verbes* Defectives, were cutte away both Coddies and Cullion in the Plurall Numbre (from whiche Peryll God save us) so that afterwarde there was in that Number founde neither Man nor Woman but chaste Neuters: whiche doubtlesse is a Thyng greatly to be pitied. Their Names were *sibilus avernus infernus menalus supparus baltheus tartarus dindimus*, other had better Chaunce: for when in the same Number they were Neuters, wer glad forth with to see them become Males: as *porrum rastrum frenum* and *cælum*. But these sayde *porrum* and *rastrum*, as they went thorowe *Rome*, founde in the Markets of *Agona* their Neuter Plurals, and there they bought them againe with a great Summe of Money, and gyving leave to the Males, loved better to hold them to them there. *Balsamum* among all *Nounes* and Trees abode only a Neuter: by reason wherof seyng that he coulde not beget nor bring forth yong, is in so great Scarfitie that he is no where seene but in the Lande of *Juda*, which is the Cause (as sorowefull) he yeldeth his Fruict all in Teares: as for other *Nounes* that were bereft of their Plurall Neuter, received the Feminine for Amendes, as *epulum ostreum vesper* and *cepe*. But Truth is, of all Creatures the Oysters only were Neuters: but above al Authours *Plinie*, and the Poetes holde them for Neuters, wherefore *Ovide* sayeth thus: *Ostreaque in conchis, tuta fuere suis*, so that afterwarde they gayned so, that they became as muche Feminine as Neuters: others that were of the doubtfull Gendre, receyved the Masculine in their Plurall Numbre, as *Cardo*, *bubo*, and such lyke, other that were spoyled of all their Cases Plural, abode ever since dismembred and maymed: among whom, were *fumus limus funus pulvis sanguis mundus pontus*

tus sol sal and uous, all of the Masculine Gendre. Hardly is seene any tyme more than one Sunne in the Firmament, but when it happeneth so, it is not naturall, but rather wonderful, likewise also certayne Feminines lost their Plurall Cases, as *lux fitis labes mors vita fames tabes gloria fama salus pax bumus lues tellus senectæ soboles iuventæ indoles proles*.

*These fought so feebly in the Hoast,
That all their Plurals there they lost.*

Other Feminines lost at the sayd Conflifte their Singular Number, as *argutiæ babenæ bigæ blanditiæ cunæ delitiæ exequiæ excubiæ exuviæ phaleræ facetiæ genæ gades insidiæ induciæ caleridæ lachrymæ latebræ minæ*, and many others. Other Neuters were spoyled of all their Plurals, as *cænum fœnum avus solum pus* and *virus*. Furthermore other wer put from al their Singuler Friends: as *arma castra exta cunabula conchilia crepundia pascua mænia mapalia magnalia ilia seria precordia* and *sponsalia*, yea and almost all the Names of Feastes, as *Saturnalia Dionisia Aphrodisia Bacchanalia, Floralia* and *Neptunalia*, and all the Names of Metals, especially *aurum* and *argentum*, which every one laboured to take Prisoner, and likewise *aes famia* and *æra* in three Cases. In lyke Maner for the great Heate and Alteration of the Combat, the Measures were spoyled of the Pluralitie of their Liquors, except of Wines, and Honies, which in the Plurall Cases were spared, to the Ende that they myght do Kyng Poeta Service with newe Wines: for that he loved them well. *Oleum* and *frumentum*, by like Misfortune were so gluttonnous, that thorow the great Scarfitie that was in the Hoast, they wer not found in Pluralitie. Other abroad shortened in the Ende of their Genitives and Datives Plurall, as *jura thura æra maria* and *fora*. Yet neverthelesse all Nounes had not the worse Part: for divers of them had of the Spoyle of their Enimies: by reason wherof they were of greater Authoritie than before, so that some receyved other Nominative Cases beside their former: as *arbor* which also hath *arbos*: *honor* which hath *honos*: *odor* which hath *odos*: *cucumer* which hath *cucumis*: *ciner* which hath *cinis*, and *pulver* which hath *pulvis*. Notwithstanding they occupy these not alwayes, but kepe this Share for hie Feastes, as for trim and nice decking for Honor Sake. *Plaga* albeit through hurting he bled, yet wanne he foure other Senses without Accompt of the first, (that signifieth a Wound or Hurt:) as when he would say the arming Cord of a Net, also a great Space of the Heaven and Earth (called *Clima*), also a great kind of Linen, such as the old Matrones of Rome ware when they went in the Citie, and also for a Bed, or any part of a Bed. *Opus* the same Day wan there three Senses: for *Opus* signifieth Earth: under *Opus* he giveth Ayde, under *Opibus* Riches. The Gerundes and Supins, bicause they were so often fled to the Enemy, were amerced to fine after the Treatie of Peace was made betweene both the sayde Kings, through the earnest Complainct and Supplication of *Demosthenes* who alleaged the Lawes of *Solon*, by which it was commaunded, that such wer to be put a part from all Honor and Offices, that in any Sedition had not helde the Part of the one nor the other: for that such a one thinketh altogether of his own Businesse, and recketh not of the Common

wealth: the greatest Part then in the Lande of *Grammer* lyved after the Lawes of *Athens*. Afterwarde therfore the King of the *Verbes* left to the Gerundes no more but only three Cafes, takyng away from them for the Trespasse of their Default al their other Cafes. To the Supins only were reserved but two: whiche greatly greved all them of *Grammer*, sharply blaming such a sort of foolish Preceptes of *Solons* Lawes, as much as the fonde Reasons of *Demosthenes*, whom they jested at, saying, that he had left (his Cunnyng at home) his Distaffs Bandes and Woull, and that he had not fained squint eied Disease in vaine, to have yerely Revenues and Preferment: bycause he hoped not to have so much Money of the Gerundes and Supins, as he sometime had had of *Harpalus*. Surely yf I woulde describe forth all the Losses and Misfortunes orderly as they ought to be, and also all the Conquestes of the Worthinesse of every one that changed in that Day, my Matter would be to long. And therfore I will here make an Ende, and this may suffice, that what so ever is found lost, wasted, or joyned to, and growen up through all the Lande of *Grammer*, and his Borders and utter Limites, is wholly proceeded thorough the same harde, hideous, and mortall Fight among them. In the same Tyme of the Warres sprang up many new Wordes, and sundry olde were put apart and rejected. And had not three honest Persons ben chosen for Arbitrers (of whom we wil speake hereafter) whiche by their Power and Abilitie withstoode the Naughtinesse of certayne Grammatistes or slender Grammarians, so great Barbarousnesse had then ben mixed thorough the *Latin* Tong, and the same then ben so myngled with foolish Woordes, that all Hope had ben lost ever to restore the same againe in his Honor, and comely Beautie. Therefore after that the Retraict was blowen of both the Hoastes, and that they had numbred as well the wounded as the slayne, and had knowne the great Losse that was of the Hoastes, they all began and fell to fighting: and the Sight of suche a Slaughter of their People greatly greeved them, through Desire of Superioritie. Wherefore every of them repentyng, fought nowe nothing else than to make Peace. And first of all *Poeta* Kyng of *Nounes* after he had called his Souldiers (but not without Teares) sayde these Wordes. I thinke well that you knowe (O my Fellowes) how dolefully, and against my Will, I have taken Armes to defend and uphold the Honor (as ever sithens I thought) and the Authoritie of the *Nounes*, against our Brethren the Souldiers of the *Verbes*: and in how many Kindes I have assayed to deferre and put of long from betweene us the Warres, and they to leave us quyete in our Estate. But when I thinke not only of our owne Losse, but also of theirs, againe when I beholde the dead CorpSES on both Sides, I have greater Desire to lament than to speake. Therefore it behoveth us to remember that, which some of our good olde Citizens and Burgeses wrote of the Discorde and civile Warres, as well of the *Romaynes* as the *Grekes*, and howe with great Reproches they blame and detest the Ambition of them. In good Fayth if we had thought of this at the first, we never had gone to so great Folly, neither had we also as blinded with Anger and Rage frantikely and as voyde of Reason, torne our proper Fleshe so with our owne Handes as we have. But (as an other sayth) that which is done and past, is easier to be

be reproved than amended: neverthelesse it is better to stay thus than to followe on a noughty Beginnyng: for yf we wil be so mad as to fight with our selves thoroughly to the Ende, doubtlesse then is the Principallitie of *Grammer* utterly come to Confusion, and then shall be gyven so great an Overture and Entrie into the same to the barbarous and ignorant People, that as they will they shall rule all: seyng none shall resist them, and go before to prevent them. By reason wherof (O my Fellowes) for the Comoditie of both Realmes I am willingly determined to aske Peace with the King of *Verbes*, and of myne own free Will, will go toward him and give him my Hande. Notwithstanding, thinke not hereby that I speake it for that I have lost Stomacke, or for that I am timorous: but bycause there is nothyng more sure that the Affayres of the *Nounes* and *Verbes* can continue, unlesse they be Friends together knit and quiet in one: of my selfe I do mine Office, not doubting but that I teache you that, which serveth to the continuing Benefite and Comoditie of every one in general, being ready willingly to do what your Wil is. God graunt you Aid in al your Enterprises. The profitable Oration, and no lesse necessarie Saying of the King, greatly pleased all the Assembly, and all the Crewe of the Souldiers cried aloud, that that which the King had so wysely spoken might be right diligently done. So there was sent from the Campe of the *Verbes* for Ambassadors certayne of the Wysest of them: and so lykewyse of the Chiefe of the *Nounes*: who havynge first made without much Difficultie a Truce, finally came in such Agreement with the King of *Verbes*, and his greatest Lordes, that three Personages shoulde be chosen which should be exactly seene, and well understanding in all Customes, Rules and Termes of *Grammer*: and that at their Award and Arbitrement, (after a solemne Othe sworne thereon) both Parties shoulde hold them and their rest without any Contradiction. Great was the Difficulty, and much more was the Disputation, to whom the Charge shoulde be gyven to make the Treatie of the Peace. Many procured Meanes to have the same Office on them, and to divers was the Voyce gyven, and other againe toke it from them: In the Ende it was agreed by *Priscian*, *Servius* and *Donalt*, and also by al the others consenting, that those undernamed, should have the Charge and Authoritie to knitte and make sure the Articles of the Peace: that is to wit, *Phedra*, *Volatteran* Chanon of St. *Peters* Church, a Man of great Eloquence, and better Knowledge. Item *Peter Marsse* Chanon of Saint *Laurence* in *Damascon*, a ryght learned Man, and *Raphael Lippe* Florentine, and a great Orator, who beyng sent for, came to the Campe, and having there hearde the Reasons on both Sides, and diligently waying the Businesse of the Matter, in the End pronounced this Sentence. To the Kinges of *Grammer*, to their Gentlemen, to their Citezens, and to all Studentes to their good Happe and Commodities be that which now is discussed. We three Men deputed to take away the contentious Discords, put a part from us all the Slaunders, Wrongs and Damages that heretofore have come uppon the Kinges of *Grammer*, and their Souldiers, all which we revoke, take away, and blot out: whiche if they may not be forgotten, at the least our Decree is that they be never hereafter more spoken of. Item that hencefoorth when a

solemne Oration commeth to be made, that then both the Kinges of *Grammer* in good Agreement with their Subjects come together, as *Verbe*, *Noune*, *Pronoune*, *Participle*, *Adverbe*, *Conjunction*, *Preposition* and *Interjection*. Item we appointe that in common and familiar Speache, the *Noune*, and the *Verbe* only do beare the Burden, takyng for their Helpe whether of them they will, but to leave the other by, to the Ende that beyng put to often in Worke they be not molested. Item we ordain that the *Noune* serve to the *Verbe*, and when he goeth formost as touchyng the Case, ought also to be governed of the *Verbe*, but in Speach, that the *Noune* be before the *Verbe*, and the same beyng after ought therfore to governe the *Noune* touching his Case: but concerning his Persons and Numbres, the *Verbe* ought to give Place to the *Noune*, *Pronoune*, or *Participle*. Item we appoint that the *Participle* beare Reverence to the *Noune* and the *Verbe*, and have the Governement of the *Verbe* before hym first, and that of the *Noune* after him last. Furthermore we permit the *Verbe* to make Oration himselfe alone in the seconde and thirde Person, and to put out a part certayne *Verbes* of Action if Neede require, for that he represented not the *Noune*, but that he represented him selfe only. This Sentence was gyven and published in the Presence of both Parties, and it pleased very well all the Assemble, and hath since ever bene observed of all the Inhabitanes of *Grammer*. Also the *Stud* of *Italie* have approved it: and in especiall the learned Universitie of *Boloigne* the most loving Mother of good and forward Mindes: whiche hath given to the Court of *Rome* not only so many other great Personages, but also even in this Tyme that same ryght learned *Alexander Zambeco*, whiche never fleted from the right Point, thorowe Hope or Feare. The Universitie of *Paris* observing the rest, craved then for hir Studentes, that they might pronounce *Nounes* and *Verbes* at their Pleasure, and that without any Regarde of the Quantitie of Sillables. But bicause betwene the Relatives and Antecedentes, betwene the Adjectives and the Substantives, betwene the Word Regent, and the Governed, betwene the Determinant, and Determined, and also betwene perfect Speache and imperfect was an olde Quarel, strivyng whether of them were chiefe and greatest: it was also concluded to joyne them in Unitie, that the Relative of Substaunce identitale, shoulde agree in Gendre, Number, and Person, with his Accident. Item that the Adjective should obey to his Substantive in Case, Gendre, and Number: and that the governed Worde shoulde followe the Nature of the governing: and that the Relative of the Accident shoulde onely represent the Antecedent in such Accident or Propertie, in what Maner the Referred, and the Referrent agreed by Rule of Diversitie with the Antecedent: and that the Speache imperfect should depende upon the perfect, and the specified Worde, of the specifieng, and betwene two Adjectives, two Substantives, two *Verbes* of the Infinitive Mode two perfect Speeches, and betwene two Imperfects to be no Bonde of Service. Furthermore the said *Peter Marse* would, that betwene Sayings and Doinges might be made a Peace and Agreement: but the Advise of *Pbedrus* was, that if that Discord wer once taken away, the Barbor Surgions and Taverne Kepers, shoulde not have wheron to be occupied, wherfore they left that
 Thing

Thing even as they founde it. All Sudentes of Ignorance, with these Buffards of Barbary were by Commaundement exiled for ever out of all *Grammer*. The Barbarouse were chased beyonde the *Alpes* into their Cities and Borough Townes: but the Ignorant thorough the Favour of some Princes are bred not onely in and through *Italie*, but also in *Rome* that Mother of good Letters: and there whether she will or no, do they continue: among whom there are some beyng pourveyed of fat Livings so dull headed and doltish and so ignorant in good Letters, that if ye aske them *Amo que pars?* they wil say, *parlate Italiano chio ut intenda*, so much in assery they surpasse in Ignorance the great Mules whereon they are so highly got uppe. Moreover there was given irrevocable Power to the deputed by the strong and firme Counsell of them al to search out, to punish, and exile (as Things of Nature counterfaict) all evylfavored Masters of *Grammer*, as halfe *Latins*, halfe *Grekes*, and they to do all Things that they thought to be profitable to the Honor and Advancement of al good Letters. And to the End that they might the easier and more lightly execute their Charge, were commaunded forthwith to go and follow the *Romayne* Court wheras more Filthy-nesse and Ordure, and more mischevous noughty Prankes are displayed, than godly and honest People spring on those Parts, which Power is knownen and strengthened by great Priveledges of Emperors, and learned Bishops, and especialy by *Julius* that reverent Father, the Successours of whom God vouchsafe to make his beloved Children.

A brieve Discourse of the Assault committed upon the Person of the most noble Prince, WILLIAM, Prince of ORANGE, Countie of NASSAU, Marques DE LA VERE, &c. by *John Fauregui* a Spaniard.

MY Lord the Prince of Orange, after he had heard the Sermon in the Church on *Sunday* the xviii. Day of *March* 1582. repaired to his House, in the Place where sometime the Castel of *Antwerpe* stoode, accompanied with manye Lords and Gentlemen, of whom some dined with him. Immediatlie after he dined openly (as he was wont) in the great Hall of the sayd House, my Lordes the Counties *de Hobenlo*, my Lords his Children, and two of his Nephewes, Children of my Lorde the Countie *John* of *Nassau*, the Lords of *des Pruneaux*, and other Gentlemen accompanying him. The Dinner was passed and spent with many honest Communications and Speeches, amongst all others, was some Speeche had of the Cruelties committed by the *Spaniardes* in these *Low Countries*. A little after Dinner, the sayde Prince repayed into his withdrawing Chamber, intending to go into his Bedde Chamber with the sayd Lords and Gentlemen, and as he passed by, shewed them a Peece of Tapistrie, wherein were livelye

set forth the *Spanish* Souldiours. At the sayd Instant, a yong Man of low Stature shot at the sayd Prince with a Dagge, charged with one only Pellet, the Shot wherof hit him under the right Eare, and passed through the Pallet of his Mouth and came forth at his left Cheeke, neere unto his upper Jaw Bone: the saide Lorde (as since he hath said many Times) did not know what it was, but thought that some Parte of the House had fallen, for he felt not himself to be stricken: notwithstanding his Sight was a little while dazeled. Immediately some of the Lords and Gentlemen then next at hand, stroke the said yong Man twice or thrice into the Bodie with their Swordes, and so the sayd Princes Garde drawing nigh, made an End of him with their Haulberds. In the mean Time the sayd Prince being advertised what had happened, and the rather by feeling the Fyre that had taken hold of his Haire, and hearing the Noise about the Murderer, cried out, kil him not, I forgive him my Death: and so turning to fundrie *French* Lords, said unto them: O how faithfull a Servaunt doeth his Highnesse lose and so was straight ledde betweene two (that helde him up by the Armes) into his Chamber: for he coulde goe, and fell not with the Blow. The Brute hereof wente presentlye over all the Towne, which brought most Men into a Maze, by reason of so sodaine and unlooked for a Matter, and that in the Person of such a one, as among all Men was holden and reputed for a Deliverer of the Countrie, further, because the Murderer was presently dead, all Men judged that the Way to verifie and justifie the Facte, was quite shut up. Many and dyverse were the Speeches hereof: some through Suspition accusing others, and few hitting upon the Truth and attributing the least to them who were the very Authours indeede: so as if suche a Deede had bene committed in manye Townes where the People have the Bridle at Libertie, and may at their Pleasure run from Place to Place, it had bene likelie that some great Mischief and Inconvenience might have ensued: But in the Town of *Antwerp* (such is the Order and Obedience that all Men do yeeld to their Magistrates, Coronels and Captayns) immediately al the Citizens withdrew themselves to their Ensignes ech one in his Quarter, and the Chaines being drawne, and the Body of the Gard filled, there was no way leste for any to departe from his Garde but the Capitaines. My Lord the Duke of *Brabant* was speedily advertised of this Mishappe, and beeing at the first certified of no other than Death, he was greatly astonied, and sighing verie deeply, complained to himself of the extreme Losse which thereby he sustained: repeating oftentimes, that if the King his owne Father had bene alive againe, he could not have bene more forie for his Death, than for the Death of the said Prince: where on the other Side the Prince bewayled him no lesse, rehearsing oftentimes these Wordes: Alas poore Prince, alas poore Prince, what Pains must thou yet take? Whiles most part of his Servants that were present, as also those which at the Brute of the Newes were come in, employed themselves about the saide L Princes Person, his Sonne the Earle *Maurice*, notwithstanding his heavie Mourning, departed not from the dead Corps which he caused to be searched: and first they light upon the Dag which was fallen out of his Hands, that caused them to thinke that he had

no Meanes to use a Dagger, which they found naked in his Breeches. In the meane Season the Earle of *Hohenlo*, for Feare of further Inconvenience, causing the sayd Princes Gard and diverse Gentlemen to follow him, seased upon the Doores of the House, so to keepe all such as were not verie well knowne, from comming in or going forth. The dead Corps being further seached, they found about him certaine Papers and Pamphlets which were delivered to the said Erle *Maurice*, the which at that Instant finding one of the Servants of my Lord his Father shewed him the said Papers, and weeping saide, behold what the wicked Wretch had about him: who answered him, my Lord be not discomfited, God is mightie and able to preserve my Lord your Father, but keepe these Papers wel, for we are greatly troubled about discovering somewhat of this cursed Wretche: for otherwise in this Town we shal incur great Peril. To the which he did replie, alas I am afrayde least here be some Villaine that may take them from me, this yong Lord being the rather moved to say so, because there went a Speeche through the Hall, given forth by some, that those which had killed the Murderer, were Partakers of the Fact, and that Men might be assured of it, so that the Daunger beganne to fall likewise upon the best Friendes of the said Lord Prince, and uppon his Houshold. Upon this Talke of the sayd yong Erle, the said Servaunt tooke him under his Cloke, and said unto him, my Lord go with me, and I will lay your Papers in Safetie, whiche hee did, bringing him into the Rooffe of the House, where committing the said Papers to safe Custody, he perceived that they were written in *Spanish*, wherefore he said to the Earle, My Lord, there is no Danger to be feared on your Part, returne and cause further Searche to bee made: as for me I go to my Lord: which was done. Then the said Servant began to certifie every one, that it was a *Spaniarde*, and that Men should leave the misconceived Suspition which they had. A while after returned the sayd yong Earl, bringing mo Papers, Crosses, and an *Agnus Dei*, with a greene wax Candle, and two Pieces of Skin, like unto a Beavers: which occasioned many to be of Opinion that he had about him some Toades and Enchantments. The saide Servant began to reade the first Papers: whiche he founde to be, partlye Praiers, and partly Vowes, and then he brake the Cover of a Packet of Letters, and found that it was written in *Spanish*, by one *Spaniard* to another, of the whiche he did certifie everie Man, but would not open the rest alone. A little after came the Lord *de S. Aldegonde*, who had alreadie bene with his Highnesse, and being returned, saide to the same Servant, we must take Advise what is to be done, for there is great Trouble in the Town: wherunto he answered, my Lord, if it please you, let us withdraw our selves for a while to communicate therof, I thinke you shal finde Counsell readie: and then they wente by themselves because of the great Preeffe of People that was about them, and the saide Lord did open the rest of the saide Packet, in which were founde two Letters of Exchange, the one of 2000 Crownes, and the other of 877, with Letters of Advice, all in *Spanish*, and by *Spaniards*: the Bookes were of Services to be performed at certain set Hours: also one Jesuits Catechisme and a Paire of Tables written from one Ende to the other. Then praising God, that had
given

given them such Light of the Matter, the Lord *de S. Aldegonde* resolved to go straight to the Town House, and passing by the Gard, to assure them that it was done by *Spaniards*, whiche he did hope to verifie: and would carrie with him the Writing Tables and the most Parte of the Writings: appointing others to go to his Highnes with the other Part, to advertise him, and not to depart from his Person: which was done. In passing by, the said Lorde of *Saint Aldegonde* went also in to his Highnesse, and shewed him the sayde Papers. In the mean time was the first dressing. And the Prince was layde in his Bedde, and afterward such as were next about him and most skilfull, began to conceive some Sparke of Hope, by reason he had his Sight and spake well, especially because his Understanding and Judgement was very certaine, also that being forbidden much Speech, he wrote stedfast and quicke. While these Things were in doing, there came in one of the Captaines of the Towne, named *Lion Petit*, demaunding whether he were alive or deade, who, when the said Servant requested him to let the sayde L. Prince take his rest for that Time, affirming that he hoped of his Recoverie, answered that the People would never be content unlesse he assured them that hee had seene him: Whereupon he was caused to enter in: Then after some Speeches, demaunding what it pleased the L. Prince to commaund him, he saide: Commend me hartily to the People, and will them not to trouble themselves, and if it please God to take me to him selfe, that they obey and faithfully serve this Prince, for I know none in the Worlde better or more meete for them. His Highnesse having seen the Letters of Exchange and other the Writings brought unto him, commended them to *Martini* the Recorder of the Town, who then was with him, to cary them to the Magistrate of the Towne, and to examine those to whome the Letters of Exchange were directed: In the meane Time having assembled the Counsel of Estate, he dispatched a Commission directed unto the general Estates, the Counsell of Estate, the Magistrates of the Towne, the Coronells, Captaines, and Wardens of Occupations, with all Diligence to procede, commaunding all Men under Paine of Death to declare what they knewe concerning the sayd Murderer. Nowe had the Magistrate in the meane Time (who already had begun to procede herein, and by the sayd Papers and writing Tables had found that the Murtherer was of the House of a *Spaniard*, named *Jasper d'Anastro*) taken Order that all that were in the sayd House should be committed to Prison, which was done. But they found that the sayd *Anastro* himselfe departed the *Tuesday* before toward *Bruges*. Then were the Coronels and Captaines advertised by the Magistrate, as also all the Inhabitants by their Governours, that all this Webbe was woven by the *Spanyards*: wherupon the whole Towne grew to Quietnesse, remainyng neverthelesse in Armes, for the Assistance of Justice. At the first Examination of *Antony Venero* they could not finde any great Matter, but this onely, that they knewe the Murtherers Person: Howbeit for that he confessed that the same Day Masse had bene celebrated secretly in the sayd *Anastro* his House, at all Adventures upon Suspition they apprehended one *Antony Timmerman*, of the Order of the white Friers. Neverthelesse it was decreed, that the Mur-

derers

derers Body should be set upon a Scaffold in the Towne to shew it to the People, to the End to know it, which Thing was done: but so soone as he was seene in the great Market Place, every one knew it presently to be the Body of *John Jauregui* a Spaniard, the Servant of *Jasper Anaastro*: yea the sayde *Venero* seeing him dead, knew him. The next Morning the xix. of *March*, as all the Gates of the Towne of *Antwerp* were diligently kept, in the Morning the Post of *Bruges* arrived, who having shewed his Letters to the Garde of the River Gate, there were found Letters of the sayd *Anaastro* directed to *Venero*, which were caried to his Highnesse and to the Magistrate of the Towne. Further, the Magistrate appointed, that the same Day the Murtherers Body should be quartered, and his Head set upon the Bulwarke toward *Ril*, and his Quarters upon the foure principall Gates, which was done. The next Day his Highnesse and the Counsell of Estate decreed, that throughout all the Churches there should be extraordinarie Prayers unto God for the Health of the sayde L. Prince. Also by the Magistrate of the Towne his Apointment, the next *Wednesday* being the 21. of the sayd Moneth, was by Trumpet proclaimed throughout the Towne a generall Fast, with Common Prayers: also Commaundement was given that every Man should that Day leave all Worke, to the Ende to attend Fasting and Prayer. *Anaastro* his Letters were shewed to *Venero*, who seeing himselfe thereby confounded and convicted, and being, as by his Confession it appeareth, admonished by one of the Coronels and others, required Paper and Inke, and with his owne Hand wrote and signed his second Confession. The Prince thinking the Houre of his Decease to drawe neare, dispatched the L. S. *Aldegonde* with Letters directed to the generall Estates, wherein, as his last Counsel, he wished them to persist in his Highnesse Obedience declaring unto them that he judged him to be the onely Prince that was most fit for them, according to the Tenure whereof, the sayde Lordes sent their Deputies to his Highnesse, to advertise him of their faithfull Affection. Upon *Wednesday* following was the Fast with extraordinary Prayers celebrated, and that with such Multitude and Concourse of People, in all the Churches of both Languages, as Time out of Mind the like Numbers of People have not bene seene in the Churches of *Antwerp* neither so many weeping Eyes. Howbeit for that the Phisitions and Surgeons began to conceive some Hope of the Recoverie of the sayde Prince, the Prayers were partely mixed with Thankesgivings for this good beginning, with humble Supplication, that it might please God to accomplish his Health. Now began the sayde L. Princes Person to drawe to amendment, and dayly did his Highnesse carefully visit him, who seemed, and indeede did take great Care for him, as likewise the L. Prince did for him, uppon everye Occasion commending his Service. On the other Side, the Magistrate was as diligent in proceeding against the Offendors: so as finally he atteyned to the Truth of the whole Matter, as it wil appeare in the Depositions of the sayd Offendors. But the L. Prince hearing that they purposed to proceede to definitive Sentence, did by writing expressely commaund the L. of S. *Aldegonde*, to request the Magistrate to punish them with the easiest Death that might be: which was done: for by the Magistrates Sentence the

Wednesday 28 of the sayd Moneth they were set at a Stake upon a Scaffold in the middest of the great Market, over against the Towne House, and by the Hangman strangled, their Bodies quartered, and hanged over the chiefe Gates of the Towne, and their Heades pitched upon two of the great Bulwarkes which heretofore were part of the Castle. *Antony Timmerman* the white Frier the same Day exhibited his second Confession, wherein he acknowledged that he had bene of Opinion that the sayd *Jaregui* might with a safe Conscience execute the sayd Enterprise; but that nowe being better instructed by such good Admonitions as had bene given him, he confessed that he had erred, and therefore besought the Lords of Justice not to forget his sayd Protestation, if ever this Processe were published.

Within few Dayes after the sayd Execution, his Highnesse received from sundry Places Letters which the Prince of *Parma* had written to the Townes, wherein he endeavored to perswade them to withdraw themselves from his Obedience, laying his Foundation uppon the Death of the sayd L. Prince, whereupon the sayde Townes besought his Highnesse of Counsaile. These were the Townes: *Brussels, Gaunt, Bridges, Malines, Ipres, Audernarde, Dunkirk, Berghe*, and sundry others. Finally the Towne of *Antwerpe* also received the like Letters. *Annaastro* also sent Letters to the Towne of *Gaunt*, tending to the same Ende, which *Venero* his Deposition doth containe: so that he wrote to all Places where he had any Accesse. All the sayd Letters, as well from the Prince of *Parma* as from *Annaastro* were grounded upon the Assurance which they had conceived of the Death of the sayd L. Prince, whom God hath hitherto neverthelesse preserved, and will still of his Mercie keepe and preserve, if he please.

Hereafter followe:

The Copies of the Writings found about the Murderer.

The Depositions of the Offendors.

The Letters of *Annaastro* and the Prince of *Parma*.

The Copies of the Writings founde about the Murtherer.

JESU CHRISTO Nuestro Sennor, y la Virgen sancta *Maria* nuestra Sennora sean en mi ayuda en esta resolucion hecha para su sanctissimo servicio.

QUE su Magistad tiene dada esta orden por el amor que tiene à estos Flamencos, y por librarlos de las oppressions en que estan.

Si esto se haze, recibira el Sennor à este pueblo en misericordia, y bara con el las capitulaciones en toda ventaja d'ellos.

Offrescer les he, que dentro de ocho dias que se haga, los vendra a tomar a misericordia, mediante que al que hiziere este becho, le traten bien que sera ganancia della villa hazerlo assi, y perdonarle la vida, pues la ha empleada tan en servicio de Dios, y de su Yglesia, y de su Rey, y en bonera de toda su nacion: y el que me regalare y tratare bien, se lo pagara su Magestad su muy cumplidamente.

mente. Persuader los que se suffran, y tengan paciencia qualra o seys dias, hasta que se le passe la alteracion, que despues todo se bara tan a contento de la Villa, como nunca ellos pudieren dessear. Yo ruego a estos señores, que miren lo que baxen en tratarme bien porque en bazar lo que he becho, todas las naciones lo atribuyan a virtud, y nobleza de my nacion. Y pues a qui son todos tan virtuosos, tengan attencion a tratarme bien, hasta tomar mis confesiones muy d'espacio, y por su orden. Y sobre todo, yo me encomiendo en la misericordia de Dios.

JESUS CHRIST *Our Lorde, and the holie Virgin S. Marie our Ladie, assist mee in this my Determination, which I have undertaken for his most holie Service.*

HIS Royall Majestie hath sette downe this Order for the Love he beareth to these Flemings, and to deliver them from the Oppressions wherein they are.

This being accomplished, the Lorde wil receive these People to mercie, and he will graunt them Articles tending to their uttermost Advantage.

I will promise them, that within eighte Dayes after the Deede, they shal be received into Favour, conditionally, that they do wel entreate him that shall have done this Deed. That the Towne shall reape Commoditie by so doing, also to pardon him his Life, considering he hath so employed it in the Service of God, of the Church, and of his King, and to the Honour of his whole Nation: and hys Majestie will most liberally rewarde anye that shall furnishe him of Things requisite, and well entreate him.

They muste bee perswaded patiently to beare for foure or fixe Dâyes, until thys Alteration be over: whiche being paste, all Things shall be ordered to as great Contentation of the Towne, as themselves could ever wishe.

I beseeche these Lordes well to weigh what they doe in wel using of mee: because that, accomplishing this Deede that I have done, all Nations will attribute it to the Vertue and Nobilitie of my Countrey.

In so muche therefore, as all Men here bee so vertuous, they muste determine, wel to entreate mee, yea, so farre forth, as at Leysure, and as Order requyreth, to take my Confessions. And above all, Things, I commend me to the Mercie of God.

JESUS MARIA.

A Vos Redemptor y Salvado del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra, Sennor Dios Jesus Christo, siendo servido concederme esta victoria a mi todo misera, muy infelice peccador, y vuestro siervo, por a quellas preciosissimas cinco ilagas y la preciocissima corona de spinas y los vuestros preciosissimos grandissimos trabajos, angustias, arrastradas, bofetadas, maldezires: e hiel y vinagre sobre aquella beuistes, vos todo poderoso Sennor Dios Jesu Christo Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra, todo por salvar a los peccadores del munda, y a mi todo muy infelice peccador: y como a tal os suplico muy
F 2 humilmente

humilmente seays servido concederme esta victoria contra este Pagano, Violador de vuestro Templo divino, Ruina de vuestra religion, sancta catholica y Romana y el que es occasion de tanto dessassossiego a la vuestra Cbristiandad, y pestilencia que no attiende sino en sustentar maldades, vellaquertas y ruynas. O todo poderoso Sennor Dios Jesu Christo Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra a vos os supplico muy humilmente seays servido no permitir que este malvado use de mas ruinas, y conceder a mi muy indigno peccador la gracia, animo y valor, paraque despues de las vuestras preciosissimas manos pueda ser acabado por mi. De manera que ninguno de quien yo voy vencerle, despues de vos Sennor Dios Jesu Christo Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra pueda aver poder contra mi. Pero despues siendo vos altissimo Sennor Dios Jesu Christo Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra siendo servido de que yo dexe aqui esta miserable vida, soy muy contento se a assi, y siempre como vos Sennor Dios Dios fuere des servido. Y assi os suplico de todo coraçon todo poderoso Sennor Dios Jesu Christo, por a quella vuestra preciosissima passion seays servido concederme constancia y paciencia, paraque yo misero muy infelice peccador pueda sobrellevar y suffrir qualquier genero de pena que me dieren, que a todo (como soy obligado) prestare muy humilde cora on, siendo vos todo poderoso Redemptor y Salvador del mundo, Criador del cielo y de la tierra servido.

JESUS MARIA.

TO the Redeemer and Saviour of the Worlde, Creator of Heaven and Earth, Lord God, Jesus Christe: If it please thee to graunte this Victorie unto me moste miserable wretched Sinner, and thy Servaunt, for the Love of thy five most pretious Woundes, and thy moste pretious Crowne of Thorns, and thy most pretious grevous Labours, Anguishes, Torments, Stripes, and Injuries, and the Gall and Vineger, which besides all thys thou diddest drinke, even thou the Almighty Lord God, Jesus Christe, the Redeemer and Saviour of the World, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, and al to save the Sinners of this World, and among the rest, me, the most unhappie Sinner: and as fuche a one I doe moste humbly beseeche thee, that it maye please thee, to grant me this Victory against this Heathen, Defiler of thy holy Temple, and Subverter of thy holy Catholik Romane Religion, who is the Cause of so many Disquiets throughout thy Christendome, and fuche a Pestilence as is busied only in upholding Wickednesse, Villanies, and Dissolations. O most mightie Lorde God Jesus Christ, Redeemer and Saviour of the World, Creator of Heaven and Earth, I do most humbly beseech thee, that it maye please thee no longer to suffer this Wretch to worke farther Desolations: Farther, that thou wilt graunte unto me an unworthye Sinner, fuche Favour, Courage and Valiancie, as by thy moste pretious Handes I maye accomplishe this Thing, in fuche wise, as none of those that doe belong to him, whom, (with thy Helpe, Lorde God, Jesus Christe, Redeemer and Saviour of the World, Creator of Heaven and Earth) I purpose to overcome, may have any Power against me. Howbeit in as much as thou arte the Supreme Lord God Jesus Christ, Redeemer and Saviour

viour of the Worlde, Creator of Heaven and Earth, if it please thee, that I leave this miserable Life, I am well content, that it be so, and ever Lorde God, thy Will be done. Thus most mightie Lord God, Jesus Christ, I beseech thee with my whole Hart, for the Love of thy most pretious Passion, that it may please thee to graunte me Constancie and Patience, that I most miserable Sinner may beare and endure whatsoever kinde of Tormentes maye be laide upon me, whereunto I will have, as I ought, a most humble Heart: if so it seeme good unto thee O most mighty Redeemer and Saviour of the World, Creator of Heaven and Earth.

Al Angel san Gabriel me encomiendo con todo mi spiritu y coracon, paraque agora y sienpre me sea mi intercessor a nuestro Sennor Jesu Christo, y a su hijo preciosissimo, y a la Virgen sancta Maria, y a todos los Sanctos y Sanctas de la corte del cielo de guardarme y encaminarme y tenerme de su bendita mano sin que yo sea muerto subitamente, y me de gracia paraque pueda conseguyr el buen zelo que tengo de saler con aquel effeeto. Yen memoria desto prometo de ayunar toda una semana entera (despues de ver me libre desto) a pan y agua, y de rezar, &c.

In the tenth Page.

I do with my whole Minde and Hearte, commende me to the Aungell Sainct *Gabriel*, to the Ende, that nowe and ever he may be my Mediatour to our Lorde Jesus Christ and to his most pretious Sonne, and to the Virgin *Mary*, and to all he Saincts and she Saincts of the heavenly Court, that he will keepe and conduct me; and with his blessed Hand uphold me from sodaine Death, and to graunt me Grace to attaine to the Effect of my good Zeale. In Remembraunce whereof I doe promise, that if I escape free from this Deede, I will for one whole Week fast Breade and Water, and pray.

De ayunar todos los Viernes a intercession de la passion de nuestro Sennor Jesu Christo, y todos los Sabados a invocation de nuestra Sennora la Virgen Maria, paraque yo sea guardado deste transito, y me encamine a dar fin a este effeeto.

In the fourteenth Page.

To fast everie *Fryday* in Commemoration of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and everie *Saturday* for the Invocation of our Ladie the Virgine *Marie*, to the Ende I may be preserved from this Perill, and that she may guide me to the Ende of this Enterprise.

Hecho en la carcel desta villa de *Anveres* à veinte de *Marco*, del Anno 1582.

En presentia del S. *Malgrave*, *Godefrido Montens*, *Jacoma Zuerio*, y *Ludovico Blomarte* Esclavines d'ella.

ANtonio de Venero preso, hijo de Juan, Espannol nascido de Bilbao en Biscaia, de edad de dies y nueve à veinte annos tentendo los libros de Gasper d'Annastro, mercador Espanol, dize aver morado con el dicho Annastro mas de dos annos.

Preguntado

Preguntado si y no sabe quien ha escrito un papel o bilette muestrado à el declarante ballado sobre el muerto, el qual el domingo passado ha tirado con un pistolete la persona de su Excellentia, el Principe d'Orange, commençando el dicho billette: Nuestro Sennor Jesu Christo, &c. Dize ser escrito por mano de Juan de Jaureguy.

Preguntado quien es el dicho Juan de Jaureguy? Dize ser Espanol de Bilbao en Biscaya, sobrino de Pedro d'Orosco, mercader Espannol en Brujas, el qual Juan vino morar con el dicho Anaistro cerca el mez de Julio passado, aviendo mientras escrito y copiado las cartas del dicho Anaistro y lo que le mando.

Stendo al declarante muestrado el muerto y preg', si aquel es Juan de Jaureguy sobredicho? Dize que si, y que el aviendo el dicho Domingo oydo la missa salio de casa cerca las onze horas antes de comer, y avia entrado y salida la casa tres o quatro vezes.

Preguntado quien avia dictado al dicho Juan el dicho billette? Dize que esta cierto que se lo deve de aver dictado el dicho Anaistro, por que el no tenia Juyzio para hazerlo de si.

Seyendo preguntado si no conocia el pistolete, que le fué mostrado, con el qual es herido su Excellentia por el dicho Jaureguy? Dize aver visto el mismò pistolete o semejante à el, passado seis mezes en casa del dicho Anaistro, y que dicho Anaistro ha embiado otros tres como ellos en Espanna, el uno à Don Fernando de Arieta, y el otro à Don Diego d'Alva, y el tercero à Pedro Lopez d'Arieta, sin que sabe quien los pueda aver fecho, quanto costaron, o quien les pago, sea el dicho Anaistro o su caxero.

Preguntado donde vienne, y quien ha hecho la vela de cera verde en que esta abaxo imprimido el senal de la crux, que el dicho Jaureguy tenia sobre su cuerpo nado con una medailla del Salvador y la Imagen de Nuestra Sennora Maria todo muestrado à el declarante? Dize que es una de las velas que se da à algun passagero visitando el Monasterio en Burgos en Espana, adonde esta el Crucifixo, y la Imagen esta hecha de los Jesuites en Madrid: pero no sabe como el dicho Jaureguy ha cobrado lo sobredicho.

Preguntado que fueron las postreras palabras que el dicho Juan ha tenido con el declarante? Dize que la postrera vez que le hablo dixo que estava muy bien determinado para executar y accomplir su empresa, pues que se avia confessado, y que por esso seria bueno que el declarante le salvasse, sobre que el declarante le respondió que non savia adonde yr, o salvar se: por estar cargado de los libros y papeles del dicho Anaistro su amo, y que por esso quedaria cereo dellos como le avia prometido.

Preguntado à quien el dicho Jaureguy se avia confessado? Dize à cierto frayle llamado Padre Antonio.

Preguntado si el dicho Padre Antonio non ha savido d'esta empresa, quando, y parquien? Dize que el declarante no ha comunicado delle con el Padre Antonio, ny ha oydo que ninguno en publico, ny secreto aya comunicado con el salvo que el dicho Juan de Jaureguy le dixo que se avia confessado con el dicho Padre Antonio, y tratado d'esto negocio, y que eran en el Anaistro, Jaureguy y el declarante, y que le avia absuelto dello.

Preguntado

Preguntado si no save si el dico Gaspar de Anaastro o otro uviessse semejante empresa sobre la persona de la Sereniss. Reyna de Inglaterra, o sobre la del Sereniss. Ducque de Anjou? Dize que piensa quo non.

Preguntado si conofce la carta escrita en Dunquereque à xvi. de Março, donde la sobrescription y tenor le fue preleydo? Dize que si, y ser escrita por las proprias manos del dicho Anaastro: y tambien la otra carta ferrada en ella es fuya, y por el escrita.

Preguntado si la carta escrita en Grevelingues à xvii. d'este mez de Março estat tambien escrita por el dicho Gaspar Anaastro? Dize que si, y todo effo para que se effectuasse esta empresa como parefce por el contenido d'ellas.

Preguntado si el dicho Jaureguy no tenta alguncavallo presto, o otro remedio para salvar se despues de aver cometido el delito? Dize, que no: pero que estava determinado de morir aviendo hecho el dicho efeto; y que era tan induzido del dicho Annaastro para hazer dicho efeto, que parefcia, que era encantando, y que yva muy alegremente, para hazerlo fuera la caza del dicho Anaastro despues que avia oydo la missa, y aviendo almorzando bibido un golpe de Bastardo.

Preguntado quien era el hombre à cavallo temiendo de diestro otto cavallo ensilado paseando se al tiempo del dicho efetto delante la corte de su Excell. Dize dello no saber nada y que libramente declarara lo que dello supiera, pues que tiene declarado lo que mas importa, y fennaladamente no sabe d'ello cosa alguna.

Seyendo propuesto al dicho declarante que oviese de nombrar y mostrar todos los que conofcia, o sabia que podrian aver sabido de la dicha empresa. Dize que persona del mundo, ny de dentro ny de fuera d'esta villa sabe hablar de la dicha empreffa, mas que dicho declarante, y el dicho Jaureguy y Gaspar d'Annaastro y Juan de Yfunca, y su hijo Pedro de Yfunca.

Done in the Prison of this Towne of Antwerpe the 20. of March 1582. in the Presence of my Lorde the Maregrave, Godfrey Montens, James Zuerius and Lewes Blommart, Shirifes of the said Towne.

Anthony de Venero Prisoner, the Sonne of John, a Spaniard born in Bilbao in Biscay, of the Age of nineteen or twenty Yeres, Keeper of the Booke of Accompts of Jasper of Annaastro a Marchaunt and Spaniard borne, saith, that he hath dwelt with the sayd Annaastro about two Yeares.

Being asked whether he knew who writ a certaine Paper, or Remembraunce which was there shewed to the sayde Anthonie, which Bill was founde about the dead Bodie of him who the Sunday before had discharged a Dagge against the Person of his Excellencie, the Prince of Orange, which Bill beganne, Our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. He saith that J. Jaureguy writ it with his own Hande.

Being demaunded what that J. Jaureguy is? He saith he is a Spaniard of Bilbao in Biscay, the Coosin of Peter of Orofco Marchaunt and Spaniard borne, remaining at Bruges, which John came about the Moneth of July last past, to dwel with the said Annaastro, where hitherto he hath bin emploied in copying the Letters of the sayd Annaastro, and in whatsoever else he commaunded him.

The dead Corps being shewed to the sayd Deponent, and he asked whether it were the aforesayd *John Jaureguy*? He sayth yea, and that the sayd *John* having the *Sunday* before heard Masse, departed out of the House about Eleven of the Clocke before Noone, after he had three or foure Times gone out and in at the said House.

Being demaunded who penned the saide Bill for the sayd *John*: he sayth that the saide Bill should surely be, of the penning of the said *Annaastro*, because the said *John* was not of Understanding sufficient to have done it.

Being demaunded whether he knew not the Dagge which was shewed him, and wherewith the sayd *Jaureguy* wounded his Excellencie: He sayth that he hath seene the same Dagge or the like of it above fixe Monethes since in the House of the sayd *Annaastro*, who sent three others like the same into *Spaine*. One to *Don Ferdinand* of *Arieta*, an other to *Don Diego* of *Alva*, and the third to *Peter Lopes* of *Arieta*: but he knoweth not who made them, how much they cost, either who payed for them, whether the sayd *Annaastro* or his Pursebearer.

Being demaunded, from whence came or who made the greene Waxe Candel, upon the nether Ende whereof the Signe of the Crosse was painted, which the sayd *Jaureguy* bare upon his naked Bodie together with a Quoine of the Saviour, and the Image of our Ladie *Marie*, all which was shewed to the sayd Deponent, he saith that it is one of the Candels which usually are given to Pilgrimes when they visite the Monasterie where the Crucifixe of *Burgos* in *Spaine* doth stand: and that the *Jesuites* made the Image at *Madrid*, but of whom the sayd *Jaureguy* had them he wotteth not.

Being demaunded what were the last Words that the said *John* used unto the sayd Deponent: He sayeth that the last time he spake with him he sayde unto him, that he was fully determind to execute and accomplish his Enterprise, considering he was alreadie shriven, wherefore it were good that the sayd Deponent saved himselfe. Whereunto the sayde Deponent aunswered, that he wist not whether to goe or where to save himselfe, for that he stood charged with his sayd Master *Annastras* Bookes and Writings, and therefore that according to his Promise he would remaine with them.

Being demaunded to whom the sayde *Jaureguy* was shriven, he saith to a certaine Monke named Father *Antony*.

Being demaunded whether the sayd Father *Anthony* knew of their Enterprise, when or by whom: he saith that he this Deponent never conferred with the sayd Father *Antonie*, neither knew that any other conferred with him either secretly nor openly, except that the sayde *John Jaureguy* tolde him that he had confessed himselfe to the sayd Father *Anthony*, and had conferred with him of this Matter, whereunto *Annaastro*, *Jaureguy* and he the Deponent were privy, and that he had absolved him.

Being demaunded whether he knewe, whether the sayd *Jasper Annaastro* or any other had framed the like Practice against the most noble Queene of *England*, or against the most noble Duke of *Anjou*? sayth that he thinketh no.

Being.

Being demaunded whether he knewe the Letter written from *Dunkirke* the 16th of *March* the Superscription and Tenure whereof were red unto him, sayth, yea, and that *Annaastro* wrote it with his owne Hand. Also that the other Letter inclosed therein, is of the same sort, and likewise written by him.

Being demaunded whether the Letter written from *Graveling* the 17. of this Moneth of *March* were wrote by the sayd *Annaastro*, he sayth yea, and that all was done for the attayning to the Execution of this Enterprise, as is evident by the Contentes of the same.

Being demaunded whether the said *Faureguy* had any House readye, or any other Meane to save himselfe after the Execution of this Trespasse, he sayth, no: but that he was fully resolved to die after he had brought this Offence to passe: for the sayd *Annaastro* had so perswaded him to doe this Deede, that he seemed even bewitched: in suche wise as after he had hearde Masse, and broken his Fast, having drunke a good Cuppe of Bastard he departed very cheerefully out of the House of the sayd *Annaastro*.

Being demaunded what he was who being on Horseback and leading a spare Horse saddled walked up and downe before his Excellencies Court at the same Time that this Deede was done: he sayth, that he knew nothing thereof: also that freely he would shew whatsoever he knewe, considering that he hath alreadye declared unto them Matters of greater Importance: and that hereof especially he is ignorant.

The sayd *Venero* being willed to name and reveale all those whome he knewe or thought to be privie to any Thing concerning the sayde Enterprise: he sayeth that neither one nor other, neither in the Towne nor other where, are able to speake any Thing of his Enterprise, but himselfe, this Deponent, *Faureguy*, *Jasper* of *Annaastro*, *John* of *Hunca*, and his Sonne *Peter* of *Hunca*.

La Deposition de *Antonio Venero*: la quelle de son propre mouvement il a faicte, & volontairement escript & souffignée de sa propre main.

YO Antonio de Venero, vezino de Bilbao, hijo de Juan de Venero, de edad de diez y nueve a veynte annos poco mas o menos, asistente en la casa y negocios del Gaspar de Annaastro vezino de Victoria, desde veynte dias del mes de Enero del anno de 1580. hasta treze de Março de 1582. declaro lo siguiente que me ha acontecido con el dicho Gaspar de Annaastro, siendo preguntado dello del Senor Malgrave, Burgomaestre, y Esclavineo desta villa de Anberes, diziendo la verdad sobre juramenta, y sobre mi alma y mi consciencia, promettienno dezir toda la verdad sin encubrir cosa alguna, por averme prometiendo los dichos Sennores Malgrave, Burgomaestre, y Esclavines a intercession del Sennior Estevan Roquen Coronel de la dicke villa de Anberes, de diziendo todo lo que me consta, de darme muerte honrosa y a medita de mi desseo y contentamiento, y Saferdote para confessarme y comulgarme por lo que roca à la honra de mi linnage. E yo el dicho Antonio de Venero confiendo en la palabra y nobleza de los dichos Sennores de que assi lo cumplan, digo lo siguiente.

Primeramente, es, que Juan do Yfunca vezino de Victoria, proveedor de fue de las armadas en estos estados, escrivio al dicho Annaastro una carta de Lisboa, aura diez meses poco mas menos, en que le pedia diversos menages, sin aerle escripto hasta entonces, diciendole que teria por cosa nueva el aver carta suya, mas que lo hazia por estar en Lisboa, supplicandole le embiasse lo que pedia. Y el dicho Gaspar de Annaastro le respondio con palabras cortesanas, escusando se de no embiar selos, aviendolo becho por no averle embiado dineros, y por verse a la sazón rico, y sin gana de fiarle lo que le pedia. Y el dicho Juan de Yfunca respondio à estio, rogandole se los embiasse, porque le hazian mucha falta, ballandose en Lisboa por conservar su autoridad, atento que entendia que su Magestad le queria dar un cargo muy honroso, y que lo hiziesse, porque le communis carta un negocio de grandissima importancia, y que redondaria en gran bien, honor, y beneficio suyo. Otra vez le respondio con nuevas escusas, y d'estilo cortesano, y en effeeto jamas le embio dichos menages: pero le escrivio que que negocio podia ser el que lo cometia, y de tanta importancia, y que se lo avisasse. Estas des cartas arribavi yo el dicho Antonio de Venero, y despues vino la respuesta d'esta carta, en que el dicho Juan de Yfunca declaro el negocio, y leyo la carta: y de entonces aca me ordenò a mi el dicho Antonio de Venero que no le abriessse ninguna carta que viniessse cerrada à la corte sana. Y en este tiempo, que pudieron ser cinco o seys meses, poco mas o menos, anduvieron los dichos Juan de Yfunca y Gaspar de Annaastro en demandas y respuestas, escrimiendo se cartas unos a otros con mucho secreto, y el dicho Gaspar de Annaastro le respondia en su camara siempre de su mano, cerrando las cartas con lacre, y lo mas disfraçado que podia. En todo este tiempo estuve yo el dicho Antonio de Venero inocente de tal caso echando imaginacion, que le tratava casamiento con la hija de Juan Ruyz de Vergara, hermano de Francisco Ruyz de Vergara, que ha vivido en Anberes, por aversele escripto al dicho Gaspar de Annaastro donna Maria de Yfunca su madre, y que como sabian estava rico, qui era de los mas qualificados de dicha Victoria, se la darian con muchos ducados. Y como digo yo el dicho Antonio de Venero entendi que estos serian los secretos y que tardauan en resolverse, porque pediria el dicho Annaastro aun mas dote de lo que offrescian, por gozar con mas larguesa de su gravedad. Despues parece ser que se perdieron dos naos Flamencas que yvan a Laredo, y que fue robada en Plemua la nao de Philipe Dorio que yva tambien à Biscaya. En las quales dichas tres naos tuvo muy gruessas perdidas, de que el se vio con grandissimo trabajo y descontento de espiritu, sin saber que hazerse para poder passar adelante con su honor. En este instante escrivio el dicho Juan de Yfunca al dicho Gaspar de Annaastro, sin saber lo yo tampoco, yera que hiziesse matar a su Excellencia el Principe d'Orange, y que lo tenta tratado con su Magestad en grandissimo secreto, sin que nadie lo supiesse, sino entre los dos: y avia becho hazer à su Magestad una capitulacion firmado de su mano, en que le prometia, despues de sabido la nueva cierta de la muerte de su Excellencia, ochenta mil ducados en dinero, o el valor d'ellos en renta, y un habito de Sanctiago, y que esto estava por escrito, y que aun haria otras muchas cosas, de darle cargos honrosos: porque avia dicho y assegurado el dicho Juan de Yfunca à su Magestad, que el dicho Annaastro era un hombre de muy claro entendimiento, y de muchas prendas. En este instante ami el dicho Antonio de Venero no me

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consta que este negocio lo supiese persona nascida: antes me asseguro al parecer mio, que por ninguna cosa del mundo se descubriera el dicho Gaspar de Annastro de ninguna nacion estrangera para tal caso. Y puesto caso que en Anberes no ay Espannoles à quien poder lo descubrir, torno à dezir, que verdaderamente me parece que no lo dixo à persona ninguna, y esto affirmo assi por poder penetrar de otra cosa. Ahora traceste tiempo, aura como un mes, tuvo recelos de otra desgracia nuevamente, de que devian de ester attaiados de baziendo de mercaderes, con quien el tentamuy gruesso interesse, de qui antidad de nueve mil quinientas libras de gruesso, poco mas o menos de mercaderias qu'el le avia embiado, y cargazones que avia hecho para embiar à ellos, por cuenta de algunos, Ingleses de Londres, y par letras de cambio que avia acceptado y pagado llanamente por ellos. Y viendo se in tantos trabaios, y que d'este ultimo el no tenia culpa alguna, pues si a el le bazias bancoroto con tanta summa, el no lo podia remediar en ninguna manera, de se ausentar tambien. Y en este instante me llamó à su camara a mi el dicho Antonio de Venero, y encargandome mucho el secreto, y llorando muchas lagrimas, me dixo la substancia declarada, y de lo tratado con el dicho Juan de Yfunca, y me mostro algunas cartas de las qu'l dicho Juan de Yfunça le avia escripto, en que le bazia buenas todas las promessas suso decluradas, y las cartas venian escriptas diebolica e ingenio samente sin firma, y el dicho Juan de Yfunça parece ser que dio cuenta del negocio en Espanna a un hijo suyo que estava en Madrid, llamado Pedro de Yfunça le Queytio, y este mismo tambien le escrivia por muy buen termino, assegurandole la misma substancia con muchas prendas, y firmandose en la firma Apodaca. Estas cartas quemo en el aposento despues de averme mostrado (como digo) la substancia d'ellas. Y en esto comenso à discurrir con migo, dizendo, que no queria verse a resistir tantas affrentas, como se le apare-tavan, y que se queria encomendar à Dios de todo coraçon, y matar el mismo à su Excellencia el Principe de Orange: y que si le acavassen, por cierto que el que-ria quador alli, por que era mejor morir, que no vivir (siendo el quien era) en affrenta, de que le dixiessen por el en la bolsa de Anberes, mirad aquel hombre que a hecho bancaroto, y que llegandolas cosas a este termino ninguno, consideraria à que no era la culpa suya: sino echarle mucha culpa quando no la tuviesse, y que devia muchos dineros en Anberes a los principales, y que tenian mando en la tierra, y le perseguirian cruelmente, y que assi determinava de morir, y que y a sabia que llevaba la muerte tragada: pero que conesto se encubriria, y que no se atribuyria a dar nombre de bancaroto à su desgracia. Todo lo dezia llorando. E yo viendole tan desconsolado, llorava mucho mas, y le roguè, que por amor de Dios no buscase con sus manos la muerte, y que tuviesse paciencia de las cosas que Dios bazia, y que pues no era suya la culpa, resistiesse al trabajo que le sobre-venia, mostrando rostro a sus acreedores, y la rason en la mano, que le destruyan Pedro Nunnez de Arbulu, y Pedro de Cubiaur, y que con esto se suffriesse. El me respondia, que no ternia rostro para mirar à nadie, y que assi estava en su proposito, e yo se lo contradexia mucho, diziendo otra vez, que lo encomendasse todo à Dios y aguardasse à la desgracia. En estas platicas (que eran undia de labor à la tarde, despues de la bolsa) entro en su aposento Andres de la Maça que vive en casa, innocente de todo, y assi se quedo esto assi sin boblar mas d'ello a quello noche por respetto della venida del dicho Andres de la Maça. Otro dia

à la mannana (estando en su camara) me embiè à llamar, y dixo, Pues como os va, Antonia hermano? y le respondi, que con mucha tristeza: y me comencò tratar otar vez de lo passado, y que si el no matava à su Excellencia, no sabia à quien encomendarse si yo no fuesse pronar laventura con Juan de Jaureguy, vezano de Bilbao, cryado suyo, que ayudava à escrivir en el contador, porque le parescia moço determinado para qualqui era cosa, y pobre. E yo el dicho Antonio de Venero le respondi, que seria grandissimo cargo de consciencia, que el dicho Annaistro dieffe occasion que muriesse el dicho Juan de Jaureguy mala muerte, porque (como querian tanto à su Excellencia en toda la tierra) quando lo acabasse de hazer, le harian pieças. El dezia, que no, sino prenderle, y saber del à que fin lo avia hecho, y que en esto se passarian ocho dias, despues que el vuisse hecho el effeeto, y que para esto podia partir el dicho Annaistro de Anberes quatro dias antes que el lo hiziesse, y yria à Cales, y de alla despacharia un correo à Ravayn, que es Pedro de Ysunça le Queytio, hijo de Juan de Ysunça, en que avisasse à su Magestad, que avia salido para tal effeeto, y que quedava concertado, y que de Cales yria al campo del Principe de Parma. Y quando supiesse la nueva de la muerte, embiaria aca desde el campo una trompeta, pidiendo salvassen al dicho Juan de Jaureguy la vida, y que el mesmo Gaspar de Annaistro e screviria sobre el negocio, declarandose à algunos canigos de la villa, pidiendo do la vida del dicho, y embiando firmas en blanco del Principe de Parma, paraque estos Sennores pidiessen lo que quisiessen en su vontaya de la religion-frera, y todo lo demas, y que con esto auria paz despues de muerto el Principe de Orange. En esto entro à lacramara un muchacho Flamenco del dicho Gaspar de Annaistro, que le llevo consigo, llamado Juanico, y lo dixo, que llamasse à Juan de Jaureguy et qual est ava escribiendo en el contador y vino, y quando entró, me dixo à mi que me saliesse del aposente, y quedo con el en el aposente platicando. Y de alli un rato me llamó à mi, y dixo que Jaureguy queria hazer aquello por amor d'el, y por su honra, y que le avia mostrado un punnal con que lo avia de matar, estando en la tabla, o en conversacion, y meterle el punnal por detras de la oreja, y passarle, y que el Jaureguy lo queria hazer de buena gana: à mi me dixo que me parescia, y le respondi, que mirasse por lo que tocava a la consciencia, y que si tal fuesse, padecerian muchas muertes los Espanoles que estavan en Anberes, de pesar de ver muerto, al Principe si le mataassen, y que yo me queriayr de la tierra por no peligrar de la vida: y me dixo, que nó tuviesse miedo, que como el Jaureguy dixisse la verdad claramente, no tocarian en la casa, nó harian cosa ninguna. En esto aconsejo ad Jaureguy que por amor de su honra y d'el, que quedasse resuelto el hecho, y que aquel mismo dia fuesse à espiar como comia su Excellencia, y assi lo hizo tres o quatro vezes: y dezia, que tenia gran esperança de hazerlo, y aqui tenia grandes platicas con el Jaureguy, como persona que avia de acometer tal cosa. Y pensando mas en ello, à la postre estuvieron en duda, de si seria con punnal, o pistolete. Y el Jaureguy dezia que nunca avia tirado pistolete, ni sabia como tirarle: y le dixo, que lo fuesse à provar en alguna parte con algun amigo, diciendo que el dicho Jaureguy fuesse Flamenco, y que no hablasse otra lengua: y le dixo, de si, como lo hizo. Andando en esto, llego cartade Londres, en que dezian, que Pedro de Cubiaur era ausentado, y con esta occasion le to mo grangana de yrse, y se de spedio en la

la bolsa de algunos, y se fue arrebatadamente. El Martes, ò Miercoles despidiendose de todos los de casa inocente mente para bolver luego (salvo del dicho Juan Jaureguy, y de mi el dicho Antonio de Venero) y me escrivio desde Bruias dos cartas, la una general, y la otra d'este negocio: de que la general mostre à Mortin de Varron, Pedro de la Penna, Antonio Spinola, y à algunos otros, y despues la queme, y di la otra carta al dicho Jaureguy, y la leyó, porque dezia le parezia fuesse con pistolete, y el otro dixo que estava bien, y que assi lo baria y lo dezia con mocha alegria, y quemo tambien la otra carta, y me dixo, que se queria confessar, y se fue fuera de casa à bazarlo, sin que yo preguntasse al dicho Jaureguy con quien, y me dixo se avia confessado y comulgado, y despues estava ya presto para bazarlo quando el qui siesse, sin aguardar à nada. Y assi este Domingo passado, diez y ocho d'este oyo Missa en casa como à las onze horas, y despues se fue, e hizo loque parece ser, que cierto aun yo lo no se. Y para de scargo de mi consciencia digo que no me consta que tenga ninguno otro culpa en este negocio: y que assi los que mas estan presos deven ser sueltos y libres, por hallarlos yo inocentes. Y si à mi el dicho Antonio de Venero (por aver descubierta mi coracon, y dicho quanto he podido y se me ha acordado) quisieren V. S. bazer misericordia de salvarle la vida (pues el que hizo el mal es muerto, e yo no fuy auñtor d'ello) lo reconoscere toda mi vida.

El dicho Gaspar de Annastro nos prometio al dicho Juan de Jaureguy, y à mi el dicho Antonio de Venero, qui si a quello se bazia, nos ternia por proprios hijos, y que no auria cosa partida, sino que su hazienda seria nuestra propria: y otras palabras desta manera. Y el dicho Jaureguy dixò, que no queria ninguna cosa, y que lo bazia por amor d'el, y por aver comida su pan, e yo le quité el sombrero temblando, y dandole à entender como temia de la muerte, y el me assegurava que no me tocarian en un pelo de la cabeza.

Sousigné.

Godefridus Montens.

Zuerius.

Blomart.

ANTONIO de VENERO.

Siendo esta confession preleyda al dicho declarante fuera de la carcel debaxo del cielo, ha persistidio en ella, liendo assi verdad en presentia de los Esclaves aqui abaxo firmado fecho á xxvi. de Marco. 1582.

Zuerius.

Blomart.

The Deposition of Anthonie Venero, which of his owne Motion he made, and willinglie writ and subscribed with his owne Hande.

I *Anthonie of Venero, borne in Bilbao, the Sonne of John of Venero, of the Age of 19. or 20. Yeares little more or lesse Assistant in the House and Affaires of Jasper of Annastro borne in Victoria, from the 20. Daye of Januarie, 1580. unto the xiii. of March 1582 do as followeth declare, what hapned unto me*
with

with the sayd *Jasper* of *Annastro*, being thereof examined by my Lordes the *Marcgrave*, *Borrowmaisters* and *Shirifes*, of this Towne of *Antwerpe*, and do promise uppon my Oathe, Soule and Conscience, to shew the whole Truth thereof: not to cloke or conceale anye Thing, wherupon the saide Lordes, the *Marcgrave*, *Borrowmaisters* and *Shirifes*, have by the intreatie of the Lord *Stephen Racquet Coronel* of the saide Towne of *Antwerpe*, promised me, that confessing whatsoever I do knowe, they wil grant me an honorable Death, agreeable to my Desire and Contentation, with a Prieste also to confesse me and to conferre withall, because it concerneth the Honour of my Stock: I *Anthonie* of *Venero* reposing myselfe upon the Word and Nobilitie of the saide Lords, touching the Accomplishment thereof, do say as followeth.

First that *John* of *Ysunca* borne in *Victoria*, aforetime Commissioner over the Furniture of the Armies in these Partes, writte a Letter to *Jasper* of *Annastro* of *Lisbone*, aboute ten Monethes since, wherein he requested of him certaine Goods, whereof he had never before written unto him: he saide it woulde be Newes to him to see any of his Letters, and that he did this, that so he mighte be at *Lisbone* requesting him to sende him that whiche he demaunded. Hereunto the saide *Jasper* of *Annastro* aunswerd in friendlie Wordes, excusing himselfe for not sending them, as well upon that he had not sent Money, as because he founde not himselfe of Wealth sufficiente, and so could not trust forth that which he demaunded. Whereto *John* of *Ysunca* answered, requesting him to sende the saide Moveables, for that at *Lisbone* he stoode in greate Neede of them for the Conservation of his Auctoritie, considering that his Majestie woulde committe unto him a verie honorable Office: and that therefore he woulde doe it: for hee woulde communicate unto him a Matter of verie great Importance, which woulde redound to his great Benefite and Honour. To the whiche the said *Annastro* replied againe with newe Excuses and Curtesies, but in deede sente him not the saide Moveables, only he desired to understand what Matter of so great Importance it might be that he woulde communicate unto him, wherof he desired him to advertise hym. These two Letters aforesaid did I the said *Anthony* of *Venero* see, afterward came the Answer of this Letter wherein the said *J.* of *Ysunca* opened the Matter, and when *Annastro* had red the saide Letter, he commaunded me *Anthonie* of *Venero* aforesaid from thenceforth not to open any Letter comming sealed after the Maner of the Court: from that time, which might be about 5 or 6 Monthes since, the saide *John* of *Ysunca* and *Jasper* of *Annastro* have profecuted their Purposes and Answeres, each writing to other verie secretlie, and the saide *Jasper* of *Annastro* still answering his Letters with his owne Hande, in his Chamber closing his Letters with harde Waxe the moste closliest that might be. All this while was I *Anthony* of *Venero* ignoraunt of this Facte, imagining that it was some Marriage Matter with the Daughter of *John Ruiz* of *Vergara* the Brother of *Fraunces Ruiz* of *Vergara*, who had dwelt in this Towne of *Antwerpe*, and the rather because her Mother the Ladie *Marie* of *Ysunca* hadde written to the sayd *Jasper* of *Annastro*, also that knowing him to be wealthie and of the best qualetied in *Victoria* they would

would bestow her upon him with some good Number of Duckats. And as I say, *Anthony* of *Venero* supposed these to be the Secretes, and gessed that they deferred the finall Resolution, because the sayd *Annaastro* required for her Dowrie and for the Maintenaunce of her Porte, more than they did offer: It afterward (as I remember) fell so out, that two *Flemish* Vessels sayling towards *Laredo* wer drowned, also that at *Plemue* the Barke of *Philip Dorio* which was bound to *Biscay* was robbed, in which three Vessels he lost much, whereby he grewe into great Care and Anguish of Minde, as one ignorant howe to behave him selfe to save his Credit, at which Instant the sayd *John* of *Ysunca* writ to the sayd *Jasper* of *Annaastro* unwitting to me: the Effect whereof was, that he shoulde procure the Slaughter of the Prince of *Orange*, his Excellencie: wherof he had delt with his Majestie verie secretlie, in suche wise, as none but they two were acquainted therewith: also that he had procured his Majestie to sit downe a certaine Capitulation whiche also he had signed with his owne Hande, wherein his saide Majestie promised upon the certaine News of his Excellencies Death, to give to the saide *Annaastro* 80000 Duckets in Silver or the Value therof in Lands, together with a Commandership of *S. James*. That this was set downe in writing, also that he would bestow on him great Benefittes with sundrie honorable Offices: for the saide *John* of *Ysunca* had told and assured his Majestie that the saide *Annaastro* was a Man of verie good Capacitie, and greate Wealth. All this while, I *Anthony* of *Venero* doe not thinke that anye one was able to speake thereof, but rather in my Opinion I durst assure my selfe that in any wise the saide *Annaastro* would not make any of whatsoever Nation or Condition, privie thereunto: so that as in *Antwerpe* there be no *Spaniards* able to detect him, so do I againe affirme, that certainly I thinke he disclosed it to none: which I doe the rather verifie, because I can not otherwise thinke. Now shortly after this, and as it were a Moneth since he had some inckling of an other new Mischance, namely of two Merchants, that were aboute to break, by whom he was in Hazard of 9500 *l.* Sterling, or thereabout, for certaine Merchandise that he hadde sent them, and other Goods upon Accompts of sundrie *Englishe* Men of *London*: as also by Reason of certain Billes of Exchange whiche he had accepted and faithfully payed to their Uses: whereby seeing himselfe entangled in so manye Troubles, also, that of this last Losse he was in no Default, and not knowing any Remedie, but by absenting himselfe, considering they had played Bankrupte with so greate Summes of his: he caused me *Anthony* of *Venero* to be called into his Chamber, and charging me verie sore to be secrete, wyth Teares running down his Cheekes, he declared unto me the Substance of the aforesaide Treatie with *John* of *Ysunca*, shewing mee certaine of those Letters, whiche the saide *John* of *Ysunca* had written unto him, wherein he assured him of all the Promises above specified, which Letters were written divelishly and subtilly without any Subscription, and it seemed, that the saide *John* of *Ysunca* hath imparted this Matter to a Sonne of his who remained at *Madrid* called *Peter* of *Ysunca le Queytio*, who also writte to him in verie good Speeches, assuring him of the Substance of al the Premises diversly naming himselfe in the Subscription *Apodaca*.
These

These Letters, having as I saide, shewed me the Substaunce of them, did he burne in his Chamber: and thereupon entred into Discourse with me, saying, that he neither woulde ne could digest so manye Shames as were provided for him: therfore that commending himselfe to almightie God wyth all his Heart, he would with his own Hands slay my Lord the Prince of *Orange* his Excellencie, and that in Case he were slaine about the Execution therof, yet in Trueth he had rather perish in the Place, as coveting rather to die than to live so dishonorably, that it shoulde be saide of him in the Burse at *Antwerpe*, see, yonder Man is become Bankrupt: whiche, if it shoulde so fall out, no Man woulde judge where the Faulte is, but would rather impute it unto him, though he were not faultie. Also, that he ought much Money in *Antwerpe* even to the beste, and to suche as there bare Authoritie, who would with Rigour, proceede againste hym, and therfore that he determined to die, yea, and that alreadie he had digested Death, but that by this Meanes he shoulde cover and get Glorie to his Bankruptship and Discredite. All this spake he with Teares: whereupon I seeing him so discomforted, wept much faster, and besought him for Gods Love not to seke his Death by his own Hands, but to be patient in Gods Doings: and seeing the Fault was not in himselfe, to withstand suche Adversities as might happen in shewing a good Face to his Creditours, and to let them know the Reasons, how *Peter Nunnes* of *Arbule*, and *Peter* of *Cubiaur* undid him, and that hee shoulde repose himselfe upon this, whereto he aunswered, that he had not the Face to looke upon anye Man, and therfore that he was determined to persiste in his Purpose: wherein I contraried him stiffely, sundrye Times willing him to refer al to God, and to attend better hap. Upon this Communication (which passed in an Evening upon a working Day after Burse time) *Andrewe de la Maça*, who notwithstanding he remaineth in the same House, is innocent of al, came into his Chamber, so that by Reason of the saide *Andrewes* comming in, we brake off Talke for that Night. The next Morning the saide *Anastro* being in his Chamber, sent for me, and said: Now, Brother *Anthony*, how doe you? I answered, but heavenly: hereupon he began againe to reenter into the former Matter, saying, that if he himselfe shoulde not slaye his Excellencie, he wist not to whom to commit the Doing thereof, excepte peradventure to his Man *John Jaureguy*, borne in *Bilbao*, who holpe to write in the Counting House, because he semed a staied and resolute yong Man to any Intent whatsoever, and poore withall. Then I *Antony* of *Venero* answered, that it woulde be a great Burthen to his Conscience, if the saide *Anastro* should procure the saide *Jaureguy* any vile Death: for seeing his Excellencie was so well beloved throughout the whole Towne, he coulde no sooner have done the Deede, but he should be hewen in Peeces. Nay, said *Anastro*, but they wil rather apprehend him, to the Ende to learne for what Purpose he did it, so as 7. or 8. Dayes after the Deed, would be spent before any Execution, and that therfore the saide *Anastro* mighte departe from *Antwerpe*, four Dayes before the Deede, and so go to *Calais*, from whence he might dispatch a Poste to *Apodoca*, who is *Peter* of *Ysunça le Queytio*, the Sonne of *John Ysunça*, to the Ende to give his

his Majestie to understande, that he was departed from the Purpose agreeed uppon, then that from *Calais* he woulde goe to the Prince of *Parma* his Campe, and thence having Newes of the Slaughter, he would send a Trumpet to begge the Life of the saide *John* of *Faureguy*: Also, that *Jasper* of *Annaastro* himselfe would write concerning that Matter, and open himself unto fundrie hys Friends in the Towne, requiring the Life of the saide *Faureguy*, and sending Blanckes signed by the Prince of *Parma*, to the Ende these Lords might aske what they liste for theyr own Advantage concerning the Religious *Vreed*, and all other Matters, also that therewithal after the Prince of *Orenge*s Death they should enjoy an assured Peace. Hereupon a *Flemish* Boy belonging to the saide *Annaastro* named *Joannico*, whom he hath taken with him, came into the Chamber, whom he commanded to call *John* *Faureguy* who was writing in the Counting House, when he was come he caused me to depart out of the Chamber, then having a while talked with him, he called me again, and shewed me that *Faureguy* for his Sake and Honor would do it, also that he had shewed him a Dagger wherewith he shoulde kil him either at the Table or in any other Companie by thrusting in the Dagger and wounding him behinde the Eare: that *Faureguy* would doe this with a verie good Will, wherupon he asked my Opinion: I answered that he shoulde looke well unto it, because it touched his Conscience: further, because that if this Matter were broughte to passe, they would slaie all the *Spaniards* in *Antwerpe* for Sorrow of the Princes Death, and that therefore I had rather forsake the Town than venture my Life. But he willed me not to feare, saying that although *Faureguy* should openly confesse the Truth, yet would no Man medle with his House, neither wold ther be any further pursuite: and therefore he counsell'd the saide *Faureguy* in that Matter to continue stedfast for the Love of his Honour and himselfe: also the same Day to go to espie in what Manner his Excellencie did eate, whiche he did three or foure Times, so that he saide he was in good Hope to bring his Purpose to passe. After this he used much Speech with the saide *Faureguy*, as with the Man who should commit such a hainous Fact. Finally, having better considered of the Matter, they began to doubt whether it were better to be done with a Dagger or with a Dagge: for *Faureguy* saide, that he never shot in Dagge, neyther knewe howe to discharge it, the other willed him to repaire to some Friend of hys to trie it, and to counterfeite himselfe to be a *Fleming*, and not to use anye other Language, whereto he graunted, and did so. During these Practices there came Letters from *London*, importing, that *Peter* of *Cubiaur* had absented himselfe, upon which Occasion he thought best to departe, so as having dispatched some at the Burse, sodainely uppon a *Tuesday* or *Wednesday*, having taken his Leave of all the Housholde, he wente his Waye, seeming as if he would shortly come againe, except to the sayd *John* of *Faureguy* and me *Antony* of *Venero*, and from *Bruges* he writ to me two Letters, the one generall, the other concerning this Matter: The generall Letter I shewed to *Martin* of *Varron*, *Peter* de la *Penna*, *Anthony* *Spinula* and some others and so burned it. The other I delivered to *Faureguy* who read it, because therin he saide that he thought the Dagge readiest: the

other saide that he could well doe it so, the which he spake verie cheerefully and then burned this Letter also, and tolde me that he would be shriven, and so went forth of the Doores, neither did I ever aske him to what Confessour he would goe. Afterwarde hee tolde me that he was shriven and houseled, and that now he was readie upon anye Opportunitie without any Lette to execute hys Purpose. Thus, upon this last *Sunday*, the 18. of this Moneth, about Eleven of the Clock he heard Masse in the House and so departed, and did that which seemeth to be done, not that I doe certainly know it as yet: wherefore for the Discharge of my Conscience I doe say, that I cannot perceive any other to bee guiltie of this Deede, and therefore that the others who are apprehended, ought to be released and delivered, because in my Conscience they be innocent. Nowe therefore, if youre Lordships would graunt to me *Anthony of Venero* Pardon, and to save my Life, as having opened the verie Botome of my Heart, and saide all that I knowe, besides that, he who committed the Mischiefe, is dead already, I should be bound to you all my Life long.

Moreover, the saide *Jasper of Annaastro* promised unto us the saide *John of Jaureguy*, and me *Antony of Venero*, that this being accomplished, he would accompte us as his own naturall Children: also, that nothing should be parted betweene us, but that all shoulde be our owne proper Goodes, and suche like Speeches. The saide *Jaureguy* answered, that he would have nothing, but that that which he did, he did for his Love, and because he had eaten his Breade: and I quaking, putte off my Hatte, giving him to understande how sore I feared Death, wherupon he assured me that no Man wold once touch any Haire of my Head.

This Confession being red unto the saide Deponente without the Prison uppon the Bridge openlye, hee persisted in the same his Confession, confirming it to bee the Trueth. Given the 26. of March 1582. in the Presence of the under-named.

Zuerius.

Blomart.

An other Examination taken the 24 of the same Moneth of
March 1582.

Seyendo el dicho Antonio de Venero (puesto sobre el atormentando) preguntado quien podrian mas haver sabido d'esta empresa? Dize ningunos otros, que los por el aqui delante nombrados.

Preguntado si d'esta impresa no han sabido Andres de la Maça, Petro d'Orosco, Pedro de la Penna, o Valentin de Meurs? Dize que no.

Preguntado si no se acuerda que (estando à la mensa del dicho Annaastro su amo se platicò y disputò si era licito dematar su Excell. por zelo de la fee) el Clerigo Antonio Timmerman entonces declarò: que se podria hazer sin pecado? Dize que d'ello no se acuerda.

Preguntado

Preguntado si no sabia quien era el que estava à cavallo junto al castillo quando el dicho efeto era cumplido? Dize que no.

Yera dicho Examination firmada por los dichos Sennores Esclavines, J. Zuerius, L. Blomaert.

THE said *Antony of Venero*, being upon the Racke examined what other Persons might have hadde Intelligence of this Enterprise, saith, no other than those whome he hath aforementioned.

Being demaunded whether *Andrew de la Massa*, *Peter of Oroasco*, *Peter della Penna*, or *Valentine de Meurs* knew nothing of the saide Enterprise, he saith, no.

Being demaunded whether he remembreth not that when some Speeche and Argument passed at the saide *Annaastro* his Maisters Table, whether for Zeale of Religion it were lawfull to slay his Excellencie, the Monke *Antony Timmerman* didde then affirme, that it might lawfully be done without Sinne. He saith that he remembreth it not.

Being demaunded whether he knoweth not who he was that was on Horsebacke before the Castle when the Deede was executed? He saith, no.

This Examination was conferred before the saide Lordes Shirifes, John Zuerius, and Lewis Bloemart.

The Examination of Anthony Timmerman, taken in the Presence of the Lords the Markgrave, Godfrey Montens, M. James Zuerius, and Lewis Bloemart, Shirifes of the Towne of Antwerpe the 18. 19. and 23. Day of March 1582.

Antony Timmerman born in *Dunkirke* of the Age of one and thirtie Yeares, sometimes Monke of the Order of the White Friars, having his Chamber in the long Newstreete at the Golden Horse.

Being demaunded what Acquaintance he hath in the House of *Jasper* of *Annaastro*, sayeth that divers Times he hath said Masse in the House of the said *Annaastro*, also that he hath sent others thither for the same Purpose, and that therefore he had his finding as Chapleine to the *Spanish* Nation, and that the saide *Annaastro* paide him.

Being demaunded what private Communication he hath had with one *John Jaureguy* a *Spaniard* of *Biscay* in the House of the saide *Annaastro*, saith, that the saide *Jaureguy* upon *Friday* last came to him to shrift, desiring also to receive the Sacrament at his Hande, whiche he ministred unto him, for the which the said Party gave him two double Pistolets of Gold, desiring the said Confessour to pray for him. Also that according to the Description of his Stature and Apparel that he ware, it seemeth to be the same Person, who uppon *Sundaye* at Noone discharged a Dagge againste his Excellencies Person.

Being demaunded, what the saide *Faureguy* gave him to understande concerning this Deede, either in his Confession, or before or after the same: also whether he did not shewe him what he was promised for the Performance of that Act, saith, that the saide *Faureguy* did confesse unto him, that the saide *Jasper* of *Annastro* woulde himselfe have done it, if he could not have perswaded him thereto: saying moreover that he woulde execute the saide Deede the same *Frydaye* at Dinner, and that onlie for the Glory of God, and because his Father being an olde Man should be releevd.

Being demaunded, whether he told not the sayd Confessor in what Place he was purposed to doe this Deede, and with what Weapons: sayth, that he told him that he purposed to doe it at the Table as he thought, but shewed him not with what Weapons.

Being demaunded, whether the sayd Confessor did finally absolve the sayd *Faureguy*, so as he might execute his pretended Deede, which afterward he committed against the Person of his Excellencie: Confesseth that he absolved the sayde *Faureguy* in this Manner: That if he did not execute it for Lucre of Money, but onlie for the Glorie of God and of a Zeale to the Catholike Romane Religion, that then it was lawful for him to doe it, giving him thereupon Absolution, having neverthelesse before represented to his View all suche Daungers as might spring forth of the sayd Deede.

Being demaunded, whether he enquired of *Faureguy* if any other were able to utter the Pretence of the Execution of the sayd Deede: sayth, that he shewed him that no Man was able to say any Thing thereof, but onely the saide *Jasper Annastro*, *Antony* of *Venero*, and an other Man a *Spanyard*, whome he named not, either by Name or Surname: but that the saide Confessor gesseth that it was a young Man, whome he had often seene aboute the same Time comming and going to the same House: the saide young Man being reasonable tall of Stature, with a blacke Bearde cut after the *Spanishe* Maner, of a browne pale Colour, long and leane visaged, aboute 24. or 25. Yeares of Age, as it seemed, wearing ordinarily a *Spanishe* Cassock of a gray Ruffet, and a blacke Cloake.

Being demaunded, what Speech passed betweene the saide Confessor and the saide *Jasper* of *Annastro*, touching this Deed committed against his Excellencie, saith, that the sayde *Annastro* never spake any Thing therof, either in Shrifte, or otherwise.

Being demaunded, whether the saide *Faureguy* shewed him not, that *Valentine de Meurs*, *Anthony Waeckmans*, and *Anna Haecht*, Servantes in the saide *Annastroes* House, knewe nothing of the Practise or Effecte of the saide Deede attempted against his Excellencie, saith, that the Persons aforesaid, knewe nothing thereof as the saide *Faureguy* tolde him, and declared in his Confession.

Being demaunded, whether the saide *Annastro*, *Faureguy* or *Antony* of *Venero*, said not unto him, that the King hadde by *John* of *Yunça* made greate Promises to the saide *Annastro*, for the performing of the Deede against his Excellencie, saith, that he never knew or heard that of any Body.

Being

Being demaunded, whether he the said Confessor hathe not aforetime bene in the House of the said *Annaastro*, when sitting at the Table, he was demaunded, whether it were lawfull for any Manne without Offence, to slay his Excellencie: what aunswere was made thereto, when it was, and who were there present, declareth, that the saide *Annaastro* hath fundrie Times moved that Question to him: and namely at the Table in Dinner Time, or so soone as the Table was taken up, either the firste or seconde *Saterday* before *Candlemasse*, and that there were then present *Andrew de la Maça*, *Antony of Venero*, and *Valentine de Meurs*: and that hee this Confessor answered, that no particular or private Person mighte doe it, but that it pertained onely to the Justice. Whereto the saide *Annaastro* (as he remembreth) replied, that the King being a publike Person might commaund an other to doe it: where-uppon this Confessor saide, that it was not lawfull for any Man with Money to buy an others Life. He declared farther, that about foureteene Dayes since, he the saide Confessour being at the Table, or else soone after they were risen, hearde the saide *Annaastro* use these or suche like Wordes: *Valla me dios no at en esta tierra Flamenco que se atreva a este Principe de Oranges?* whereto he the sayde Confesso replied, saying: *Los Flamencos no son tan furiosos como vos otros*, where the said *Maça* was not then present, but was departed into *Holland*.

This Confession being read before the said Confessour uppon the Bridge of the Borow, under the open Element, he being loosed and undone, he persisted in the same in the Presence of the Shirifes this 26. of March 1582.

Subscribed Zuerius, and L. Bloemart.

Here ensue the Copies of the Letters, written by the saide *Annaastro*, and the Prince of *Parma*, &c.

Sennor Herrmanno,

DE Brujas os escrevi ayer, y aura dos horas que llegue aqui, y no he podido ballar à Pedro de Cubiaur, ni saber d'el, mas de que un maestro duze, que passo de Doura à Cales ocho dias a un hombre casi de sus sennas. Yo passo do mala gana à Cales, por el tiempo que pierdo en bolver a casa: y a demas esto, el viento es contrario, y no podre partir oy, pero sera mannana Sabado plaziendo à Dios. Al Sennor Antonio Espinnola beso las manos, y que tengo gana deboluerme. Al Sennor Andres de la Maça beso tambien las manos. Yo os encomiendo que tengays cuenta de lo que haz que hazer hasta que yo buelva: de papeles y assignaciones como de lo demas, que yo me dare lapriessa que pudiere. Pagareys luego à Hernando de Nagera las 402 libras que Baltasar de Burgos escriuió se le diessen, porque de Cales le tengo de escrevir que estan pagadas, embialde quintança dello. A Valentin me encomiendo, y a Jau-reguy dezid que os ayude en lo dela escritura, y nuestra Sennor, &c. En Dunquerch, 16. de Março 1582.

El

El subscripto era, *Vuestra hermano ANNASTRO.*

El sobrescripto era, *Al Sennor Antonio de Venero mi hermano Anvers.*

Al porte 4 Florins, dando lo a las ocho horas de la manana & lunes que es 19. de Março.

ANNASTROS Letters written from Dunkirke.

GOOD Brother, Yesterday I wrote unto you from *Bruges*, and I arrived heere two Hours since, but cannot yet finde *M. Peter of Cu-biaur*, either heare anie other Newes of him: but that a Master of a Ship shewed me, that about eight Daies since there was one like him that passed from *Dover* to *Callis*. Very unwilling I am to goe to *Callis* least losing my Time I shal not come soone inough home. Besides the Wind being contrarie I cannot depart this Day, but to morrow being *Saterdag*, if it please God I shal. I humbly greete Master *Anthonie Spinula* and am very desirous to returne home. I also humbly greete *Andrew Massa*. I pray you set to your Hand to any Thing that is to be done before my Returne, as well for Writings and Assignations, as for any other Matter. For my part I will make as much Hast as I may. You shall presently pay *Ferdinand* of *Nagera* the 402. Pounds that *Baltasser* of *Burgos* hath written to be delivered him: for from *Callais* I will write that they be paid. And send him the Acquaintaunce. I commend me to *Valentine*, and will *Jaureguy* to helpe you in your Writings, Our Lord, &c. At *Dunkirck* this 16. of *March* 1582.

The Subscription was, Your Brother ANNASTRO.

The Superscription was, To my Brother Anthony of Venero at Antwerpe.

To the Post 4 Florins so that he deliver them upon *Munday* at 8. a Clocke in the Morning, which shall bee the 19. of *March*.

SENNOR,

PARA pagar à Baltasar de Burgos las quatrocientas y dos libras, no hallo otro remedio, por la brevedad d'el tiempo sino dezir a Hernando de Nagera que tenia yo orden del dicho Burgos: para que se diessen a el dichas quatrocientas y dos libras, y que se las querays pagar luego, y que Valentin se las de, y quittal de luego dos quitanças una copia de otra, en que diga que se las days por orden de Baltasar de Burgos, y que se obliga a bazer las buenas el dicho Baltasar de Burgos, y d'esta manera el dicho Burgos se podra valer dellas con su commodidad. Hazelde luego a la hora que esta recibays, antes que se haga el empleo: porque de otra manera no veo orden de que vengan a mannos d'el dicho. Y assi os ruego mucho que esto se haga luego el mismo Lunes. Dira Nagera, que no tiene aviso: direysle vos, que es hombre trabaioso, y que no quereys aguardar a esso, porque yo os lo ordiné assi, y Burgos esta desproveido de dineros. En el empleo me parece bien lo que ay le escrevi de Brujas, que se haga de la mercaderia que

que pide Diego Carreno, provando la primero algunas vezes, y al tiempo del effeño ponerse una medida, y dos rodondas: y d'esta manera compara con mas seguridad, y menos ambaraço: y para aquel vestido tomarle la medida por detras. Esto tengo por mejor que lo otro, y de menos embaraço, y mas seguro: y tambien puede ponerse lo otro, para en caso de neceffidad. Pensad en ello, y mirad quanto va en que el emple seacierta Hazed cuenta, que yo me detendre en Cales el Sabado por todo el dia, para escrevit à Apodaca, y despachar le correo, y despues be menester tres dias para assentar mi cuenta con aquel hombre, y dezirle lo que conviene, por que vaya todo per orden: y despues se podra hazer quando el corredo quisiere, y dezilde que le Dios buena dicha, y que consideres bien lo mucho que importa, que el empleo sea bueno.

En la Margen est ava escripto.

Otra vez torno à dezir lo de Nagera, porque Baltasar de Burgos esta falto de dineros, y embialde luego la una cedula del dicho Nagera, y por esto doy esta ventaja de $13\frac{1}{4}$ libras. A Valentin y Jaureguy me en comiendo mucho.

El fobre scripto era: Para Antonio de Venero.

S I R,

I Can finde by reason of the Shortnesse of the Time no other Remedie how to pay *Baltassar* of *Burgos* the 402. Pounds, but to shewe *Ferdinande* of *Nagera*, that I had Commiſſion from the ſaid *Burgos* to deliver him the ſaid 402. Pounds, and that you will preſently pay him: and let *Valentine* pay him the Mony, taking of him two Acquittaunces, the one copied out of the other, wherein he muſt confeſſe that you doe deliver the ſame unto him by the Appointment of *Baltassar* of *Burgos*, then binde him to make them good to the ſaid *Baltassar* of *Burgos*, and ſo may *Burgos* helpe himſelfe to his owne Commoditie. Doe this immediatly, and even ſo ſoone as you have received theſe Preſents, before the Matter be performed, for I ſee no other Meanes how they may come to his Hands, wherefore I praye you heartelye let this be done this preſent Munday. *Nagera* will ſay that he hath no ſuch Warrant: then ſhall ye aunſwere him that the Man is Troubleſome, and that you wil not ſtay for that, ſeeing I have ſo commaunded you, and that *Burgos* is deſtitute of Money. It ſeemeth good to mee the Exploit and Matter were performed in ſuch ſort as Yeſterday I wrote from *Bruges*, and that with ſuch * Merchaundife as *Diego Carreno* requireth, having firſt tried it fundrie Times: and at the Time of the Execution therof to give it a good Meaſure, and two Rounds: and in this wiſe it may be the more ſurely bought, and performed with leſſe Hinderaunce. As for the Garment, you muſt take Meaſure behinde. I thinke this a better Way than the other, of leſſe Hinderaunce and moſte ſafe. Alſo for further Aſſuraunce, the other † may be added for Neceſſities Sake. Conſider heereof and marke of what Impor-

* Under this Talke of Merchandife he meaneth the Piſtol, Powder and two Bullets, wherewith the L. Prince ſhoulde be ſlaine.

† His Dagger.

taunce the Execution of this Exploit is. Make your Account that I will stay at *Callais* all *Saterdaye*, there to write to *Apodaca*, and to dispatch the Post. And afterward I shall neede three Daies to make up my Account with this Man; Tell him also what is needfull to be done, that all Things may proceede orderlye. After which the Matter may be dispatched when the * Courtier will, and tell him also that I pray God graunt him good Successe, and that I would have him marke howe necessarie it is that this Exploit be performed.

In the Margent was written.

Once againe I speake to you of *Nagera*. For *Baltasar* of *Burgos* needeth Money: sende therefore to him immediatly one of *Nagera* his Letters: for this I give him the Interest of 13. lib. 4. s. I commend me heartelye to *Valentine* and to *Jaureguy*.

The Superscription was: For Antonie of Venero.

Other Letters of the said ANNASTRO.

Sennor Hermano,

DE Bruias y de Dunquerch os escrevi, yo me detuve en Dunquerch dos dias, bien desgustado, por ser el tiempo tam fuerte y contrario que non pude passar: y assi me a concesejo el Governador de Dunquerchque passasse por tierra, y que era mejor: y assi me robo el un passa porte de Gravelingas, y aqui, dos horas ha, en esta villa de Gravelingas, y mannana me y re por agua à Cales, à lo que entiendo, porque de aqui a Cales por tierra esta todo lleno de Franceses, que roban los que passam, y más baran, siendos Espannoles. Ha me dicho un tal Quadra que està aqui, que Pedro de Cubiaur estuvo aqui quatro dias ha, y que entendio que era y do a Cales, podra serque alli le ballare, entre tanto hazelos lo meior que pudieredes. Y esse empleo de las mercaderias se puede bazer a cada hora, y sea tan bueno que los duonnos no se quexen. No tengo mas que escribir, Nuestro Sennor, &c. En comiendo me a Valentin y Jaureguy. All Sennor Marça beso las manos, y Nuestro Sennor, &c. En Gravelingas 17. de Março 1582. Harta ventura ha sido aner escapado en el camino, legum andan los Franceses. Yo sere alla lo mas presto que pudiere, que y a queria ser buelto.

El subscripto era: Vestro buen hermano Annastro.

Other Letters of the said ANNASTRO.

MY Lorde and Brother I writ unto you from *Bruges* and *Dunkirke*. Two Daies I abode at *Dunkirke* though farre against my Minde, because the Weather was so rough and contrarie that I could not passe: wherefore the Governour of *Dunkirke* counsailed mee to goe by Land (as the better way) and so he made me a Pasport for *Graveling*, whether I came two Houres

* He meaneth *Jaureguy*.

since,

since, from whence I will to morrow depart by Water, (as I thinke) to *Callais*, for that betweene this and *Callais* the Waies be pestered with *French* Men that doe robbe the Passengers, whereunto they would bee more readie if they should meete with any *Spaniards*. A certaine Quadra that is heere tolde me that *Peter* of *Cubiaur*, was taken foure Daies agoe, and that he heard that hee was gone to *Callais*, it may bee that I maye finde hym there. In the meane time doe the best you can concerning the Exploit of Merchaundise, it may be done at al Times, and let it be so well done, that the Masters finde no Fault. I have no more to write. But our Lord, &c. commend me to *Valentine* and *Fauregui*. I humbly salute the Lord *Massa*. Our Lord, &c. From *Graveling* this 17 of *March* 1582. It was a great Chaunce that I escaped all the Waye, the *French* doe so range up and downe. I will be there so soone as I may, for I would with a good Will be at Home alreadie.

The Subscription was, Your good Brother *Annastro*.

After the which was written,

Give this Post, whose Name is *Coppenbaghen*, that which is written upon the Letter for guiding me hither.

His Excellencies Letter, written with his owne Hande.

MY L. of *Aldegond*, I heare that to morrowe the ij. Prisoners, his Complices that shot at me, shall be executed. For my owne Parte I doe willingly forgive them whatsoever they may have offended against me: and if peradventure they have deserved some sore and sharpe Punishment, yet be a Meane to my Lordes the Magistrates not to suffer them to abide any great Torment. But rather if they have so deserved, to content themselves with some speedie Death. Hereupon I bidde you good Night.

Your very good Friend to do you Service,

WILLIAM of NASSAU.

Done in the Prison of the Towne of Antwerp in the Presence of my Lordes, Lescouttet, M. James Zuerius, and Lewis Bloemart Shirifes, the 28. of March, 1582.

MAister *Anthonie Timmerman* Prisoner, readie to receyve his Death wherunto he was Yesterdaye before Noone condemned in the *Vierschale* by the Borrowmaisters and Shirifes of this Towne, saith and declareth in Forme following.

First, he sayth, that having better called that whiche was spoken at the Table in the House of *Jasper* of *Annastro*, when the saide Deponent dined there, the said *Annastro* propounded and argued: Whether by Vertue of the

Proscription whiche the King of *Spaine* hathe published, anye Man may lawfullye slaye his Excellencies Person, in Trueth he cannot saye whether *Andrew Nassa* were present or not, either thys Speeche passed aboute the Ende or after Dinner, adding moreover, that he is well assured and certaine, that *Valentine* of *Meurs* sate at the Table that Dinner, but was then gone awaye. Moreover the saide condemned Person acknowledgeth his great Oversight and Error whiche he helde, in thinking that by Vertue of the saide Proscription it was lawfull to slay his Excellencies Person: Being therefore now better informed by learned Men concerning the saide Opinion, and having further considered of the Matter, he doeth by this presente revoke the same. Wherefore he requesteth the Lordes Magistrates of this Towne to pardon him hys sayde Offence also to adde this to his former Confession, and if the other be published, to publish this withal, to the End no Man thinke that he dyed in so wicked an Opinion.

Subscribed Zuerius.

The Prince of PARMA his Letters.

Alexander Prince of Parma and Plaisance, Lieutenaut, Governour, and Captayne Generall.

RIGHT deare and wellbeloved, woulde to God you knew as well as the Inhabitants of these Partes, with what Zeale and Affection I have alwaies proceeded and procured the Weale, Quiet and Tranquilitie of these Countries generallie, wherof I seek no greter nor more evident Testimonie, than the Paines that I have taken, the Dueties which I have yeelded, and the Perils and Daungers which I have incurred in seeking to restore the whole to hir auncient Brightnesse and Felicitie, wherewith these Provinces were wont to flourish. According whereunto, God having used the Death of the Prince of *Orange*, (the one and only Instrument and Author of so many Miseries and Calamities whiche you have endured) as a Meane to open the Way unto you, I hope he hath likewise taken from before your Eies the Vaile, which stopped and kept you from knowing, or more neerely considering the Sleightes, Suttleties, and Inventions, wherewith the saide Prince nourished your Mistrusts, and through his owne Covetousnesse and Ambition continued your Miseries, yea so farre foorth, that to the same Ende he fought to bring you into the Subjection and intollerable Yoke of those, from whom in former Worlds you have received such Damages and Enmities. Thus much I thought good to write unto you, to thende to advertise and assure you, that in Case you wil prevaile in this Occasion and Commoditie whiche God dothe offer unto you, you shall not finde anye Man in this Worlde that will aide and assiste you wyth more Sinceritie, Readinesse and Affection, than I wil: offering unto you to the same Effect whatsoever I may by Vertue of the Authoritie and special Power unto me given by his Majestie, of whome I am well assured that you shall reape no lesse Grace and Favor, neither any worse Entertainment, than those

those have tried, who trusting wholly in the naturall Clemencie wherewith hee is endued, have willingly caste themselves into the Armes of his Royall Curtesie and Gentlenesse. Whereupon I will expecte your Answere, which I pray God may bee such as I desire for your owne Benefite and Quietnesse, also that it may bee so speedily, that his Majestie may have Occasion to desiste from such Preparation as he maketh for the atteyning to this Ende, by some other Meanes peradventure more violent and unprofitable to your selves. Thus right deere and welbeloved, God have you in his holy and worthy keeping.

From Tournay this 25. of March 1582.

Subscribed, ALEXANDER.

And somewhat lower, F. Garnier.

The Superscription was: To our right dere and welbeloved, the Markgrave, Amptman, Borowmaisters, Shirifes, Counsaile, and Rentmaisters of the Towne of *Antverpe*.

The like Letters, *mutatis mutandis*, were dispatched to the Inhabitantes of *Bruxelles, Gaunt, Bruges, Ypres, &c.*

ANNASTRO his Letters written from Tournay.

Muy mag. Sennor,

PUes ha querido Nuestro Sennor que el Principe de Orange aya acabado sus dias, se ha de creer que es para aver misericordia de estas tierras que estaban affligidas, y yo estoy aggradado de aver sido occasione instrumento de sa muerte, por el servicio que devo a mi Rey, y por la quietud y reposo que desseo a los estados: y quando mi criado no fuera sufficiente para bazer lo que hizo, yo tenia determinado de matarle por mi mano, por saccat esta tierra del travajo en que estava. He querido escrivir a v. m. y al Sr. su hermano esta carta para assegurar los que pueden confiar en la misericordia que su Mag. y su Alteza del Principe de Parma dessea bazer conlos de essa villa, sin accordar se de las faltas passadas: si no con animo de perdonar las todas, y que todos puedan vivir pacificamente. Y pues que v. m. tiene mano para poder dar a entender à essos S. Ses. del magistrado esta buena voluntad, y tomar buen consejo en esse negocio, assegurando los que en lo que yo pudiere favorecer los lo hare de muy buena gana. Y si quisierem empleara v. m. en ello, y al So. Laurentio su hermano: y lleguarse por aca, yo les embiare passa porte de su Alteza assegurando los. Y saldre fiador por la seguridad de sui personas, y respondan me de la voluntad que en esto tienen, y no se ofresce otra cosa por agora N. Sennor de Tournay à 25. de Março, 1582.

Befa las manos a v^{os}. m^{es}.

GASPAR de ANNASTRO.

Noble Lords,

SITH it hath pleased God to end the Prince of *Orange* his Daies, you are to beleve it to be, to the Ende to shewe Mercie to these Countries which were afflicted, and I rejoyce that I was the Occasion and Instrument of his Death, bothe for the Duetie I owe to my King, and for the Reste and Tranquilitie of these Estates. For if my Servant had not beene sufficient to doe that whiche is done, my selfe was resolved with my owne Hand to have slain him, so to deliver this Countrie out of the Trouble it was in. This Letter I thought good to write to you, and to my L. your Brother, to the End to assure you that you may surelie repose your selves in the Mercie which his Majestie, and the P. of *Parma* his Highnesse desire to shew to this Town: as not to thinke upon anie former Faultes, otherwise than fullie to pardon them, so as, all Men maie live peaceably. Further, sith it lieth in you to give the Lordes and Magistrates to understande of this good Will, also to take good Advice concerning this Affaire, assuring them, that in what I may I will moste willingly pleasure them. If in this Matter they will use you and your Brother *Laurence* as Messengers hither, I will send you a Passeport from his Highnesse with all sufficient Assurance, and will my selfe remaine Pledge for the Suretie of your Persons. Let mee understande your Willes herein. Thus not having anie other Thing at this present, our Lorde, &c. From *Tournay* this 25. of March. 1582.

Subscribed,

I humbly salute your Lordships,

JASPER of ANNASTRO.

The Superscription was this:

To the noble Lordes DENIS de MEURS, and LAURENCE de MEURS,
at *Gant*.

The

The Copie of a Letter to the Right Honourable the Earle of LEYCESTER, Lieutenant Generall of all her MAJESTY's Forces in the United Provinces of the *Lowe Countries*, written before, but delivered at his Returne from thence.

With a Report of certeine Petitions and Declarations made to the QUEENES Majestie at two severall Times, from all the Lordes and Commons lately assembled in Parliament. And her Majesties Answeres thereunto by her selfe delivered, though not expressed by the Reporter with such Grace and Life, as the same were uttered by her MAJESTIE. 1586.

To the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester, &c.

ALbeit the earnest Desire of my Hart (Right Honourable my very good Lord) hath alwayes endeavoured to do your Lordship some acceptable Service, for the Honour you first vouchsafed me from beyond my Cradel, and after confirmed with the favourable Opinion wherewith you have alwayes countenanced me ever since, even thus farre onward on my Daies, which also together with my Yeres hath increased faster then mine Abilitie to performe, being crossed in nothing more deeply, then when I was letted by the overmuch tendring of me by my Parents, to attend your Lordship in your late Voyage and honourable Expedition into the *Lowe Countries*: yet have I bene ever since most studious to observe and apprehende some good Occasion, or fitte Oportunitie, to testifie the duetifull Reverence I beare to your Lordship: wherein if hitherto I have beene slacke in Performance during your Absence, it hath proceeded of the Care I had not to entertaine your Lordship with Matter either frivolous or vulgar: though Things of that Nature might best become my Condition, and well agree with my Understanding.

In which Cogitation it came to my Minde, that the Report of the Speeches delivered by the Queenes most excellent Majestie in a late and weightie Cause dealt in this Parliament, in Answer to the Petitions presented to hir Majestie the 12. and 24. of *November* at *Richmond* by the Lord Chauncelour and Speaker, respectively, in the Name and Behalfe of both Estates, accompanied with divers of either Sort, would doubtlesse bee a Thing to your L. most gratefull, as one ever pleased justly to admire the rare Perfections of her Mind, and approoved Judgement, wherewith, according to your Estate and Place, deservedly, your L. hath beene usually acquainted: as also worthie of eternal Monument and everlasting Memorie, for as much as on the sodaine they were delivered by her selfe, for Answer of a Matter propounded, debated,

bated, resolved, and digested, with great Labour and Premeditation, of the greatest, gravest, wisest, and most choise Persons of the whole Realme. Whereof although I have but slenderly purtraied the Lineaments, without expressing to Life the external Ornaments of her Royall Speach, accompanied with all princely and gracefull Accomplementes: yet doubt I not but your Lordship will easily finde her inward Vertues, whereof it is impossible for mee to make the least Adumbration.

And because in the dayly Expectation of your Lordships Returne, I rested uncertaine how these might come safely to your Lordships Hands: I did therefore advise to have this my Letter with the included Copies to be ready to attend your first Arrivall, in Gratulation of the Safetie thereof, which hath bene long desired. Wherein, as I strive to performe a particular Duetie to your Lordship, so trust I you will have that honourable Consideration, that in the Communication thereof with others, there growe not any Prejudice to me for my Presumption, in adventuring to be a Reporter of that, which in the Deliverie wrought so great Astonishment to all the Hearers, as it exceeded the Fulnes of every Mans Expectation: and therefore, without some favourable Construction of mine Attempt, I might incurre great Blame by my slender Maner of Report, so to have blemished the Excellencie of her Majesties Speeches, whereof I humbly beseech your Lordship to have favourable Regard. Thus referring them to your Lordships Disposition, and my selfe to your favourable Protection, I humbly take my Leave. 25. Novemb. 1586.

Your Lordships most humbly

In all Duetie to commaund.

R. C.

The Briefe of the Lord Chancellers first Speach, at the Time when he delivered her most excellent MAJESTIE a Petition in Writing, for, and in the Name of the Lordes and Commons.

Which Speeches were of more length then here are by me collected: but sure I am, the Substaunce thereof is here truely expressed.

THAT the Lordes and Commons having of long Time to their intollerable Griefe, found, by howe many Practises the Scottish Queene had compassed the Destruction of her Highnes most Royall Person (in whose Safetie next under God they acknowledged their chiefe Felicity to consist) thereby not onely to bereave them of the sincere and true Religion in this Realme professed and established, but to bring backe againe this noble Realme into the Thraldome of Romish Tyrannie, and to overthrowe the happie Estate thereof: wherein, although her Highnesse of her abundant gracious naturall Clemencie and Princely Magnanimitie, hath either lightly passed them over, or with no small Indulgence tolerated, notwithstanding the often and earnest Instances of her Nobilitie and Commons in sundry Parliaments heretofore: and further hath protected her from the violent Pursuite of her owne People: she yet, as a Person obdurate in Malice

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(as it appeares) continued her former Practises, as had bene lately manifested by certaine wicked Conspiracies plotted by one Anthonie Babington, and divers desperate Persons, that had combined and confederated themselves by Vowe and Oth in a most horrible Enterprise, by Murther, to take away the Life of her Majestie: wherein the Scottish Queene did not only advise them, but also direct, comfort, and abette them, with Perswasion, Counsel, Promise of Reward, and earnest Obtestation. Whereupon her Majestie, at the earnest Request of such as tendered the Safetie of her Royall Person and the Quiet of the Realme, did direct Commission under the great Seale to sundrie Lords and others of her Majesties privie Counsel, and a great Number of Lordes of Parliament, of the greatest and most ancient Degree, assisted with some of the principall Judges of the Realme, to heare, examine and determine the same, according to a Statute in that Behalfe made in the xxviij. Yeere of her Reigne. Who, to the Number of 36. having attended the Execution of the said Commission, and divers Daies and Times heard the Allegations against the said Scottish Queene in her owne Presence and Hearing, (shee being permitted to say what shee woulde in her owne Excuse) did with one Assent, finde her culpable both in Privitie and Consent to the saide Crimes objected, and also in compassing the Queenes Majesties Death. Which Sentence, by her owne Directions upon the hearing of the Praoves and Proesse in Parliament, was judged to have bene most honourable and just, and thereupon they all beseech hir Majesty, that forasmuch as the said Queene of Scots, was the very ground and onely subject, whereupon such dangerous Practises and Complots had bene founded, against hir Majesties most Royall Person and the Estate of this Realme for these many Yeeres, to the Overthrowe of sundrie of the Nobilitie of the Land, and Danger of Christian Religion, and that they could see no Hope of her desisting, and her Adherents, but that still her Majesties Safetie must be hazarded, and stand to the Event of the like miraculous Discoveries.

Therefore, as most humble and instant Suppliants, they did upon their Knees at her most gracious Feete, beseech and request in most earnest Maner, that aswell for the Continuance of Gods Religion, the Quiet of this Kingdom, Preservation of her Person, and Defence of them and their Posterities, it woulde please hir Highnesse to take Order, that the saide Sentence might be published, and such further Direction given, as was requisite in this so weightie a Cause, according to the Purport and Intent of the said Statute. Wherin, if her Majestie (pursuing her wonted Clemencie) should now be remisse, besides the imminent Danger to hir Person, she might by the Stay thereof, procure the heavie Displeasure of Almighty God, as by sundry severe Examples of his Justice in the sacred Scriptures, doth appeare. And so he delivered, to her Majesties owne Handes, the Petition in Writing, which he said, had bene with great Deliberation assented unto, by all the whole Parliament.

A short Extract of such Reasons, as were delivered in Speech by Master Sergeant *Puckering*, Speaker of the Lower House, before the Queenes most excellent Majestie in her Presence Chamber at *Richmond*, the xii. of November 1586. in the xxviii. Yeere of her Reigne, containing divers apparant and imminent Dangers, that may grow to her Majesties most Royal Person, and to her Realme, from the *Scottish* Queene and her Adherents, if Remedie be not provided.

¶ First, touching the Danger of her Majesties Person.

1. **B**OTH this *Scottish* Queene and her Favourers, doe thinke her to have Right, not to succeed but to enjoy your Crowne in Possession: and therefore as shee is a most impatient Competitor, so will shee not spare any Meanes whatsoever, that may bereave us of your Majestie, the onely Impediment that she enjoyeth not her Desire.
2. Shee is obdurate in Malice against your royall Person, notwithstanding you have shewed her all Favour and Mercie, as well in preserving her Kingdome, as saving her Life, and salving her Honour. And therefore there is no Place for Mercie, since there is no Hope that shee will desist from most wicked Attempts: the rather for that her Malice appeareth such, that shee maketh (as it were) her Testament of the same, to be executed after her Death, and appoynteth her Executors to performe it.
3. Shee boldly and openly professed it lawfull for her to moove Invasion upon you. And therefore, as of Invasion Victorie may ensue, and of Victorie, the Death of the vanquished: so did shee thereby not obscurely bewraie, that shee thought it lawfull for her to destroie your sacred Person.
4. Shee thinkes it not onely lawfull, but Honourable also and Meritorious to take your Life from you, as being already deprived of your Crowne by the Excommunication of the holie Father. And therefore it is like shee will (as hitherto she hath done) continually seeke it by whatsoever Meanes.
5. That shee is greedie of your Majesties Death, and preferreth it before her owne Life and Safetie: for in her Direction to one of her late Complices, she advised (under covert Termes) that whatsoever should become of her, that tragicall Execution should be performed upon you.

The Danger of the overthrow of the true Religion.

1. It is most perillous to spare her, that continually hath sought the Overthrow and Suppression of true Religion, infected with Poperie from her tender Youth, and being after that a Confederate in that Holy League when she came to Age, and ever since a professed Enemy against the Truth.
2. She resteth wholly upon Popish Hopes to deliver and advance her, and is thereby so devoted to that Profession, that aswell for Satisfaction of others, as for feeding of her owne Humor, she will supplant the Gospell, where, and when so ever she may: which Evill is so much the greater, and the more to be avoyded,

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as that it slayeth the very Soule, and will spread it selfe not onely over England and Scotland, but also into those Parties beyond the Seas, where the Gospel of God is mainteined, the which cannot but be exceedingly weakened, by the Defection of this noble Ilande.

The Perill of the State of the Realme.

1. *As the Lydians saide, Unum Regem agnoscunt Lydi, duos autem tolerare non possunt: So wee say, Unicam Reginam Elizabetham agnoscunt Angli, duas autem tolerare non possunt.*

2. *As she hath already by her Allurements brought to Destruction moe Noble Men and their Houses, together with a greater Multitude of the Commons of this Realme, during her being here, then she should have bin able to doe, if she had bene in Possession of her owne Crowne, and armed in the Fielde against us: so will she still be continuall Cause of the like Spoyle, to the greater Losse and Perill of this Estate: And therefore this Realme neither can, nor may endure her.*

3. *Againe, she is the onely Hope of all discontented Subjects, she is the Foundation whereon all the evill disposed do builde, she is the Roote from whence all Rebellions and Trecheries do spring; And therefore whilest this Hope lasteth, this Foundation standeth, and this Roote liveth, they will reteine Heart, and set on Foote whatsoever their Devises against the Realme, which otherwise will fall away, die and come to nothing.*

4. *Mercie now in this Case towards her, woulde in the Ende prove Crueltie against us all, Nam est quædam crudelis misericordia, and therefore to spare her, is to spill us.*

5. *Besides this, it will exceedingly grieve and in a Maner deadly wound the Hearts of all the good Subjects of your Land, if they shall see a Conspiracie so horrible not condingly punished.*

6. *Thousands of your Majesties most liege and loving Subjectes, of all Sorts and Degrees, that in a tender Zeale of your Majesties Safetie, have most willingly both by open Subscription and solemne Vowe, entred into a firme and loyall Association, and have thereby protested to pursue unto the Death, by all forcible and possible Meanes, such as she is by just Sentence nowe found to be: can neither discharge their Love, nor well save their Othes, if your Majestie shall keepe her alive: of which Burden your Majesties Subjects are most desirous to bee relieved, as the same may be, if Justice be done.*

7. *Lastly, your Majesties most loving and dutiful Commons doubt not, but that as your Majestie is duely exercised in reading the Booke of God, so it will please you to call to your Princely Remembrance, how fearefull the Examples of Gods Vengeance bee, that are there to be found against King Saul for sparing King Agag, and against King Achab for saving the Life of Benadad: both which were by the just Judgement of God deprived of their Kingdoms, for sparing those wicked Princes, whome God had delivered into their Handes, of Purpose to be slaine by them, as by the Ministers of his eternal and divine Justice: wherein full wisely Salomon proceeded to Punishment, when hee tooke the Life of his owne naturall and elder Brother Adonias, for the only Intention of a Marriage, that gave Suspition of Treason against him.*

Herein we your Majesties most loving and obedient Subjects, earnestly depend upon your princely Resolution, which we assure our selves shall be to God most acceptable, and to us no other, than the State of your Regall Authoritie may afford us, and the approved Arguments of your tender Care for our Safetie under your Charge, dooth promise to our Expectation.

A Report of Her MAJESTIES most gracious Answer, delivered by her selfe verbally, to the first Petitions of the Lords and Commons, being the Estates of Parliament, in her Chamber of Presence at Richmond, the xij. Day of November 1586. at the full almost of xxviij. Yeeres of her Reigne: Whereof the Reporter requireth of all that were Hearers, a favourable Interpretation of his Intent, because he findeth that he cannot expresse the same answerable to the Original, which the Learned call Prototypon.

THE bottomlesse Graces and immeasurable Benefits bestowed upon me by the Almighty, are, and have bene such, as I must not onely acknowledge them, but admire them, accounting them as well Miracles as Benefites, not so much in Respect of his Divine Majestie, with whome nothing is more common than to doe Things rare and singular: as in Regard of our Weakenesse, who can not sufficiently set foorth his wonderfull Workes and Graces, which to mee have bene so many, so diversely folded and imbroydered one upon another, as in no sorte I am able to expresse them.

And although there liveth not any, that may more justly acknowledge them selves infinitely bounde unto God then I, whose Life he hath miraculously preserved at sundry Times (beyond my Merite) from a Multitude of Perils and Dangers: yet is not that the Cause, for which I count my selfe the deeplyest bounde to give him my humblest Thankes, or to yeelde him greatest Recognition: but this which I shall tell you hereafter, which will deserve the Name of Wonder, if rare Things and seeldom seene be worthie of Accompt: Even this it is, that as I came to the Crowne with the willing Hearrs of my Subjects, so doe I now after xxviii. Yeres Reigne, perceive in you no Diminution of good Willes, which if happily I should want, well might I breath, but never thinke I lived.

And now, albeit I finde my Life hath bene full dangerously fought, and Death contrived by such as no Desert procured: yet am I therein so cleare from Malice (which hath the Property to make Men glad at the Falles and Faultes of their Foes, and make them seeme to doe for other Causes, when Rancor is the Ground) as I protest it is and hath bene my grievous Thought, that one, not different in Sexe, of like Estate, and my neere Kin, shoulde fall into so great a Crime: yea, I had so litle Purpose to pursue her with any Colour of Malice, that as it is not unknownen to some of my Lordes here, (for nowe I will play the Blabbe) I secretly wrote her a Letter upon the Discovery of sundry Treasons, that if she woulde confesse them, and privately
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acknowledge them by her Letters to my selfe, shee never shoulde neede be called for them into so publike Question. Neither did I it of Minde to circumvent her: for then I knew as much as she could confesse, and so did I write. And if even yet, nowe that the Matter is made but to apparant, I thought she truely would repent (as perhappes she would easily appeare in outwarde shewe to doe) and that for her, none other would take the Matter upon them, or that we were but as two Milke Maides with Pailles upon our Armes, or that there were no more Dependencie upon us, but mine owne Life were onely in Danger, and not the whole Estate of your Religion and well Doings, I protest (wherein you may beleeeve me, for though I may have many Vices, I hope I have not accustomed my Tongue to be an Instrument of Untrueth) I would most willingly pardon and remit this Offence.

Or if by my Death, other Nations and Kingdoms might truely say, that this Realme had attained an everprosperous and flourishing Estate: I would (I assure you) not desire to live, but gladly give my Life, to the Ende my Death might procure you a better Prince.

And for your Sakes it is, that I desire to live, to keepe you from a worse. For as for me, I assure you I finde no great Cause I should be fonde to live: I take no such Pleasure in it, that I shoulde much wish it, nor conceive such Terror in Death, that I should greatly feare it: and yet I say not, but if the Stroke were comming, perchance Flesh and Blood would be moved with it, and seeke to shunne it.

I have had good Experience and Tryall of this World: I know what it is to be a Subject, what to be a Sovereigne: what to have good Neighbors, and sometime meete evill Willers. I have founde Treason in Trust, seene great Benefits litle regarded, and in stead of Gratefulness, Courses of Purpose to crosse.

These former Remembrances, present Feeling, and future Expectation of Evils, I say, have made me thinke, *An Evill, is much the better, the lesse while it endureth*: and so, them happiest, that are soonest hence: and taught me to beare with a better Minde these Treasons, then is common to my Sexe: yea, with a better Heart perhaps, then is in some Men. Which I hope you wil not meerly impute to my Simplicities or Want of Understanding, but rather, that I thus conceived, that had their Purposes taken Effect, I should not have found the Blow, before I had felt it: and, though my Perill should have bene great, my Paine shoulde have bene but smal and short: wherein, as I would be loth to dye so bloody a Death, so doubt I not, but God would have given me Grace to be prepared for such an Event, Chance when it shall, which I referre to his good Pleasure.

And now, as touching their Treasons and Conspiracies, together with the Contriver of them, I will not so prejudicate my selfe and this my Realme, as to say or thinke, that I might not, without the last Statute, by the ancient Lawes of this Land, have proceeded against her, which was not made particularly to prejudice her: though perhaps it might then be suspected, in respect of the Disposition of such as depend that Way.

It was so farre from being intended to intrap her, that it was rather an Admonition to warne the Danger thereof: but sith it is made, and in the Force of a Lawe, I thought good, in that which might concerne her, to proceede according thereunto, rather then by Course of common Law: wherein, if you the Judges have not deceived me, or that the Books you brought me were not false (which God forbid) I might as justly have tried her, by the ancient Lawes of the Land.

But you Lawyers are so nice in sifting and skanning every Woorde and Letter, that many Times you stand more upon Forme then Matter, upon Sillables then Sence of the Lawe. For in the Strictnes and exact folowing of common Forme, shee must have beene indited in *Stafford Shire*, have holden up her Hand at the Barre, and bene tried by a Jurie: A proper Course forsooth, to deale in that Manner with one of her Estate. I thought it better therfore, for avoiding of these and more Absurdities, to commit the Cause to the Inquisition of a good Number of the greatest and most noble Personages of this Realme, of the Judges and others of good Accompt, whose Sentence I must approve: And all litle enough: For we Princes, I tel you, are set on Stages, in the Sight and Viewe of all the World duely observed: The Eies of many beholde our Actions: A Spot is soone spied in our Garments: A Blemish quickly noted in our Doings. It behooveth us therefore, to be carefull that our Proceedings bee just and honourable.

But I must tell you one Thing more, that in this last Acte of Parliament you have brought me to a narrowe Straight, that I must give Direction for her Death, which cannot be to mee but a most grievous and irkesome Burthen. And least you might mistake mine Absence from this Parliament (which I had almost forgotten) although there be no Cause why I should willingly come amongst Multitudes, for that amongst many some may be Evil: yet hath it not bene the Doubt of any such Daunger or Occasion that kept me from thence, but onely the great Griefe to heare this Cause spoken of, especially, that such a one of State and Kin, should neede so open a Declaration, and that this Nation should be so spotted with Blots of Disloyaltie. Wherein the lesse is my Grief, for that I hope the better part is mine, and those of the worse not much to be accompted of, for that in seeking my Destruction, they might have spoiled their owne Soules.

And even nowe coulde I tell you, that which woulde make you sorie. It is a Secrete, and yet I will tell it you, although it is knowen, I have the Propertie to keepe Counsell, but too well oftentimes to mine owne Perill. It is not long since mine Eyes did see it written, that an Othe was taken within few Daies, either to kill mee or to be hanged themselves: and that to be performed ere one Moneth were ended. Hereby I see your Danger in me, and neither can or will be so unthankfull or carelesse of your Consciences, as not provide for your Safetie.

I am not unmindeful of your Oth made in the Association, manifesting your great good Wils and Affections taken and entred into, upon good Conscience, and true Knowledge of the Guilt, for Safety of my Person, and Conservation of my Life, done (I protest to God) before I heard it, or ever thought

thought of such a Matter, until a great Number of Handes with many Obligations were shewed mee, at *Hampten Court*, signed and subscribed with the Names and Seales of the greatest of this Lande: which as I doe acknowledge as a perfect Argument of your true Heartes, and great Zeale to my Safetie: so shall my Bonde be stronger tied to greater Care for all your good.

But for as much as this Matter is rare, waightie, and of great Consequence, I thinke you doe not looke for any present Resolution: the rather, for that, as it is not my Manner, in Matters of far lesse Moment, to give speedy Answer without due Consideration, so in this of such Importance, I thinke it verie requisite with earnest Prayer to beseech his Divine Majestie, so to illuminate my Understanding, and inspire me with his Grace, as I may doe and determine that, which shall serve to the Establishment of his Church, Preservation of your Estates, and Prosperitie of this Commonwealth under my Charge. Wherein (for that I knowe Delaie is dangerous) you shal have with all Conveniencie our Résolution delivered by our Message. And what ever any Prince may merite of their Subjects, for their approoved Testimonie of their unfained Sinceritie, eyther by governing justly, voide of all Partialitie, or Sufferance of any Injuries done (even to the poorest) that doe I assuredly promise inviolablie to performe, for Requittall of your so many Desertes.

The Occasions of the Second Accesse.

THIS Answere thus made by her Majestie, the Lords and Commons were dismissed. And then her Highnesse some fewe Dayes after, upon Deliberation had of this Petition, being (as it appeared) of her mercifull Disposition of Nature, and her Princely Magnanimitie, in some Conflict with her selfe what to doe in a Cause so weightie and important to her and the Realme, sent by the Lorde Chauncelour (as I heard) and by the Mouth of an Honorable Person, and a right worthy Member of the Lower House, this Message to both Houses: moving and earnestly charging them, to enter into a further Consideration, whether there might not be some other Way of Remedy, then that they had already required, so farre disagreeing from her owne naturall Inclination. Whereupon, the Lords and Commons in either Houses assembled, had fundry Consultations, both in their severall Houses generally, and by private Committees deputed specially, and after Conference had betwixt the sayd Committees, it was resolved with Unanimitie of Consent amongst them in the Lower House, and by universall Concorde in the Upper House (the Question there propounded to every one of the Lords) that there could be found no other sound and assured Meane, in the Depth of their Understanding, for the Continuance of the Christian Religion, Quiet of the Realme, and Safetie of her Majesties most Royall Person, then that which was contained in their former Petition. The Reasons whereof, were summarily these that followe: which are more shortly reported, then they were uttered.

A Briefe Report of the Second Accessse the 24. of November 1586. and of the Answere made in the Name of the Lords of Parliament, to a Message sent from hir MAJESTIE by the L. Chancelour after hir first Answere.

THE Lord Chauncelour accompanied with above five or sixe and twentie Lords of Parliament, came before her Highnes in her Chamber of Prefence, to deliver the Resolution of all the Lords of Parliament, concerning a Message which he had not long before delivered from her Majestie, for further Consultation, whether any other Meanes could be thought of, or found out by any of them, how the Scottish Queenes Life might be spared, and yet her Majesties Person saved out of Perill, and the State of the Realme preserved in Quiet, declared, that according to that he had received in Commandement from her Majestie, he had imparted the same to the Lordes assembled in the Upper House, whome he found by their generall Silence much amazed at the propounding thereof, considering the same had bene before in Deliberation amongst them, and resolved upon, and as appeared by their former Petition exhibited to her Highnesse, wherein they had expressed the same Resolution. Notwithstanding, for her Majesties further Satisfaction, they had entred into a newe Consultation, and for that Purpose selected a great Number of the choycest Persons of that higher House of Parliament, to conferre thereof, either privatly or together with the Lower House: which also was done accordingly at severall Times. At all which Conferences it was concluded by them all, and so afterwards by the whole Assembly of both Houses, that there could be no other assured Meanes for the Preservation of her Majesties Life, and Continuance of God's Religion, and Quiet of this State, then by the full Execution of the Sentence according to their former Petition, instantly pressing her Majestie with many Arguments and Reasons tending thereto, all which, though by Distance from his Lordship I could not wel conceive, yet this I did remember precisely and especially was one, that as it were Injustice to denie Execution of Law, at the Suit of any one particular, and the meanest of her People: so much more, not to yeelde to the earnest Instance and humble Prayers of all her faithfull and loving Subjects. And so concluded with earnest Petition for her Majesties resolute Determination and Answere, for a present and speedy Direction by Proclamation, and otherwise also, according to the Forme of the Statute.

A Summarie Report of the Second Speech, uttered by the Speaker of the Lower House, by Direction of all the Commons.

THAT if her Majestie should be safe without taking away the Life of the Scottish Queene, the same were most likelie and probably to grow, by one of these Meanes following.

1. First, that happily she might be reclaimed and become a repentant Convert, agnising her Majesties great Mercie and Favours in remitting her heynous Offence.

Offence, and by her Loyaltie hereafter, performe the Fruites of such Conversion.

2. Or els, by a more strayght Guard be so kept, as there shoulde be no Feare of the like Attempts hereafter.

3. Or, that good Assurance might be given by Othe, Bonds or Hostages, as Cautions for her good and loyal Demeanour from henceforth.

4. Or lastly, by Banishment, the Realme might be voyded of her Person, and thereby the Perils further removed, that growe to her Majestie by her Presence.

The Moments wherof being duely pondered, did yet appeare so light in all their Judgements, that they durst not advise any Securitie to rest in any, no not in all of them.

For touching her Conversion, it was considered, that if Pietie or Duetie could have restrained her from such heynous Attempts, there was Cause abundantly ministred to her on her Majesties Behalfe, when she not onely protected her against the Violence of her own Subjects, who pursued her to death by Justice, but covered her Honor, when the same by publique Fame was touched, and by very heynous and capitall Crymes objected and proved against her before certeine Commissarie Delegates assigned to examine the same, more then blemished, and spared her Lyfe, when for her former Conspiracies and Confederacies with the Northren Rebelles, her Highnesse was with great Instance pressed by both the Houses in the xiiii. Yeere of her Majesties Reigne, to do like Justice uppon her, as nowe is desired, and as her treasonable Praetises then, had most justly deserved.

And where the Penaltie of this Acte sufficiently notified unto her, should have terrified her from so wicked Attempts, she hath neverthelesse insisted in her former Praetises, as a Person obdurate in Malice against her Majestie, and irrecoverable: so as there was no probable Hope of any Conversion, but rather great Doubt and Feare of Relaps and Recidivation, for asmuch as she stood obstinately in the Deniall of Matter most evidently proved, and now most justly sentenced against her, and was not entred into the first Part of Repentance, The Recognition of her Offence, and so much the farther off from the true Fruites that should accompany the same.

As for a surer Guard, and more strait Imprisonment, it was resolved, that there was no Security therein, nor yet in the other two Meanes propounded of Bonds and Hostages: for asmuch as the same Meanes that shoulde bee praetised to take her Majesties Life away (which God forbid) would aptly serve both for the Delivery of her Person, and Release of the Bonds and Hostages that should be given for Cautions in that Behalfe: which being unhappily atchieved, and to our irreparable Losse, who shoulde sue the Bonds, or deteine the Hostages? or being detained, what Proportion was there in Bonds or Hostages whatsoever, to countervaille the Value of so precious and inestimable a Jewel, as her Majestie is to this Realme, and to us all?

But she will solemnly vowe and take an Othe, that she will not attempt any Thing to the Hurt of her Majesties Person: Shee hath already sundry Times falsified her Worde, her Writing and her Othe, and holdeth it for an Article of Religion, That Faith is not to be holden with Heretikes, of which sort shee accompteth your Majestie, and all the Professors of the Gospel to be: And therefore

therefore have we little Reason to trust her in that, wherof shee maketh so small a Conscience.

As for Banishment, that were a Step à malo in peius to set her at Libertie: a Thing so greatly desired and thirsted for by her Adherents, and by some Princes her Allies, who sought her Enlargement chiefly, to make her a Head to be set up against her Majesty, in Time of Invasion.

To the which were added some fewe Reasons, collected out of her owne Letters and the Confession of Babington, her Instrument and chiefe Conspiratour: by which appeared, howe her owne Censcience bewrayed what might justly fall upon her, in Case any of her intended Desseignements came to light: that shee might haply bee shut up in some more close and strait Prison, as the Towre of London, if there befell her no worse Thing: and in that she directed Babington, in Case he failed in the Action of her Delivery, that he should neverthelesse proceede in Residue, which was the Death of her Majestie: who also confessed, that upon Assurance of her Majesties Death, or the Arrivall of Strangers, he intended to proclaime the Queene of Scots, and made no doubt of the desired Successe: and therefore, her Majesties Death being so earnestly sought, for Advancement of this Competitor, her Highnes could not remaine in Quietnes or Securitie, if the Scottish Queene should longer continue her Life.

The Second Answer made by the Queenes Majestie, delivered by her owne Mouth, to the Second Speech, uttered in the Names of the Lords and Commons of the Parliament.

FUL grievous is the Way, whose going on and end, breede Comber for the Hire of a laborious Journey.

I have strived more this Day then ever in my Life, whether I shoulde speake, or use Silence. If I speake and not complaine, I shal dissemble: if I holde my Peace, your Labour taken were full vayne. For mee to make my Mone, were strange and rare: for I suppose you shal finde fewe, that for their owne Particular, will comber you with such a Care. Yet such I protest hath bene my greedy Desire and hungrie Will, that of your Consultation might have fallen out some other Meanes to woorke my Safetie joyned with your Assurance, (then that for which you are become such earnest Sutors) as I protest, I must needes use Complaint, though not of you, but unto you, and of the Cause: for that I do perceive by your Advises, Prayers, and Desires, there falleth out this Accident, that *Onely my Injurers Bane, must be my Lifes Suertie.*

But if any there live so wicked of Nature, to suppose, that I prolonged this Time onely, *pro forma*, to the Intent to make a Shew of Clemencie, thereby to set my Prayses to the Wyerdrawers to lengthen them the more: they doe me so great a Wrong, as they can hardly recompence. Or if any Person there be, that thinke or imagine, that the least vayneglorious Thought hath drawen mee further herein, they doe me as open Injurie as ever was done to any living Creature, as he that is the Maker of all Thoughtes, knoweth

eth best to be true. Or if there bee any, that thinke, that the Lords appointed in Commission durst do no other, as fearing thereby to displease, or els to be suspected to be of a contrary Opinion to my Safetie, they doe but heape upon me injurious Conceites. For either those put in Trust by me to supplie my Place, have not performed their Duties towards me: or els they have signified unto you all, that my Desire was, that every one should do according to his Conscience, and in the Course of his Proceedings should enjoy both Freedome of Voyce and Libertie of Opinion: and what they would not openly declare, they might privately to my selfe have revealed. It was of a willing Minde and great Desire I had, that some other Means might be found out, wherein I should have taken more Comfort, then in any other Thing under the Sunne. And since nowe it is resolved, that my Suretie cannot bee established without a Princeesse Ende, I have just Cause to complaine, that I, who have in my Time pardoned so many Rebels, winked at so many Treasons, and either not produced them, or altogether slipt them over with Silence, shoulde nowe be forced to this Proceeding, against such a Person. I have besides, during my Reigne, seene and heard many opprobrious Bookes and Pamphlets against me, my Realme and State, accusing me to be a Tyrant: I thanke them for their Almes: I beleieve, therein their Meaning was to tell me Newes, and Newes it is to me in Deede: I would it were as strange to heare of their Impietie. What will they not now say, when it shalbe spread, That for the Safety of her Life, a Mayden Queene could be content to spill the Blood, even of her owne Kinswoman? I may therfore ful wel complaine, that any Man should thinke mee given to Crueltie, whereof I am so guiltlesse and innocent, as I shoulde slander God, if I should say he gave me so vile a Mind: yea, I protest, I am so farre from it, that for mine owne Life I would not touche her: neither hath my Care bene so much bent howe to prolong mine, as how to preserve both, which I am right sory is made so hard, yea, so impossible.

I am not so voide of Judgement, as not to see mine owne Perill: nor yet so ignorant, as not to knowe it were in Nature a foolish Course, to cherish a Sworde to cutte mine owne Throate: nor so carelesse, as not to weigh that my Life dayly is in Hazard: but this I do consider, that many a Man would put his Life in Daunger for the Safegarde of a King, I doe not say that so will I: but I pray you thinke, that I have thought upon it.

But sith so many have both written and spoken against mee, I pray you give me leave to say somewhat for my selfe, and before you returne to your Countries, let you know, for what a one you have passed so careful Thoughts. Wherin, as I thinke my selfe infinitely beholding unto you al, that seeke to preserve my Life by al the Meanes you may: so I protest unto you, that there liveth no Prince, that ever shall be more mindefull to requite so good Desertes. And as I perceyve you have kept your olde Wonts, in a general seeking of the lengthning of my Dayes: so am I sure that I shall never requite it, unles I had as many Lives as you all: but for ever I will acknowledge it, while there is any Breath left mee. Although I may not justifie, but may justly condemne my fundry Faults and Sinnes to God: yet for my Care in this Government, let me acquaint you with my Intents.

When first I tooke the Scepter, my Title made me not forget the Giver: and therefore began, as it became me, with such Religion, as both I was borne in, bred in, and I trust shal die in. Although I was not so simple, as not to know what Danger and Perill so great an Alteration might procure me: howe many great Princes of the contrary Opinion woulde attempt all they might against me: and generally, what Enimitie I should breede unto my selfe: which all I regarded not, knowing that he, for whose Sake I did it, might, and would defend me. For which it is, that ever since I have bene so daungerously prosecuted, as I rather marvaile that I am, then muse that I should not be: if it were not Gods Holy Hand that continueth me, beyond all other Expectation.

Then entred I further into the Schoole of Experience, bethinking what it fitted a King to do: and there I saw, he scant was wel furnished, if either he lacked Justice, Temperance, Magnanimitie, or Judgement. As for the two latter, I will not boaste, my Sexe doeth not permit it: But for the two first, this dare I say, Amongst my Subjects I never knew a Difference of Person, where right was one: Nor never to my Knowledge preferred for Favour, whome I thought not fit for worth: Nor bent my Eares to credite a Tale that first was tolde me: Nor was so rash, to corrupt my Judgement with my Censure, before I heard the Cause. I will not say, but many Reports might fortune be brought mee by such as might heare the Case, whose Partialitie might marre sometime the Matter: For wee Princes may not heare all our selves. But this dare I boldly affirme, my Verdit went ever with the Trueth of my Knowledge. As ful well wished *Alcibiades* his Friende, that hee should not give any Answere, till he had recited the Letters of the Alphabet: so have I not used over sudden Resolutions, in Matters that have touched me full neere: you will say that with me, I thinke.

And therefore as touching your Counsels and Consultations, I conceive them to bee wise, honest, and conscionable: so provident and careful for the Safetie of my Life (which I wish no longer then may be for your good) that though I never can yeeld you of Recompence your Due: yet shall I endeavour my selfe to give you Cause, to thinke your good Wil not ill bestowed, and strive to make my selfe worthy for such Subjects.

And now for your Petition, I shal pray you for this present, to content your selves with an Answere without Answere: Your Judgement I condemne not, neither do I mistake your Reasons, but pray you to accept my Thankfulnessse, excuse my Doubtfulnessse, and take in good Part my Answere answerlesse: wherein I attribute not so much to mine owne Judgement, but that I thinke many particular Persons may go before me, though by my Degree I go before them. Therefore if I should say, I would not doe what you request, it might peradventure be more then I thought: and to say I would do it, might perhaps breed Perill of that you Labour to preserve, being more then in your owne Wisdomes and Discretions would seeme convenient, Circumstances of Place and Time being duely considered.

The HOLY BULL, and CRUSADO of ROME:
First published by the Holy Father GREGORY XIII.
and afterwards renewed and ratified by SIXTUS V.
for all those which desire full Pardon and Indulgence of
their Sinnes: and that for a litle Money, to weete, for
two *Spanish* Realls, viz. Thirteen Pence.

Very plainly set forth, and compared with the Testimony of the Holy
Scriptures, to the great Benefite and Profite of all good Christians.

2 Pet. 2. vers. 18. *For when they speake the great swelling Woords of Vanity,
they entise through Lusts, with the Bayte of Wantonnesse of the Fleshe, them
that were cleane escaped from them, which are wrapped in Errour: while
they promise them Liberty, whereof they themselves are the Bond Servaunts of
Corruption.*

Imprinted first by *Richard Schilders*, Printer to the States of *Sealand*: With
Consent of the States. Given at *Middleborrowe*, the xii. of *September* 1588.

Subscribed, Ch. Roels.

And reprinted at *London* by *John Wolfe*, dwelling in the *Stationers Hall*. 1588.

The POPE's BULL, translated out of *Spanish*, with the Answer
thereunto out of the Holy Scriptures.

THE (a) Bull of the (b) holy (c) Crosse newly graunted by our most
holy Father *Gregory* the Thirteenth, and enlarged with many and
very great (d) Graces, Pardons, Faculties, and Stations for all the

(a) *Bulla*, in Lattin signifieth a Bubble, which riseth on the Water, or that which Children doe make with Soape and Water in a Mussel Shell, and therefore the Lord God by his iuste Judgment hath ordained that this should be termed a Bulle, to the End all Men may be advertised, what Benefite is to be expected thereof, unlesse Men would after the *Spanish* Manner call it *Burla*, which is a Jest or Mockerie, because they herewith do openly deride and jeste with God and all the World.

(b) That is called holy, which is appropriated unto God, and seperated from all Uncleanesse of the Worlde. Now what

Holineesse is contained in the Bulle, all Men may perceive which shall examine the same with the Word of God.

(c) The Crosse in Times past hath been esteemed as we esteeme the Gallows, and therefore all Manner of Sufferance, Oppression, Shame and Ignomie of the Worlde is called a Crosse. Nowe whether this be called a Crosse, because they herewith doe persecute and destroy the poore Members of Christ, each one may judge.

(d) By what Authoritie he presumeth to have Power to graunt these Pardons, Indulgences and Advantages, shall be more at large hereafter declared.

Citizens, Inhabitants, and all those which remaine in this Realme of (e) *Spaine* and Ilandes thereabout, of *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*, for the Aide and Assistance of the (f) Wars against the (g) Faithlesse and Heretiques (h) the Enemies of our holy Fayth and Christian (i) Religion, which Bulle is for the (k) Sermon of the Yeare (l) 1585.

(e) He doeth very well in chusing those Countries specially for the Utterance and Sale of his Bulles from whence the Gospell is most of all excluded, and where the Truth of the Gospell is least known, fearing least otherwise he might be discovered and brought to Light.

(f) Here Men may perceive what Pronouncers of Peace and Unitie these holy Fathers be, which doe sell their Bulles for the Maintenance of Warre.

(g) He calleth all those Infidels and Heretikes, which doe acknowledge Christ Jesu onely to be their Mediatour, Saviour, Intercessour, High Priest, Bridegrome, and supreme Head of the Church of God, and which doe receive the holy Scriptures of the Prophets and Apostles, for the onely Foundation of the perfect Christian Doctrine without respecting the Pope of *Rome* in this Behalfe.

(h) That is to say, Enemies of the Romish Atheisme, and Antichristicall blaspheming of God, wherby they induce Men to beleve that they are Gods here on Earth, and Vicars of the living God, for to command and prohibite what pleaseth them: Desiring moreover that none of the common People should knowe what he beleeveth: But all Men must beleve that which our Mother the holy Church with the Rabblement of Munkes and Fryars doe beleve, without knowing what it is.

(i) A Religion is properly a Service of God, Nowe who they bee which bee Enemies of the Christian Religion: Againe, which onely call upon God in Spirit and

Truth, through the onely Mediatour Jesu Christ, or those which beside the living God doe in their Neede, and for their Help Invoke or call upon all Maner of deceased Creatures, and doe serve the Lord not in Spirit and Truth, but in externall Images and Pictures of carved Wood and Stones, and with externall Mumblings and Ceremonies, which they themselves understand not: These Christ most plainly setteth downe in the Doctrine which he hath left unto us, by the Mouth and Penne of his Apostles and Disciples.

(k) Here we see howe that in steede of Preaching the Word of God, and to instruct the People of Gods Mercie obtained in the Blood of Christ, they doe rush in with their Bulle. Nowe whether the same doe agree with the Doctrine and Example of the Apostles, their Epistle written to the Church of Christ (which they had instructed with the Preaching of the Worde) doe proove, and specially *Rom. 10 vers. 14, 15, 16, 17.*

And marke when Christ sendeth forth his Apostles, whether he did commande them to thrust Buls into the Handes of the People in steede of Sermons. *Math. 28. vers. 19. Mark 16. vers. 15.*

(l) Consider that this Preparation and League for the extirping and rooting out of all true Christians, hath already been practising three Yeares. But the Lorde God can suddenly let his Winde blowe over them, even as he did over the People of *Pharao. Exod. 15.*

(a) **T**HE Title, Name and Dignitie, which was given to King *David*, by reason of the great good Successe, which God vouchsafed to graunt unto him, is declared unto us by the holy Scriptures in the first Booke of the Kings. Wherunto King *Saul* (through the Wil of God) did greatly exhorte him, promising unto him (for Rewarde of the Victories which hee hoped for by his Meanes) his eldest Daughter in Marriage, saying unto him, behave thy selfe like a valiant and vertuous Man, and fight the Battaile of the Lord, by Vertue of which Commission (and trusting on the Helpe of God) hee obtained the Victorie against the *Amalekites* and their Adherentes: amongst the which was greatly renowned and extolled the Revenge which he tooke upon *Siceleg*, which was a famous Cittie, which *Achis* the King of *Beth* delivered unto him. Where he restored the great Booties of Women and Children, certayne Dayes before taken Captives of the same Towne, which had bene burned by the *Amalekites*: for the which the King *David* was greatly extolled and praised, and the People greatly holpen and protected under the Defence of *David*, and through the Mercie and Providence of God, who had elected him for that Service. In Comparison whereof our most holy Father *Gregorie* the Thirteenth, hath not onely (b) given the Name or Title of Defendour of the People of God unto the Majestie of the King *Don Philip* our Lord, but for the greater Zeale he hath to the Increase and Preservation of the (c) holy Catholique Faith, considering the great Charges which

(a) This Preface would have served to verie great Purpose, if *David* had borne Armes against those which onely tooke their Refuge to God in Spirit and Truth, and not against the *Amalekites* and other faithlesse Idolaters, which had their Churches full of dumbe Idols and wodden Saintes, and did by them make all their Prayers to God, and did take all maner of deceased Persons (being their *Baals*, that is, Saintes) for their Intercessours and Protectours, even as this holy Father likewise doth, howbeit hee will not much deceive the People, for he doth sufficiently manifest in the first Attempt what he pretendeth, comparing himselfe to *Saule*, which gave *David* a good Commission and Chardge to fight the Battaile of the Lord: but whiles hee all his Life Time did nothing els but murther the faythfull Servaunts and Prophets of the Lord, yea and persecuted *David* himself with all his vertuous Adherentes, which reposed their Trust on Gods Promises, fearing least he should lose his Kingdome: even so this holy Father doth preferre the Battaile of the

Lorde, but whiles hee seeketh to murther and burne the Prophets and faithfull Servants of the Lorde, and wholly to roote out the true *David*, Christ Jesu, with all those which onely depende on him, and acknowledge him to be the Head and King of the Catholike Church, fearing least his Kingdome of this World might decay, and his Belly-cheere decrease.

(b) Here you see that he doth appropriate to himself that which onely appertaineth unto God, for through him alone Kings do rule, and the Antichrist doeth here place himselfe in Gods Throne, attributing to himselfe the Honour due to God, as though he might institute Kings and Protectors of the People of God: which hee shall never prove to have beene doone, or purposed by the Apostles.

(c) The holy Catholike Fayth is here called the Extirpation of the Knowledge of the Truth of the Gospel, and of the Salvation which we have obtayned in Christ. For the Pope doeth specially and above all Things maintaine that the common People ought not to know any particular

which daily arise for the common Defence of (*d*) Christendome, continually fighting the (*e*) Battailles of the Lord, (*f*) purging the Sea from the Incurfions and Piracies which the Infidels and Heretikes committe, being very (*g*) *Amalekites*, the same Pope for the Aide and Succour of so rightfull Defence, opening the (*h*) Treasures of the Church, hath given unto him, and newe prolonged the (*i*) Bulle of the holy Crosse, to the Ende that all (*k*) saythfull Christians, which shall accept thereof and give (*l*) the Number

ticular Things thereof, but to referre them simply to their Mother the holy Church, which is the Saying of the Monkes and Fryars and other beastly Persons, which doe instruct the People with dumbe Idols, with Crosse, with Garlands, with halloved *Agnus Dei*, and like Bables, to the Ende to keepe them still in their childish Ignorance and Catholike, that is to say, generall Simplicite. And this holy simple Catholike Faith, their Divines and Doctors doe call *Fides implicita*, that is a Beleefe foulded together, and is like to a Cloth which is foulded, so that no Man may looke within it: which Beleefe the King of *Spayne* through an indirect or blinde Zeale these many Yeares hath sought to defende and protecte with Fyer and Sworde, to the Spoyle of his *Lowe Countries*, yea with Hazarde of his Realmes and Dominions, extirping all those which would plant the true Christian Faith, through the Light of the Gospel, to the End to sever the Truth from Lyes.

(*d*) Christendome doeth he here terme the Seate of *Rome*, that is, all those which doe acknowledge the Pope for Head, Brydegrome, High Priest, and Father of the Church: For whosoever will onely acknowledge Christ for the same, and not the Pope, he here is accompted among the Turkes and faithlesse Heretikes. Therefore for as much as there may not be two Christes nor two Heads of the Church, but the one must be Christ, and the other Antichrist, you shall not take Christendome in this Place for any other Thing, but the Trayne of the second Christ, who vaunteth himselfe to be Christ, but is very Antechrist in Deede.

(*e*) You must here take the Battailles of the Lorde, according to the Comparison of *Saul*, (which he himselfe heretofore hath set downe) when he persecuted *David*,

and murdered and burned the Prophets and High Priest of *Nobe*, viz. the Battailles of our Lord the Pope, for to mainteine his Kitchin well furnished.

(*f*) That is to say, in making a great and fearefull Army for to overrunne the Countries and Realmes of other Princes, and to roote out all those even to the very Children and Women, which will not acknowledge the Pope to be the Vicar here, and robbe Christ of his Honor.

(*g*) Who be the *Amalekites*, is here before set downe.

(*h*) Behold here doth this Antichrist attribute to himselfe the Power to devide or imparte according to his beastly unsatiabable Desire to those which mayntaine his Potage pot, the Grace which the Sonne of God by his precious Bloud hath obtained for those which beleeve in him, and call upon him, and doe acknowledge him to be the Head of the Church of God.

(*i*) Turne to the first (*a*) and (*b*).

(*k*) Which signifieth poore ignorant Men, which doe suffer themselves to be led like to a Beare with a Ring in the Nose, not knowing what they beleeve, no more then Beastes: but reposing them in that Behalfe on the holy Father the Pope, and their Mother the Catholike or chief Beast.

(*l*) This is the whyte they shoot at, to wit, to get Money, and to make Warre therewith. Nowe let each one that hath Eyes see, and he that hath Eares for to heare let him heare, whether this bee the Voyce of *Peter* (whose Successor and Vicar this holy Father vaunteth to be) who sayd to *Simon Magus* (which offered him Money) thy Money perishe with thee, because thou thinkest that the Favour or Grace of God may be obtained with Money. *Act. 8. vers. 20.*

of (m) Almes hereunder declared, doe receive the (n) Graces and Absolutions and Pardons hereafter following.

Inprimis hee doeth give unto all faithfull Christians of these Realmes and Dominions dwelling, being resident in the same, and to those which shall come there which bee (o) inflamed with the Zeale of the Defence and Increase of the Holy Catholike Faith, and which shall take his Part for to serve (p) in the Wars under the Power and with the Men which his Majestie sendeth, for the Space of one Yeare for to fight against the (q) *Turke*, or to do any other Service, or personall Helpe under the aforesaid Armie, remaining under the same untill the End of the aforesaid Yeare, (r) the full Pardon and Forgivenessse

(m) This Word Almes is derived of a Greeke Worde *Eleemosyna*, which properly signifieth Compassion and Pitie. And behold here the Holinesse of this Father doeth esteeme it a Deede of great Charitie, to give Money for to spill Christians Bloud, and doth so shamefully pervert every Thing, that he turneth Charitie into cruell Bloudsheeding.

(n) According to that which before we have repeated of *Simon Magus*, who thought that the Grace of God was to be solde for Money, it may playnely appeare that this Marchant is a Successor not of *Simon Peter*, but of *Simon Magus*, whose Workes he evidently followeth.

(o) This is sufficiently set downe before.

(p) This is the Trompet of this holy Apostle: Christ sayeth to his Apostles, I give you my Peace, I leave you my Peace: *Peter* writeth in the Beginning of his Epistle, Grace and Peace be multiplied unto you: And again in the End, Peace be with you al which are in Christ Jesus. *Paule* writing of the Apostles and their Vocation, sayeth: howe beautifull are the Feete of them which bring glad Tidings of Peace, *Rom. 10. 15.* But this brave Successor of *Peter* and *Paul*, doeth here founde his Trompet for to induce all the Worlde to Warres, under the Armie of the King of *Spayne*, for to take in, and overrunne by Force, and Murther, the Realmes of other Princes: And for that Effect he doeth sell his Bulles, Graces, Pardons, &c. and doeth drawe the poor silly Soules out of his Purgatorie for to helpe thereunto.

(q) This Bull was first graunted against

the *Turke*: For whereas the Apostles were wont to convert the Infidels with preaching of the Gospell, and Examples of Life, the Romish Apostles will doe the same with the Sworde, murthering all those which knewe nothing of the Christian Religion. But they did yet cloake this with the Name and Shewe of a Zeale which they had of the Honor of Christ against the *Turkes*. But now this Apostle hath so well inchaunted the King of *Spaine*, that he hath made a Truce or League with the *Turke*, being an Originall Enemy of Christ, to the End to assaile with all his Power and Might, those which onely call upon Christ and God the Father in his Name, and which doe acknowledge none els for the Head, Bridegrome, High Priest, Mediator and Peace Maker of the Church of God: For this doeth much more grieve this holy Father, then the Infidelitie of the *Turke*: For he thinketh that by this his Kingdome must decay, seeing that the Kingdome of Christ only thereby is erected, and therefore he hath now changed the Bulles which were made against the *Turke*, and made them against the poore Members of Christ, to the End utterly to extyrpe and roote them out. And in the meane Time, the *Turke* hath Time and Meanes on the other Syde, given him wholly to subvert Christendome. And this is the Zeale wherewith these holy Fathers are so inflamed.

(r) Here we see plainely how this Antichrist maketh an open Jest of the Forgiveness of Sinnes, which the Sonne of God with so deere a Price, to witte with his Death and Bloodsheeding, hath obtained for us. For he here with his bloudy Trompet

nesse of all their Sinnes, so that they do hartely (*s*) repent and be sorowfull for them, and do by Mouth make Confession of the same, or if they cannot confesse themselves, that they doe with Hart desire to do the same, (*t*) even as they are accustomed to give the same Pardon to those which goe to helpe to recover the holy Lande, and in the Yeare (*u*) *Jubileo*. And it is to be understoode

Trompet doth pronounce this Remission, not unto those which with an humble Hart (taking their Refuge to Christ) doe repose all their Trust and Confidence upon his Satisfaction and Intercession betweene God and Man: but to those which either do spill Christian Bloud, or give Money to the same Effect. And secondly, where as he with all his Doctors and Divines, openly doth affirme that the Remission and Pardon of Sinnes, which Christ hath obtained for us, can take away but onely the Offence, and not the deserved Punishment or Payne of Sinnes committed after the Baptisme: for which Effect they have instituted their invented Purgatorie, to the Ende there to pay the sayd Punishment and Penaltie: So likewise he is not ashamed to graunt his Pardon so amply, that therewith not onely the Offence, but also the deserved Punishment is wholly taken away, even as he hereunder in the Forme of an Absolution plainly expresseth: Yea, vaunteth the same to be of such Force, that it draweth the Soules of others out of Purgatorie: so that he doeth esteeme his Bulles more excellent and worthier, then the most precious Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of the Sonne of God, which according to their Report, is not of such Force that it can deliver us from the Paines of Purgatorie. Whether these be not the most horrible Blasphemies, which this Beast uttereth against God his Name and Tabernacle, whereof *John* in his *Revelations*, 13. ver. 6. doeth speake, every vertuous Person easely may perceive.

(*s*) This harty Penitence is nothing els but a false Color, wherwith this Whore doeth paynte and hyde her uncleane Face. For they doe publikely teache, that no Forgiveness of Sinnes can be obtayned through the Merites of Christ, how penitent soever Men be for their Sinnes, unlesse

Man himselve do satisfie for the same: And this Satisfaction doe they inferre to the mumbling of *Pater Nosters*, and *Ave Maries*, being babled out in Latin, to Pilgrimages, to Fryars Weedes, to erecting of Cloysters and other like, which they themselves without Warrant out of the Word of God have invented, and that which is not cleane swept away therewith, they reserve for Purgatorie, to the Ende to be purged there with Dirges, and other Babels, which they for Mony Sake have invented, in steede of the Bloodsheeding of Jesus Christ, so that it is manifest that a harty Penitence is nothing worth with them, but onely to set a Colour on their subtile Satisfaction.

(*t*) It is very well to be credited that the one Pardon is as good as the other, for they be both forged in the Forge of Lyes.

(*u*) *Jubileus* is derived from a Hebrew Word, which doth signifie a Trompet, wherewith the Yeare of *Jubilee* was declared to those of the Olde Testament: For besides the Sabaoth which God had commanded to be sanctified on the seventh Day of the Weeke, so likewise he would that Men should every seven Yeares keepe a Feaste, to let the Country rest for a Remembraunce of the miraculous Delivery, whereby the Children of *Israel* were delivered out of the Tyrannie of *Pharao*, and Bondage of *Egypt*, by the which was prefigured the spiritual and perpetuall Delivery, which should happen through Christ: But especially after that the seven Times seven, which is forty nine Yeares, were expyred, God would that they should withall Thankfulness keepe holy the next Yeare following being the fiftie Yeare, resting wholly in the Lord, and giving Libertie to all the *Israelite* Slaves, and letting the Countrey or Lande reste that whole Yeare, untill such Tyme that the spirituall

understoode that they shall receive the like Pardon, which before the Ende of the Dispatch shall happen to (w) dye on the Way going towards the saide Forces, or being among the same. Item they also which by reason of Sicknes or other lawefull Busines which unto them shall happen, shall be constrained to depart out of the Armie. And likewise doeth give the said Pardon to those the which (howbeit they shall not goe together in Person) shall neverthelesse (x) send other thether in their Steede and Place, and that in Manner following, that if he which so shall sende any other, were a (y) Cardinall, a Primate or Patriarke, a Bishop, the Sonne of a King, Prince, Duke, Marques or Earle, that he sende so many Persons as he commodiously may, to the Number of eight, or if he cannot sende so many, that he at the least doe sende foure. And all other Persons of what Condition soever they be, temporall or ecclesiasticall, shall every of them sende his Man, unles they were so poore that they could not doe the same, in which Case two, three or

spirituall Deliverie in Christ (which thereby is prefigured) should be perfourmed: for then by the comming of Christ (the very and perfect Fulnes of all such Prefigurations) that Ceremonie should cease, and the right *Jubileus* in the Spirit and Trueth of all saythfull Christians should be kept. But these Romish Fathers, which in apish sort have againe newe brought up all the Jewish Ceremonies (which Christ had abolished) have in steede of that *Jubileus* induced a very Stage Playe, commaunding that Men not onely everie fiftie, but everie five and twentie Yeares, should come and buye Bulles and Pardons at Rome, where they with a golden Crosse doe knocke upon a hollowe Walle, crying *Aperite portas Principes vestras?* And the same Walle being broken open from without, al they which do creepe through that Hole which they call the golden Gate, in putting a Peece of Money in the Boxe, they doe thereby deserve Pardon of all their Sinnes, and doe release a great many Soules out of Purgatorie, which is an excellent Way to get Money. And now this Bulman doth promise us here the very same Pardons, which there are deserved, if we will here give Mony for to persecute and destroy all those which will not acknowledge him for chief Pope. Now whether this do agree with the Learning of *Peter* and *Paule*, and whether the same hath any Part with the Remission of Sinnes which Christ hath obtained for us with his Death and Passion, each one may judge which is

not berefte of his Wittes.

(w) Consider that they which shall dye before this Dispatch, shall receive greater Benefit of their Bulles, if they can cary the same whole and uncanceled with Seale and Writing into Purgatorie. For *Lucifer* who no doubt, is a great Friend to the Pope of Rome, and would doe much for him, will doubtles let their Soules goe out of his Clawes, if they can shewe him these Bulles, being so solde.

(x) *Paul* saith that every one shal *Gal. 6. 5.* And that eache one shall give Accompt unto God for him selfe, *Rom. 14. 12.* and receive according to his owne Works, be they good or bad, *Rom. 2. 6.* and *2 Cor. 5. 10.* But this Romish Apostle which alloweth, that one do heare a Masse for an other, and that one giving a Peece of Money to the Priest, may deliver the Soule of an other out of Purgatorie. He can also give Licence that one may goe for an other in this holy Warre, and being contributorie thereunto, also to enjoy the Pardon for an other. So that he get Monee, he careth not whether he burne in Purgatorie or that he get out of the same.

(y) Whether this Exception of Persons doe in any Manner agree with the Trueth of the Gospell, or the Doctrine of *Peter* and *Paule*, reade *Acts* the 10. Chapter, *Vers 34. 35.* *Rom. 3. Vers 27.* and 10. *Vers 12.* Item *1 Cor. 1. Ver. 26. 27.* *1 Cor. 11. Vers 22.* *Coll. 3. Vers 11.* *James 2.*

four of them together, shall sende a Souldiour (z) contributing therin every of them to their Power.

Item the Frieries or Deanes of Churches and Cloisters of * religious Persons, eyther Men or Women, although they were of the begging Order, which for every ten Persons of such Deanes, Fryers, and Cloisters, shall sende one Souldiour, having first communicated and concluded the same for their Fryerie or Deanrie, shall enjoy the same Pardon, which Pardon they which so shall be sent shall also enjoye if they be poore.

Item the temporall Priestes, which with Consent of their Ordinarie, and the *Regulars* of their Superiour, shall come and preach the Worde of God, or do any other vertuous Church Service, which they shal be permitted to doe in the sayd Army, and without incurring Irregularitie, and that they in the meane-whyle shall neverthelesse enjoye their Benefices by sufficient Deputies, not being any Pastors, or Vicars or Curates of Soules, for such may not goe without Consent of his Holines. And the Souldiours which shal submitte them in these Warres, (a) shall not be bound to the fasting Dayes, although they by Promise or Charge of the Church, were bounde thereunto, if they themselves were in the Warres. Item his (b) Holines doeth permit all the Persons before specified, and those which shall neither goe nor sende thether, so that they liberally doe (c) contribute of their Goods, and helpe to this holy Worke with their Almes hereunder written, that they during the saide Yeare, which beginneth from the Day of the publishing of this Bull, may enjoy in all Places all the Graces and Faculties in this Bulle contened, to wit, that they at the Time of (d) apostolical or ordinarie Prohibition, may heare Masses in the Churches or Cloysters, or in the (e) particular Places of Prayers

(z) It is all for to make this Contribution, which doeth as well agree with the Apostles Vocation, as Fyer with Water, and Light with Darkenesse.

* The Fryers, Monkes, Nonnes, and other spirituall Persons, which are exempt from all temporall Charge, may not here goe free. For when to spill the Bloud of the Christians, and persecute those which will onely call upon the Name of Christ Jesus, neither Cowler, Coffe nor Coape avayleth, all must licke of one Sauce: Yea, the holy spirituall Persons are the first and chiefeft which herein must shew their Zeale, for it toucheth them the nearest, and howsoever the Dice runne, the Pope must keepe his Crowne on his Head.

(a) Marke howe this holy Father doth take upon him Power to rule over the Conscience, and to bynde the same to his Fastes, or to discharge it thereof, as pleaseth him: thinke you whether that bee

not to place him selfe in God's Seate.

(b) This is also the very Title and Name of God, who in all Places is called the Holy One of *Israel*, as with his own Name. But this heathenly Father, which exalteth himselfe above all that which God is called by, doeth attribute to himselfe the Title of the most holy, and of Holinesse it selfe.

(c) Of this Contribution, there is sufficient Rehearsall before: doe but onely marke that they will, that Men shall liberally contribute, for a litle may not suffice such an unsatiabable Gulfe.

(d) That these Interdictions or Prohibitions may bee esteemed for Apostolicall, we will so beleewe, when they shall shew us out of the holy Scriptures, that the Apostles did ever defend to call upon God in all Places.

(e) Whether this do agree with the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, who sayeth that the Father will not be worshipped, neither upon

Prayers (described and visited by the Ordinary) saying Masses, or other godly Offices, if they be Priests, by their owne Persons, or els cause the same to be done by others in their Presence, and of their Familie and Friends or Kinsfolke, and to receive the holy Sacrament of the Lordes Supper, and all other Sacraments, except on Easter Day, although it were at the Time when the same (f) were prohibited, so that they be not Cause of such Prohibition, or that it have not bene their Fault that such Prohibition hath not bene called on, and conditionally that they alwayes when they imploy such Places of Prayers for the Effect aforesaid, doe praye and make their Praier, every one according to his Devotion, for the Preservation of the League of the Christian Princes, and Victorie (g) against the Infidels.

Item doeth permitte that at the Time of Interdiction the Bodies of the Dead, may be buried in (h) hallowed Sepulchres with meane (i) Pompe of Buriall.

Item doeth permitte to all Persons which shal accept of this Bul, that they during the said Yeare, may with the Advice and Consent of both the Doctors of Soule and Bodie, eate Flesh in the Lent and on other fasting Dayes, and other (k) prohibited Dayes, during the said whole Yeare. And that they also may freely at their Pleasure (l) eate Egges and other Meate, in such Maner that those which shall eate no Flesh, observing in the rest the Maner of the usual ecclesiasticall Fasting Dayes, shalbe accompted as having observed and kept the aforesaid (m) Fasting. And in this Permission of eating
of

upon one Hill, nor at *Hierusalem*, nor in one Place rather then in an other, but in all Places, in Spirit and Truth. Reade *John 4. vers 21. 23.* and *1 Tim. 2. ver. 8.*

(f) Howe this doth agree with the Institution of the holy Apostle, Reade *Paule* to the *Gallat. 4. ver. 10. Colloff. 2. ver. 16.*

(g) *Paul* doth learne us *1 Tim. 2.* that Men shall pray unto God, for the Princes, Lordes and Rulers, not because they should joyne together in Warre, Blood-sheeding and rooting out of the faithfull Christians, as this holy Father doeth here propounde, but to the Ende we might under them live a quiet and peaceable Life in al Godlines and Vertue.

(h) Whether the Apostles did ever in their Life time hallowe any Sepulchres, wee may looke in the Popish Gospell, and in their Deerees. For the Gospel and Doctrine of Christ and his Apostles, doe not make any Mention at all of any such heathenish Superstition.

(i) Also whether these Pompes of Burials doe proceede from Christ, his Apostles,

or from the Heathenish, each one can judge who ever did reade the Holy Scriptures, or doeth therewith examine the prophane Histories.

(k) This Difference in Meates and Dayes, doeth evidently repugne against all that which *Paule* with plaine Wordes doth write thereof in sundrie Places, *Rom. 14. 1 Cor. 8. 8.* and specially *Colloff. 2. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27.* Yea he termeth it (writing to *Timothie*) *1 Tim. 4. ver. 3.* The Doctrine of the Divil, out of the which may playnly be scanned what a holy Father he is, which thrusteth these Bulles in to our Hands.

(l) Here Men doe againe clearly perceive that this holy Father doth take unto himselfe full Power and godly Authoritie over the Consciences of those which Christ with his precious Blood hath delivered from that Kynde of Subjection to the Elements. *Coll. 2. 12.*

(m) Behold and consider, that all the Holines of this Romish Bulman, consisteth onely in externall Ceremonies and bodily Motions, which the Apostle *Paule* affirm-

of Egges and other Victuals at their Pleasure, be not contened the (n) Patriarkes, Primates, Archbishops, Bishops, nor other inferiour Prelates, nor whatsoever regular Person, or Priestes Temporall, for as much as concerneth the Dayes of the Lent onely. Neverthelesse, excepting and reserving from these, those which shalbe of the Age of threescore Yeares, and all the Knights and Rulers of the Warre, to the which it shalbe lawfull to eate Egges and other Victuals at their Pleasure, and shall neverthelesse enjoy the aforesaid Pardon or (o) Indulgence.

Item the abovenamed, which shal not be able to come nor to send, if they be contributorie and assisting with their Goods, and that they besides the same Contributions doe of their owne Devotion voluntarily faste upon no ordinarie fasting Days, and make their Prayer, calling on God to help in the Victorie against the unbeleeving (p) Heretiques, and for his Favour to the League of the Christian Princes. And if they by reason of any lawfull Hinderances could not fast, then let them do some (q) other good Worke at the Discretion of their (r) Confessor, or of their Pastor, as often as they shall doe the same, during the aforesaide Yeare, he doeth remit and discharge them for fiftene Yeares, fiftene (s) forty Partes of the Penance upon them imposed,

eth to be to small Purpose, 1 Tim. 4. ver. 8. commanding that in steed thereof, Men should exercise themselves in Godlines, which is profitable in all Things, having the Promise of the Life present, and of that which is to come. Whereas to the contrarie, this holy Father in his Bulls maketh as though the Kingdome of God did consist in Meate or Drinke, or like externall Things, directly contrary to that which Paul every where teacheth, Rom. 14. ver. 17. and 1 Cor. 8. 8.

(n) Behold here againe, whether this terrestriall God be not an Acceptour of Persons.

(o) Who cannot out of this playnely perceive that this is a carnal Pardon, which can bee good or bad with eating or not eating of Flesh, which hath no Comparison with the Remission of Sinnes, which Christ by his Blood hath obtayned for us, and not published by Bulles, but by preaching of the Gospell, not consisting in the externall Diversitie of Meats, but in an inward Conversion of the Mynde to God.

(p) Nowe the Heretikes are layde a-boorde, wherby Men may perceive that this good Father is not bent against the Turks, but onely against those which will not acknowledge him for the Head of

the Church of Christ, nor accept his Decrees and Commandements, in steede of Gods Commandements, and Institutions of the Apostles: for they must all be faithlesse Heretikes, though so it were that they dubble fould did acknowledge Christ the Sonne of God, for their only Saviour, Redeemer and Mediatour.

(q) Here the Merites of Christ Jesu, are not much worth for to obtaine Remission of Sinnes, but Men must deserve this Pardon with the Merites of his owne good Workes, which are nothing els but an externall Shewe of hypocriticall Ceremonies, without any right Foundation of Godlines, or of the right Fayth and Trust in Christ Jesu, wherein this Merchant of Bulles is wholly ignorant.

(r) This is the Satisfaction for Sinnes, which the Confessor doeth impose upon the Confessed, which is commonly some certayne Number of *Pater nosters* and *Ave Maries*, to be sayde, like as a Parrot prateth, without Understanding, and that wilbe preferred in the Judgement of this terrestriall God, before the Satisfaction which Christ with his Death and Passion hath atchieved.

(s) Here the Score is cleane stricken out, for undoubtedly the Lord God (at the leastwise this terrestriall God) will accompt

imposed, and which they in any wise doe owe. And are yet also made Partakers of all the Prayers, Almes (t) Pilgrimages, and also of those of *Hierusalem*, and of all other good Workes which are done in the universall militant Church and every Member thereof.

Item it is given and graunted to all those which on the Dayes of Lent, and other Dayes of the Yeare (when there shall be *Stations* within *Rome*) shall visite five (u) Churches of five Altars, (x) five Times one Church or one Altar, and that they devoutly do pray for the Union and Victory before recited: That they shall deserve and enjoy all the Pardons, Indulgences and Remissions which are gotten and enjoyed by those which do visite the Churches in (y) *Rome*, and without the Walles thereof, and as they should deserve the same, if they did personally visite them. Item, because they with more Puritie and Cleannesse of Conscience may pray, his (z) Holines doth permitte to all the Persons aforesaid, that they may choose for a Confessor any Priest, either Temporall or Regular, being one of the approved

accompt the Penaunces with Dayes, Moneths and Yeares, for to punish or to forgive Sinnes, not according to the Word of the Doctrine of the Gospel, as *Paule* meaneth *Rom. 2. ver. 16.* but according to the Score of these sweete Bulles and Pardons, which are almost duely registred in the Register of the Soules of Saint *Michaell*, and he will weigh them in his Ballance against their Sinnes.

(t) Here the Pilgrimages of the good Catholickes do tend to Forgiveness of our Sinnes. Now whether this holy Father hath drawne the same out of the Writings and Doctrine of *Peter* and *Paul* (of whome he vaunteth himselfe to be a Successor) it may easely be perceived, if their Writings bee examined with this Bull.

(u) This visiting of the Five Churches or Five Altars, wherby Men do deserve great Pardons by this earthly Father, is also grounded on the Doctrine of *Peter* and *Paul*, even as the former. And therefore is it that their Epistles bee full thereof, as each one may see, who will but peruse the same.

(x) Christ the Sonne of God doth teach us, that the Lord at the latter Day shall judge the good and the bad by the Works of Charity and Love, which they shal have done to the Poore. And the holy Scripture doth also teach in other Places, that Faith shalbe called in Accompt, so that every

Man shall be dealt with according to his Faith. But that God should judge Men by the Number and Quantity of the Churches that they shall have visited, and where there are not five Churches, that there one Church or one Altar being five Times visited, shall stand in stead of five Churches or five Altars, is a fraudulent and vayne Invention or Deceit, forged in the Forge of the holy Father, or of the God of this World, who by such vayne hypocriticall Superstitions seeketh to seduce the World from the right Fayth, and true Godlinesse.

(y) In all the Holy Scriptures there is not one Worde mencioned that there should be any more Pardons, and Remissions of Sinnes to be gotten in *Rome* then els where: Therefore all this is nothing els but a divellish Invention for to mainteyne the Babilonical Cittie, which hath alwayes from the very Beginning, filled her selfe with the Blood of the Apostles and Martyrs, and to heap up much Moneys, for to mainteine her Pryde and Vanitie.

(z) Marke I pray you, wherein this holy Father doeth repose the Holinesse and Puritie of the Conscience, and consider whether the same doeth in any Part, yea in the very least Part, agree with the Puritie, which the Apostles, *Peter* and *Paule*, doe lay before us.

by the Ordinarie, who may once during their Life, absolve them, and once more at the Houre of Death of all and singular Sinnes and Offences, * though they were of those which were reserved to the Popes Apostolicall Seate, and also of those which are declared in the (a) Bulle in *Cæna Domini* (the Crime or Delicte of Heresie excepted) and they to have and injoye full Pardon and Indulgence thereof. And of the Offences and Sinnes, which are not reserved to the Apostolicall Popish Seate, that it shalbe lawfull for him to absolve the same as often as they with a godly Penitence shall confesse the same, according to the Greatnes of the Offence. And if there were any (b) Satisfaction required for to attaine to the sayd Absolution, they then to do the same in their owne Person, and if there were any Hinderance, it shall be lawfull for them to cause the same to be done by their (c) Heires or others for them. And it shalbe lawfull for the sayd Confessor also to (d) alter any of their Promises of

* Here we doe playnely see how they doe ceryde and make a Jest of the Remission of Sinnes, which Christ hath obtained for us, and doe put them selves in Gods steede for to forgive and retaine Sinnes according to their Pleasure, which onely they doe for to get Money, and therefore the Popes Apostolicall Sea of Rome is heere admonished that he is the Childe of Perdition, whereof *Paul* writeth, which hath made his Seat in the Temple of God, and doeth tearme himselfe God, vaunting himselfe of the Power and Dominion of the Lord, consisting in the Remission of Sinnes.

(a) In the Bull all Maner of abominable Sinnes, are noted or set downe: yea, such that a Christian Hart should have an Horror and Feare to heare them named: but neverthelesse they are all set downe and forgiven in the Text of the Apostolical Chamber, for a certain Somme of Money. But the Sinne of Heresye, that is to saye, of those which doe only take Christ for the Head of the Christian Church, and do not esteem of the Popes Bulls, can not be forgiven, and is therefore excepted here, because the Pope without any Mercy, will have those rooted out with Fyre and Sworde, which be of that Opinion.

(b) Of this auricular Confession and Satisfaction, there is enough set downe before.

(c) This doeth plainely repugne against the Doctrine of the Gospell, wherein is declared unto us, that whosoever beleeveth in the Sonne of God, he already hath Life

everlasting. But who so doth not beleeve, is damned, and shall not see Life, but the Wrath of God abideth on him. *Joh. 2. ver. 18. and 3. ver. 36.*

Therefore all that which these holy Fathers do perswade Men unto, that there yet should be a Waye betweene both, or a Purgatorie, out of the which Men might be delivered by the good Deedes and Deserts of others, which yet are alive, is nothing els but a fetch to gether Mony together with *Dirges*, erecting of Cloysters and other like Matter, which without any Proove of Scripture are invented of Men, and have no Resemblance at all with the Doctrine of the holy Prophets and Apostles. But be mere Antechristes Inventions, where-with the Grace and saving Health of Christ by Fayth in his Blood, is made vayne and of none Effect.

(d) This doeth plainely repugne against the Holy Scriptures, where it is evidently commaunded of the Lord, that Men shall strictly performe and paye the Vowes made unto his Majestie (if so it be that they be in our Power, and be not repugnant to his Commandements) *Deut. 23. ver. 21, 22, 23, &c.* So that no auricular Confessor nor any Creature in the Worlde, hath any Power at all to release us thereof. Therefore even as this holy Father doth attribute to himselfe this Power, not only to the End hee himselfe might dispence withall such Promises, but also to give an other the same Power, he doeth evidently shewe that he is the Antichrist, whereof *Daniel, Paul* and *John* had written.

Pilgri-

Pilgrimages or other whatsoever, and to converte them in any Succour and Ayde for this Expedition or Dispatch, except the Promises of Chastitie, Religion or Pilgrimage, beyond the Sea. And if during the said Yeare, it shall happen, that they through present and sudden Death, or by reason of the Absence and Want of a Confessor, chaunced to dye without Confession, if so be they be disceased with good Penitence, and that they at the (e) Time limited and ordained by the Church, shall have confessed themselves, and that they shall not have bene Carelesse or Negligent in the trusting to this Grace, they then shall likewise injoye full Indulgence, Pardon, and Remission of all their Sinnes. And it shalbe lawfull to yeele unto their Bodies ecclesiasticall Buriall, if they be not deceased being excommunicated, notwithstanding the Interdiction or Prohibition. Likewise his Holines by his particular Breife hath graunted that all faithfull Christians which shall take this Bull twice (f) within the Time of the aforesaid Yeare, may once more in their Life time, besides that which hereabove is graunted and given them, have (g) Absolution of all and singular Sinnes, and Trespases, and Offences or Excesses, howe grievous soever they may be, and of all and singular Sentences of Excommunication, wherein they shalbe fallen, although they were of those which are contained and expresse in the Bull of the Lordes Supper, and wherof the Absolution is reserved to his Holines, except the (h) Crime of Heresie, as is aforesaid. And that they for (i) two Times may injoye all the Graces, Indulgences, Remissions, Faculties, Pardons, or Absolutions in this Bull contained. (k) And his Holines doeth give Power and Authoritie to

(e) Of such auricular Confession to be made at certaine Times, the holy Scriptures doe make no mention at all, and it is nothing els but Mans Invention for to get Money, and to bring the Priests to the Knowledge of all Secrets of the World, and moreover to reach Mens Consciences and to bring them to the Racke.

(f) This is a fyne Glose for the Utterance of his Trompery, and for to make these Men to be much esteemed off.

(g) Of this Absolution and Pardon of Sinnes, which this holy Father doeth attribute to him selfe, sufficient Mention is made before.

(h) This Cryme of Heresy is in al Places excepted, because the holy Father doeth esteeme all the Sinnes done against the Majestie of God to be but small, and doeth cleanse them all with a Bull. But that which is done against his Purse, and the Proffit of his Churches, can never be forgiven, neither in this Life, nor in the Life to come, as it is most playnely set downe in his Decrees. *Cap. Violatores, 25. quæst.*

1. c. nemini. 17. qu. 4. c. nulli fas dict. 14.

(i) If the first Bull be good and firme, wherefore serveth the second? Or is the second necessary because the first is not sufficient, then doth it evidently appeare, that although there were yet two hundredth of the like Bulles, it woulde not avayle. Turne to the Apostle *Paule, Hebr. 10. 13. 18.*

(k) This is a marvellous Power which this terrestriall God and Vicar of the Sonne of God, here vaunteth off, as that not he only may suspende and make voyde all the Graces which theretofore are graunted, but doeth also give another full Power to doe the same. Truly if these Graces, Pardons, Absolutions of Sinnes, did proceede from God, no Man could suspende them, that is to say, detayne or keepe backe the Effect, but because they proceede not from God, but from Men, and not from Christ, but from Antichrist, therefore Antichrist and his Servaunts, may play therewith as with a Ball, and make the same either good or bad, as best serveth for their Purpose.

us the Licentiate, *Don Thomas de Salazar*, Treasurer and Canon of the Holy Church of *Sivill*, Counciller of his Majestie, (*l*) generall Commissioner of the holy and generall Inquisition, that we may detaine and keepe in Suspence, during the Yeare of the Publication of this Bull, all the Graces, Indulgences, Faculties, and Privileges graunted in these aforesaide Kingdomes and Dominions, Iles and Provinces, and all and singular Churches, Cloisters, Hospitalles, Friaries, Holy Places, and particuler Persons, though it were so that the Graunt did continue (*m*) any Clause contrary to the said Detention or Suspence. And likewise also, to th' End we might cause the saide Graces and Faculties, and all other Things againe to take Effect. And to th' End we and our Subdelegates, may suspende the Interdict, if there shall bee any, where this Bull shall bee preached or published. And likewise also for to arbitrate, judge and declare, according to the Qualities of the Persons, the Contributions and Almes, which they must give that will injoye this Bull. And we the said Licenciat, *Don Thomas de Salazar*, Treasurer and Canon of the Holy Church of *Sivill*, Counciller of his Majestie of the Holy Inquisition, general Commissioner of the aforesaid holy Crosse, given unto us by the Apostolike Romish Authoritie, in Favour of this holy Bull, and to the Ende so holy a Worke be not hindered, nor do not (*n*) feare by reason of other Indulgences. Therefore we doe suspende during the Yeare of the publishing and preaching thereof, all and singular Graces, Pardons, and Indulgences, and Faculties, given joyntly or severally by his Holines, or by the holy Popes his Predecessors, or by their holy Apostolicall Seate, or by his aforesaide Authoritie, in all the aforesaid Realmes and Dominions of his Majestie, to all and singular Churches and Cloisters, Hospitals, and to other holy Places, Universities, Fryeries, and particuler Persons, although the saide Graces and Faculties, were for the (*o*) Building of Saint *Peter* of *Rome*, or of other like Crusados.

(*l*) Consider whether any Apostles or Ministers of the Church, did ever take upon them the Vocation of the Inquisition, and you shall finde that the holy Scriptures doe not make any mention thereof.

(*m*) Here you doe plainely perceive that they can say and unsay, they may give and take againe their Graces, Pardons and Bulls, suspende and annulle them, alowe and disalowe them, and doe therewith what they will, for they be but crafty Devices for to drawe Money out of Mens Pursses.

(*n*) Here againe, it may easely be perceived that all these Indulgences and Pardons, be nothing els but idle, vaine, and frivolous Bulles, or Waterbubbles, and Wyndes, which the Popes of *Rome* doe graunt for to deceive the simple People. For if such Pardons were good and of

Value, they would alwayes remayne so, and would never be suspended or kept back, for the Mercie and Calling of God, is without Repentance, sayth *Paule*, *Rom.* 9. 11. 29.

(*o*) Marke the vyle bloody Minde of this holy Father, howbeit he doeth most highly esteeme the Building of the Churches of *Rome*, and doeth sell Heaven for to get Money to that Effect, and for to maintaine therewith his proud and whorish Arrogancie. Yet neverthelesse, he doeth preferre this present Action of persecuting the poore Christians before all other, and is content that the giving of Money towards the Buyliding aforesaid, shal for a Time cease, so that this cruell Warre and the Contributions thereof may have their Course.

And

And though it were so, that all the same or any of them, did containe (p) any Clause contrary to this Suspence. And also, though it were so, that we for the getting of the publishing thereof, had given our Consent, during the Yeare of the publishing and preaching of this aforesaide Bull, no Bodie may obtayne or injoye any other Graces, (q) Indulgences, Pardons or Faculties, nor publish the same, except those which are given and graunted to the chiefe of the (r) begging Fryars, forasmuch as toucheth their Fryars. And in Favour of this aforesaide Bull, we doe declare by the same Apostolicall Authoritie, that those which shall accepte this aforesaide Bull, may have and injoy all the Graces, Faculties, Indulgences, Pardons, *Jubilees*, in the Pardons and Absolution of Sinnes, which unto them have been given and graunted by our most holy Father *Gregorie* the Thirteenth, and by the other deceased Popes of blessed Memorie, and by the holy Apostolike Seat, or by his Authoritie in the aforesaide Suspension contained, which we by Vertue of the said Apostolical Commission doe corroborate, and by the saide Apostolike Authoritie wee doe (s) suspende the Interdiction if any there be where the Supplication and preaching of this Bull shalbe made (t) eight Dayes before, and eight Dayes after, even as in the Bull of his Holines is contained. And we doe declare that those which shall accept the same, must receive and keepe this Discourse and (u) Bull printed in Paper, sealed and subscribed, without Name

(p) Here Men may perceive againe, that upon their Clauses and in generall upon all their Bulls, no Regard at all is to be had, seeing they may be called in, cancelled, and made of none Effect as you please.

(q) Poore feelie blinde Men, open heere your Eyes, and behold the wicked Proceedings of these Antichrists. Christ hath forever and ever obtayned for us Grace and Remission of our Sins, without any Exception or Restriction, and these holy Fathers doo cancell all other Graces, Favours, and Remission of Sinnes, because they might erect their bloody Warres and cruell Persecution against the poore Christians. And meane whiles they would perswade Men that the Graces or Pardons which they so doo dispend and make voyd, should bee the very same which Christ Jesus hath with his pretious Bloud obtained for us. Whereas they are not ashamed to make open Defence, that none either may give or receive any such Grace, Indulgence, and Pardon, but onely the same which they themselves doo heere expaine, at the least, during the Time that this Bull shall continue, which is a meere

Jest and Derision of God, and of the Grace which we receive by his pretious Death and Bloudshedding.

(r) Heere bee onely excepted the Pardons graunted to the *Fryars Mandiants*, even as though Christ died rather for them then other Men, whereas to the contrary it is written in the Lawe of God, that there shall not bee any Begger in *Israell*. *Deut. 15. Verse 4.* And whereas *Paule* also dooth greatly rebuke idle Persons saying, that who laboureth not ought not to eate. *2 Theff. 3. v. 11.*

(s) Marke, I pray you, these Jestes, which doo dispend, make voyde, and then againe confirme their Subjects Bulls, even as though they did play with a Bubble or Ball.

(t) This is even so as Men doo publish the free Fayres, and heere doo all Interruptions surcease, because this Commoditie might bee well solde.

(u) Let all Christians consider heere, whether this bee the Meanes wherewith the Apostles *Peter* and *Paule* did reveale and preach the Remission of Sinnes, and the Grace of the Gospell to the People, that they must have a Bull sealed, and give

Name and Seale, for otherwise they shall not obtaine nor enjoye the aforefaide Bull, nor the Graces and Pardons of the same.

And forasmuch as you have given two Silver Reals, which is the Almes whereat we have taxed and valuated the same, and accepted this Bull, and your Name written therein, therefore you have obtained, and have here graunted unto you the (x) Indulgences, Pardons, Graces, and Faculties, and you may use and enjoye all the same, in Maner and Forme aforefaide. Wherefore wee have caused these Presents to bee given thee, which are printed in *Madrid*, the xiiii. Daye of September. 1584.

The Forme of Absolution.

(a) **T**HE Forme of Absolution, which may bee given once during Life, and againe at the Houre of Death, by (b) vertue of this Bull, to whatsoever Persons, which shall accept thereof.

(c) *Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, &c.* By the Authoritie of the Al-

give two Silver Reals for to be Partakers thereof.

Who doth not heere perceave that these feald Buls be the very Marke of the Antichristical Beast, without which no Body may buy nor sell. *Apoc. 13. Ver. 16. 17.*

(x) It is heere to bee noted, that all these Graces, Pardons, and Indulgences are to bee bought for two Silver Reals, whereat they bee taxed by these holy Fathers, for a publike Scorne of God, and of the Lorde Jesus Christ, which could not with any Gold or Silver, or other earthly Thing, but onely with his holy pretious Bloud and Sufferance, fulfill the Fathers Sentence, for to obtaine for us Forgiveness of our Sinnes. *1 Pet. 1. Ver. 18. 19.* And herewithal note also that these Apostles bee right Disciples and Mediators of *Simon Magus*, who would have bought the Grace of God with Money. Wherefore let all Men shunne these Antichristicall Pedlers, and give Eare unto Christ, who by his Prophet *Esay* saith: Come to me all you that thirst, come to the Water, and you that have no Money, come buy and eate, come buy without Money both Wine and Milke.

Wherefore doo you lay out Silver and not for Bread, and your Labour without being satisfied, harken diligently unto mee, and eate that which is good, and let your

Soule delight in Fatnes, incline your Eares and come unto mee, heare and your Soule shall live, and I will make an everlasting Covenant with you, even the sure Mercies of *David*, &c. *Esay 55.*

For thereby you doo perceave that Christ Jesus dooth extend his Graces, not for Money, but of his loving Kindnesse, not unto those which doo buy these many Buls, and doo cause their Names to bee put therein, or which goe to Warre against their Neighbors. But to those which doo encline their Eares to the Doctrine of the Gospell, beeing the Covenant of the Almighty, which dooth prescribe unto us the sure Mercies of *David*.

(a) We have heere before seene that there is no other Maner of Absolution prescribed of Christ, nor ordained by the Apostles, but that the Remission of Sinnes should bee preached to all those which beleve the Gospell, and doo give Eare to Christ Jesu, therefore this Forme must of Necessitie be esteemed for an Antichristicall Forme.

(b) It is sufficiently declared here before what Vertue this Bull hath.

(c) And the more openly to skorne with God, they doo utter to the poore silly People their Pardons in a Language which they understand not, directly contrary to all the Doctrine of *Paul*, *1. Cor. 14.*

mightie

mightie (d) God, and of the blessed (e) Apostles Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paule*, and of our most (f) holy Father specially given and granted unto you, and unto me committed, I do absolve you of all Censures or Condemnations of Excommunication, great and smal, Suspence of Interdict *à jure vel ab homine*, and of all other Censures, Sentences or Condemnations and Penalties, into which you for any Cause might be fallen, although the Absolution thereof

(d) They ought first to shew that God Almighty had given him Authoritie for to graunt such Buls.

(e) We have beene able sufficiently to perceave by the Premisses, that all this is cleane repugnant to the Doctrine of the Apostles, and specially against the Epistles of *Peter* and *Paule*, and therefore it cannot bee that they have not receiv'd any such Authoritie of them.

(f) To the Ende to declare unto all Men what Power and Authoritie this most holy Father hath, wee briefly will heere rehearse that which the Apostle *John* in his *Revelation* doth write thereof. He saith, that the old Dragon, that is the Divell, hath resigned his Seate and great Might to the Beast with seven Heades, which Beast, the Angell saith, doth signifie the City with seven Hills, whereupon the Whore sitteth arrayed with Purple and Scarlet, Gold, pretious Stones and Pearles, which is the old Towne which had her Dominion (at the Time of *John*) over the Kings of the Earth, *Apoc. 17. Ver. 4. 18.* Nowe this Towne cannot be any other but the Citie of *Rome*, which at that Time did almost raigne over all the Kings of the World, and many Yeares cruelly persecuted all faithfull Christians, and hath made her selfe droonke with the Bloud of Martyrs, *Apoc. 17. Verse 6.* Therefore he dooth moreover say, that this Beast was wounded even to the Death, but hath given all her Power to another Beast, which hath two Hornes like to the Hornes of the Lambe, and speaketh like the Dragon, and dooth use all the Power of the former Beast, and procureth that all the Inhabitants of the Earth doo worship againe the first Beast, destroying all those which will not doo the same, and dooth seduce all those which dwell on the Earth, causing them to have a Signe or Marke in their Hand or on their Forhead, without the which no Body

may buy or sel, *Apoc. 13.* Out of the Premisses it may plainly bee seene, that this hogly Father is heere lively set forth and described. For all his Cardinals and whole Rablement be clothed in Purple and Scarlet, which is the very Livery whereby they be described: He is furnished with Gold, Silver, pretious Stones, and Pearles, more than all the Kinges of the World, hee hath also received all the Power of the Cittie of *Rome*, and he hath againe erected the Romaine Seate, which (through the declining of the Romaine Empire) was (as it were) wounded to the very Death: and dooth compell all the Inhabitants of the Earth to worship the Seat of *Rome*, and to acknowledge the same for supreme Head of the Christian Church, or els he doth murther them: he hath also a Name blaspheming the Lord, whose Power he dooth attribute unto himselfe: He selleth his Merchandises to Kings, Princes and Lords, and dooth make them kisse his Feet: prohibiting that no Body may buy or sell which hath not his Character, that is to say, his Marke or Buls which he presseth on all his Preefts.

So that it dooth manifestly appeare, that he is the very Antichrist which in all Things dooth cleane oppose himselfe against the Lambe of God Christ Jesus. For even as the Person of Christ is most plainly knowne in that he is very God, and very Man, which none can be unlesse he be the very Christ, which is, the annoynted of the Lord. Even so the Pope of *Rome* dooth vaunt himselfe that he is neyther very God nor very Man, mitigating that which standeth in the Decrees. *Nec Deus est nec homo, sed neuter & inter utrumq;*: He is neyther God nor Man, but Neuter betweene both, which none can be but the very Antechrist, which in all Things is contrary to Christ.

were reserved to the holy Apostolicall Chaire, even as by these Presents the same is graunted unto you. And I do place you againe in Union and Communion with the faithfull Christians. And likewise I doe absolve you of all your Sinnes and Offences and Excesses which now you have confessed unto me, and of those which you should confesse, if they came to your Remembrance, though so it were that the Absolution thereof did belong to the holy Apostolicall Chaire, as is aforesaid. I doe graunt unto you perfect Indulgence, Pardon, and Absolution of all your Sinnes, which now or at any other Time you have confessed, forgotten, or beene ignorant of, and of the Paines which you ought to suffer for them in *Purgatory: In nomine Patris, & filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Amen.*

In the Houre of Death the Confessor shall say: and if God through his Mercie doe let you escape this Sicknesse wherein now you be, then you shall keepe this Indulgence or Pardon until the very Houre of your Death.

The End of the Bull.

CHRONOGRAPHIA: A Description of Time, from the Beginning of the World, unto the Yeare of our Lord 137. Wherein the severall Histories, both of the Olde and New Testament, are briefly comprised, and placed in their due Order of Yeares: for the better Direction of the Reader.

Collected out of sundry Authors, but for the greatest Part, abridged and translated out of *Laurentius Codomannus*, his *Annales sacrae Scripturae*.

Deut. 4. 32. *Enquire after the Times that are past: which were before thee, since the Day that God created Man upon the Earth, &c.*

Printed in the Yeare 1590.

To the R E A D E R.

IF it shal please thee (gentle Reader) to accept in good Part this rude and unperfekt Draught, which in so great Shortnesse of Time, and Multitude of Businesse, I could present thee with all: Thou shalt give me Encouragement at my better Leasure, and some fitter Oportunitie, to finish the same to thy further Benefit. In the meane Season my Hope is, it shal not repent thee to have ben at so smal a Charge, or of so little Labour, as wil suffice to the diligent perusing of this short Treatise. Which that thou mayest read with the more Fruit: I thought good to admonish thee of these few Things. First, that where
in

in so litle Roome all particular Histories of the Holy Bible could not be expressed, thou maiest not unfitly place the Things not here set downe, neare unto those Stories that in this Treatise are annexed unto them. 2. What Times are certainly noted and defined in the Worde, thou shalt find confirmed by Places quoted to that Purpose. As for others that are onely probable and coniecturall, it shall suffice, thou rest thine Opinion upon the Credite of mine Author, untill thou find some better Argument for thy further Direction. 3. The Tables containing a Correspondence of Yeares, in the Lives of the Fathers, Judges, and Kings of Judah, and Israel, I have for Brevitie Sake omitted, hoping that thy Diligence in comparing the Times together as they are set downe, will easily supply that Want. 4. As for the Index I thought it Superfluous in so short a Booke, besides that the Margent briefly containing the Heads of al Things, may answere thy Desire in that Part. 5. Where thou findest A. M. in the Top of every Page understand the Yeare of the World, and where in the Margent thou findest A. Ch. understand the Yeare of our Lord. 6. In the first Page Equinoctium vernum, signifieth, that Time of the Spring, wherein the Daies and Nights are of equall Length, Luminarium conjunctio, signifieth the Meeting of the Sunne and Moone in her Chaunge. 7. For the Title, A brief Chronicle of Holy Scripture, I gave it, because the greatest Part of the Stories herein remembred, are taken out of the Worde of God: yet it was necessary for the Continuance of the History and other Complement, that some Things should be alledged out of the Apocrypha, Josephus, and other Authors. 8. Where the Accompt of mine Author differeth somewhat from others, that wrote before him, it neede neither to offend nor trouble thee, as derogating nothing from the Truth of the Storie. The Reasons of his Difference he hath profoundly set downe in a larger Volume, written for that Purpose: But because the same is farre removed from the Capacitie of the Multitude, and consisteth most upon Astronomicall Calculation, I thought it better to leave it wholly unto the learned, then here to trouble thee without Fruit. 9. If thou desirest to know what is the Distance of the present Yeare of our Lord 1589, from any particular of the ancient Storie, take from 5730, the Yeare of that Historie, and the Number remaining is that thou requirest. To know how many Yeares before Christ his Birth, any Thing hapned: take the Yeare of the Story thou seekest from the Yeare wherein Christ was borne, and the Remainder is that thou desirest. As, David was borne in the Year of the World, 3039. And Christ in the Yeare, 4141. take the first from the latter, there remaineth 1102: so many Yeares was David borne before Christ. 10. In alleaging the two Bookes of the Kinges I have written 1. Reg. and 2. Reg. 11. Where Places of Scripture are alleaged for the Birth of many Personages, if the same be not there expressed, understand that it is gathered from thence by Computation, which thou mayst easily discerne. 12. In so many Numbers, and of so great a Varietie scarce any Diligence could performe that nothing should be printed amisse. It may please thee therefore gentle Reader to beare with some fewe Escapes, and patiently to amend where thou findest a Fault. And so I bid thee most hartely farewell in the Lord. This 12. of Februarie. 1590.

The Creation.

Day.

A Description of Time, from the Beginning of the World, unto the Yeare of our Lord 137.

Heaven and Earth.

1

THE first Day of the World was created Heaven and Earth, contayning a confused Masse, whereof afterwards all Things were made. This Day was our *Sonday*, or the *Lordes Day*, and as is thought, the 22. Daye of the Month of *April*. Then was created the Light, seperated from the Darknes, and called Day. *Gen. 1. 1.*

The Light.

The Firmament.

2

The second Day our *Monday*, was made the Firmament, and was called by the Name of Heavens. *Gen. 1. 6.*

Land, Sea, Hearbs, &c.

3

The third Day our *Tuesday*, the Waters were seperated from covering the Earth, which at the Commaundement of God brought forth Grasse, Hearbs, and Trees, having their Seede and Fruit. *Gen. 1. 9.*

Sunne, Moone, Starres.

4

The fourth Day our *Wednesday*, were made and placed in the Firmament of Heaven, the Sunne, Moone, and Starres. This Day was *Æquinoctium vernum* & *Luminarium conjunctio*, the 25. of *April*. Other referre the Creation unto *September*. *Gen. 1. 14.*

Fish and Foules.

5

The fifth Day, *Thursday*, were made the Fishes and Foules, with all that lyve in the Waters, and flie in the Ayre. *Gen. 1. 20.*

Beastes, &c.
Man and Woman.
Marryage.

6

The sixth Day, our *Friday*, were created, first all Beasts and Things creping upon the Earth. *Gen. 1. 20.* secondly *Adam* and *Eve* according to the Image of God. *Gen. 1. 26.* The same Day Mariage was instituted. *Gen. 2.*

7

The seventh Day, our *Saterday*, God having finished his Work of Creation, ceased or rested, sanctified this Day unto Man, and called it the Sabbath. *Gen. 2. 3.*

The Sabbath.
Creation of Angells.

The Creation of the Angels is most probably assigned unto the first Day. Of these some hold the Integrity of their Creation, and are called holy and elect Angels: some are fallen, and called Devils, whose Fall is most certaine: but the Time of their Fall uncertaine, saving that they must needs fall before the Fall of Man.

The Fall of Man.

The Fall of *Adam* and *Eve* being most certaine, the Day and Time is uncertaine: And therefore it is Curiositie to inquire where the Woord keepeth Silence, and Boldnes to pronounce. That they fell not the Day of their Creation, besides the Varietie of Things done after, the same Day, which required Tract of Time. This seemeth plainly to argue, that the sixt Day is concluded by *Moses*, with these Woordes: *And GOD beheld all that he had made, and loe it was exceeding good: so the Evening and Morning was made*

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<i>made the sixt Day. Codomannus assigneth Adam's Fall unto the 19. Day of the World, which was the 14. of the first Moneth, and the tenth of May. His Reason is from the Analogie of the Passover. Exod. 12. Some referre it unto the eight Day, in which Christ rose from the dead.</i>	A.M.	Adam.
<i>The same Day wherein they fell, they receaved the Promyse of Grace in the Seede of the Woman, which should break the Serpents Head. Gen. 3. 15.</i>		<i>Man resto- red.</i>
<i>In the End of the first Yeare of the World was born Caijn and Abel (if they were Twinns.) If also theise were the first of Adams Children, as should appeare by the Reason of Caijn his Name, Gen. 4. 1.</i>		<i>Caijn and Abell, b.</i>
<i>After this unto the Murder of Abell, the Familie of Adam was greatly multiplyed in both Sexes: And therfore the same is most fitly to be assigned unto the Yeare 129. or not much lesse. Gen. 4.</i>	129	<i>Abel slaine,</i>
<i>About the Ende of this Yeare was borne Seth, in whom the Line of Christ was recontinued, which seemed unto Eve to be broken off in the Death of Abell. Gen. 5. 3.</i>	130	<i>Seth, b.</i>
<i>Was borne Enosh, when Seth his Father was 105. Yeares olde. Then began Religion to be corrupted even in the Church. Gen. 5. 6.</i>	235	<i>Enosh, b. Religion corrupted.</i>
<i>Was borne Cenan, his Father Enosh being 90. Yeres old. Gen. 5. 9.</i>	325	<i>Cenan, b.</i>
<i>Mahalaleel was borne, his Father Cenan being 70. Yeares old. Gen. 5. 12.</i>	395	<i>Mahaleleel, b.</i>
<i>Jared borne, when his Father Mahalaleel was of Age 65. Yeares. Gen. 5. 16.</i>	460	<i>Jared, b.</i>
<i>Henoch the seventh from Adam was borne, his Father Jared being of 162. Yeares. Gen. 5. 18.</i>	622	<i>Henoch, b.</i>
<i>Methusala was borne, the 65. Yeare of the Life of his Father Henoch. Gen. 5. 21.</i>	687	<i>Methusala, b.</i>
<i>Lamech borne, the 187. Yeare of his Father Methusala. Gen. 5. 25.</i>	874	<i>Lamech.</i>
<i>Adam died, Gen 5. 5.</i>	930	<i>Adam d.</i>
<i>Henoch the seventh from Adam was rapt into Heaven, when he had lyved 365. Yeres. Gen. 5. 24. of his Prophefy S. Jude speaketh Ver. 14. and of his Faith. Heb. 11.</i>	987	<i>Henoch rapt.</i>
<i>Seth died 912. Yeres old. Gen. 5. 8.</i>	1042	<i>Seth, d.</i>
<i>Noah was borne, when his Father Lamech was of Age 182. Yeares. Gen. 4. 29.</i>	1056	<i>Noah, b.</i>
<i>Enosh died, having lyved 905. Yeares. Gen. 5. 11.</i>	1140	<i>Enosh, d.</i>
<i>Cenan died, of Age 910. Yeares. Gen. 5. 14.</i>	1235	<i>Cenan, d.</i>
<i>Mahalaleel died, of 895. Yeares. Gen. 5. 17.</i>	1290	<i>Mahalaleel, d.</i>
<i>Jared dieth, 962 Yeares old. Gen. 5. 20.</i>	1422	

Here

<i>Noah.</i>	<i>A.M.</i>	<i>A brieft Chronicle of Holy Scripture.</i>
	1536	Here begin the 120 Yeares of the long Sufferance of God before the Floud. <i>Gen. 6. 1. Pet. 3. 19.</i>
Japheth.	1556	<i>Japheth</i> was borne when <i>Noah</i> was 500 Yeares old. <i>Gen. 5. 32. and 10.</i>
Shem.	1558	Was borne <i>Shem. Gen. 11.</i>
Cham.		<i>Cham</i> the yongest of <i>Noah</i> his Sonnes was borne after this, but what Yeare it is uncertaine.
	1656	<i>Methusala</i> dieth, only eight Daies, as it is thought, before the Floud. <i>Gen. 5. 27.</i>
The Floud.		The 47 Day of this Yeare began the Floud, and continued one Yeare and tenne Dayes.
	1657	The first Day of the first Moneth <i>Noah</i> removed the covering of the Arke. <i>Gen. 8. 13.</i> The 27. of the second Moneth, <i>Noah</i> with the rest came out of the Arke, buylt an Altar, and offered Sacrifice, and receaved the Covenant, <i>Gen. 8. 18.</i>
Arphaxad.	1658	<i>Arphaxad</i> was borne, two Yeares after the Floud, his Father <i>Sem</i> being 100 Yeares old. <i>Gen. 11. 10.</i>
Selah.	1693	<i>Sela</i> was borne when <i>Arphaxad</i> was 35 Yeares old. <i>Gen. 11. 12.</i>
Heber.	1723	<i>Heber</i> (of whom the <i>Hebrewes</i> take their Name) was borne, when his Father <i>Sela</i> was of the Age of 30 Yeares. <i>Gen. 11. 14.</i>
Peleg.	1757	<i>Peleg</i> was borne, when <i>Heber</i> was 34 Yeares olde. <i>Gen. 11. 16.</i> At this Time <i>Babell</i> was buylt, and the Languages divided. <i>Gen. 11. 7.</i>
Regu.	1787	<i>Regu</i> born, when <i>Peleg</i> was of 30 Yeres. <i>Gen. 11. 10.</i>
Nimrod.		<i>Nimrod</i> (called of the Heathen <i>Saturnus Babylonius</i>) began to raigne. 131 Yeare after the Floud. <i>Gen. 10. 8.</i>
Serug.	1819	<i>Serug</i> borne, his Father <i>Regu</i> being 32 Yeares old. <i>Gen. 11. 20.</i>
Jup. Belus.	1843	<i>Jupiter Belus</i> succeeded his Father <i>Nimrod</i> , when he had raigned 56 Yeares, and raigned himselfe 62 Yeares.
Nachor.	1849	<i>Nachor</i> borne, when his Father <i>Serug</i> was 30 Yeares old. <i>Gen. 11. 22.</i>
Terach.	1878	<i>Terach</i> was borne in the Yeare of his Father <i>Nachors</i> Age 29. <i>Gen. 11. 24.</i>
Ninus.	1905	<i>Ninus</i> , whose Wife was <i>Semiramis</i> , began to raigne. He was the Sonne of <i>Jupiter Belus</i> , and the sixth from <i>Noah</i> . <i>Noah</i> called of the Heathen <i>Ogyges</i> : <i>Cham</i> called <i>Saturnus Aegyptius</i> : <i>Cus</i> called <i>Saturnus Aethiops</i> : <i>Nimrod</i> called <i>Saturnus Babylonius</i> : <i>Jupiter Belus</i> : <i>Ninus</i> .
Haran.	1948	<i>Haran</i> was borne, when <i>Terach</i> was 70 Yeares olde. <i>Gen. 11. 26.</i>
	1996	<i>Peleg</i> dieth of the Age of 239. <i>Gen. 11. 19.</i>
	1997	<i>Nachor</i> dieth, of 148 Yeares. <i>Gen. 11. 25.</i>

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	A.M.	Abram.
Noah dieth, the Yeare of his Age 950. after the Floud 350.	2006	Noah dieth.
Abraham borne when Terah was 130 Yeares olde. Gen. 11.	2008	Abram.
and 12. and 28.		
Sarah borne.	2018	Sarai.
Regu dieth, of Age 239. Gen. 11.	2026	
Serug dieth of 230 Yeares. Gen. 11. 22. 23.		
God appeared unto Abram in Ur of Chaldeea, entred a Covenant of Salvation with him by the promiſed Seede, commanded him to depart thence, to a Land which he would ſhew him. So Abraham, Sara his Wife, Terah his Father, and Lot his Nephewe came into Charran, where he ſojourned five Yeares, Gen. 11. AEt. 7. 2.	2078	The Covenant firſt given.
The Sodomites, with foure Neighbor Kinges, were made Tributaries to Cedarlahomer. Gen. 14.	2079	Charran.
Terah dieth in Charran, having lived 205 Yeares. Gen. 11. 32.	2083	
The Promiſe was renewed unto Abraham, being of the Age of 75 Yeares: and he went from Charran into the Lande of Canaan. Gen. 12. 1, 2, 3, 4. AEt. 7.		The Promiſe renewed.
This was the firſt Yeare of Abrams Perigrination in Canaan.	2084	
Abram by Famin was driven into Egipt. From hence unto the Departure of the Children of Iſrael out of Egipt, is 430 Yeares. Gal. 3. 17.	2085	Famin.
Lot, this Yeare departed from Abraham, and went to dwell at Sodome. Gen. 13. 11.	2086	Lot went to Sodome.
To this Yeare is referred the Victorie of Abraham againſt the foure Kinges. Gen. 14. 14, 15, 16.	2093	Ab. Victory.
At this Time raigned Melchifeſedec King of Salem, who was Prielt of the moſt high God, met Abraham returning from the Battail, relieved him with Victuales, bleſſed him, and received Tithe of his Spoiles. Some without great Cauſe have thought him to be Sem: But it is more Modeſtie and leſſe Daunger to follow the Apoſtle, who from the Silence of Moſes in this Part, teſtifieth, that he was a Figure of Chriſt: and not by ſeeking his Name and Parentage, to deſtroy the Figure, and control the Spirite of God. Hebr. 7. Gen. 14.		Melchife-dec.
Sarai gave Hagar unto Abram to be his Wife, when he had dwelt tenne Yeares in Canaan, Gen. 16. 2.	2094	Hagar.
The ſame Yeare was borne Iſmaell of Hagar, when Abraham was 86 Yeares olde. Gen. 16. 15.		Iſmael.
Arphaxad dyeth of the Age of 438 Yeares. Gen. 11. 13.	2096	Arphaxad d.
Circumciſion is given unto Abraham being 99 Yeares, and Iſmael 13 Yeres old. Gen. 17. 24. 25.	2107	Circumciſion.
The hundreth Yeare of Abraham, and ninteth of Sarah. Gen. 21. Was Sodome, &c. deſtroyeth with Fyer from Heaven.	2108	Sodome deſtroyed.

		<i>A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.</i>	
<i>Isaac.</i>	<i>A.M.</i>	Heaven. In the End of this Yeare was borne <i>Isaac</i> in <i>Gerar</i> . <i>Gen.</i> 21. the Sonne of the Free Woman, and of the Promise. <i>Rom.</i> 9. <i>Gal.</i> 4. 1.	
<i>Ismael cast out.</i>	2114	<i>Isaac</i> was seven Yeares olde. <i>Ismael</i> was cast out. <i>Gen.</i> 21. 14. From hence unto the Deliverance of <i>Israel</i> out of <i>Egipt</i> are 400 Yeares.	
<i>Rebecca, b.</i>	2118	This Yeare was <i>Rebecca</i> borne.	
<i>Selah, d.</i>	2126	<i>Selah</i> dyeth, of Age 433 Yeares. <i>Gen.</i> 11. 15.	
<i>Isaac offer- ed.</i>	2141	<i>Isaac</i> is offered, a Figure of Christ. <i>Gen.</i> 22. 10. And <i>Abraham</i> was a Figure of God the Father, giving his owne Sonne for us. <i>Rom.</i> 8. 32. <i>Gen.</i> 22.	
<i>Sarah, d.</i>	2145	<i>Sarah</i> dyeth, being 127 Yeares olde. <i>Gen.</i> 23. 2.	
<i>Isaac mar- ried.</i>	2148	<i>Isaac</i> being 40 Yeares olde marrieth <i>Rebecca</i> , the Daughter of <i>Bethuel</i> , the Sonne of <i>Nachor</i> , <i>Abrams</i> Brother, who then dwelt in <i>Charran</i> of <i>Mesopotamia</i> , <i>Gen.</i> 24. 67.	
<i>Sem, d.</i>	2158	<i>Sem</i> dyeth, of Age 600 Yeares. <i>Gen.</i> 11. 11.	
<i>Jaacob and Esau, b.</i>	2168	<i>Jaacob</i> and <i>Esau</i> are borne, when <i>Isaac</i> was 60 Yeres olde. <i>Gen.</i> 25. 25. Here God said, the Elder shall serve the Yonger. <i>Rom.</i> 9. <i>Malac.</i> 1.	
<i>Abraham, d.</i>	2183	<i>Abraham</i> dieth, of Yeres 175. <i>Gen.</i> 25.	
<i>Heber, d.</i>	2187	<i>Heber</i> dieth, having lyved 464 Yeares. <i>Gen.</i> 11. 17.	
<i>Promise.</i>	2200	About this Time <i>Isaac</i> receaveth the Promise of the Messiah to come. <i>Gen.</i> 26.	
	2208	<i>Esau</i> 40 Yeares olde, taketh two Wives of the Heathen. <i>Gen.</i> 26. 34. About the same Time his Father in Law <i>Ana</i> invented the Generation of Mules. <i>Gen.</i> 36. 24.	
<i>Mules.</i>			
<i>Ismael, d.</i>	2231	<i>Ismael</i> dieth, having lyved 137 Yeares. <i>Gen.</i> 25. 17.	
	2245	<i>Isaac</i> being Blind blefseth <i>Jaacob</i> and <i>Esau</i> . <i>Gen.</i> 27. 28. <i>Hebr.</i> 11. 20.	
<i>Jaacob go- eth into Me- fopot.</i>	2245	<i>Jaacob</i> being 77 Yeares olde, flyeth into <i>Mesopotamia</i> , and in the Way at <i>Luz</i> receaveth the Promise of the Messias. <i>Gen.</i> 28. 12. <i>Hof.</i> 12.	
<i>Jaacobs Mariage.</i>	2252	<i>Jaacob</i> marrieth <i>Lea</i> and <i>Rachell</i> the Daughters of <i>Laban</i> . <i>Gen.</i> 29. 23. 270 Daies within this Yeare was borne <i>Ruben</i> of <i>Lea</i> . <i>Tremelius</i> and <i>Junius</i> with great Probabilitie affirme, that <i>Jaacob</i> presently upon his coming to <i>Laban</i> tooke to Wife, first <i>Lea</i> , then <i>Rachel</i> , which granted, removeth many Difficulties in the Age of <i>Jaacobs</i> Children.	
<i>Simeon.</i>	2253	And 215 Daies <i>Simeon</i> was borne.	
<i>Levi.</i>	2254	And 160 Daies was borne <i>Levi</i> .	
<i>Jehudah.</i>	2255	And 105 Daies was borne <i>Jehudah</i> .	
<i>Issachar.</i>	2256	And 300 Daies <i>Issachar</i> was borne of <i>Lea</i> .	
<i>Zabulon.</i>	2257	And 245 Daies <i>Zabulon</i> was borne of <i>Lea</i> .	
<i>Dinah.</i>	2258	And 220 Daies was borne <i>Dinah</i> of <i>Lea</i> .	

Rachel

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	A.M.	Jacob.
<i>Rachel</i> bare <i>Joseph</i> . <i>Gen.</i> 30. 23, 24.	2259	<i>Joseph</i> .
<i>Jaacob</i> returneth out of <i>Mesopotamia</i> , having bene there 20 Yeares. <i>Gen.</i> 31. in the Way he wraſtled with the Angel, and was called <i>Israel</i> . <i>Gen.</i> 32. 28. <i>Hof.</i> 12. 3. He remaineth a good Time at <i>Sichem</i> . <i>Gen.</i> 33. 18.	2265	
And 215 Daies was borne <i>Her</i> , the Eldeſt Sonne of <i>Judah</i> , <i>Gen.</i> 38. 3.	2268	<i>Her</i> .
And 160 Daies was borne <i>Onan</i> . <i>Gen.</i> 38. 4.	2269	<i>Onan</i> .
And 105 Daies was borne <i>Sela</i> , the third Sonne of <i>Juda</i> . <i>Gen.</i> 38. 5.	2270	<i>Selah</i> .
<i>Dinah</i> is deſloured. The <i>Sichemits</i> are traiterouſly ſlaine by <i>Simeon</i> and <i>Levi</i> , &c. <i>Gen.</i> 34.	2274	
This Yeare <i>Jaacob</i> removed unto <i>Bethel</i> , <i>Debora</i> dieth, <i>Rachell</i> in the Jorney beareth <i>Benjamin</i> , and dieth. Not long after <i>Ruben</i> deſileth <i>Bilha</i> . <i>Gen.</i> 34. and 35.	2275	<i>Benjamin</i> .
<i>Joseph</i> of Age 17 Yeares, is ſold into <i>Egipt</i> . <i>Gen.</i> 37. 2. 28.	2276	<i>Joseph ſold</i> .
<i>Judah</i> lyeth with <i>Thamar</i> , in the Way to <i>Tinnah</i> . <i>Gen.</i> 38. 18.	2283	
<i>Peretz</i> and his Brother <i>Zarah</i> were borne of <i>Thamar</i> . <i>Gen.</i> 38. 29. 30.	2284	<i>Peretz</i> .
<i>Joseph</i> was caſt into Priſon. <i>Gen.</i> 39. where he continued three Yeares. <i>Gen.</i> 41.	2286	
<i>Pharaoh</i> his Butler is delivered, the firſt Yeare of <i>Joseph</i> his Imprisonment. <i>Gen.</i> 40. 21.	2287	
<i>Isaac</i> dieth 180 Yeares olde, having continued Blinde 43 Yeares. <i>Gen.</i> 27. 3, and 35, 28.	2288	<i>Isaac dieth</i> .
<i>Joseph</i> being of 30 Yeares is taken out of Priſon, and preſented unto <i>Pharao</i> , who ſetteth him over his Kingdome. <i>Gen.</i> 41. 46. preſently follow the 7 Yeares of Plentie, in which Time <i>Joseph</i> hath two Sonnes, <i>Manaſſes</i> and <i>Ephraim</i> . <i>Gen.</i> 41. 50.	2289	<i>Joseph delivered, &c.</i>
Begin the 7 Yeares of Famin. This Yeare <i>Peretz</i> taketh a Wife. <i>Gen.</i> 41. 53, 54.	2296	<i>Famin</i> .
<i>Hezron</i> is borne unto <i>Peretz</i> , and the Yeare following, <i>Hamul</i> .	2297	<i>Hezron</i> .
<i>Jacob</i> of the Age of 130 Yeares goeth downe into <i>Egipt</i> , five Yeares before the Ende of the Famin. <i>Gen.</i> 46. 1.	2298	<i>Jacob into Egyt</i> .
The <i>Egiptians</i> wanting Money, gave their Cattell and Sheepe for Corne, the ſixt Yeare of the Famin. <i>Gen.</i> 47.	2303	
<i>Jacob</i> bleſſed his Children, prophetieth of Chriſt, and dieth in <i>Egipt</i> 147 Yeares olde, is carried into <i>Canaan</i> , and buried in <i>Hebron</i> . <i>Gen.</i> 49. 33.	2315	<i>Jacob dyeth</i> .
<i>Hezron</i> of the Age of 60 Yeares marieth the Daughter of <i>Machir</i> . 1. <i>Par.</i> 2. and 8.	2358	

Moses.

A.M.

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Joseph dyeth.

2369

Joseph dieth having lived 110 Yeares, and governed in *Egipt* 80 Yeares. His Bodie was kept there till *Israel* went out of *Egipt*. *Gen.* 50. 26.

2392

Levi dieth being of 137 Yeares.

Aaron, b.

2431

Aaron was borne. *Exod.* 7.

Moses, b.

2434

Moses was borne, kept three Monethes, cast out, taken up by *Pbaraob* his Daughter, and nurced for hir Sonne. *Exod.* 2. 2. &c.

Josuah, b.

2470

Josuah was borne, 44 Yeares before the Deliverance of *Israel* out of *Egipt*.

2474

Moses 40 Yeares old visiteth his Brethren, is rejected of them, and flyeth into *Madian*. *Exod.* 2. 11. 15. *Aet.* 7. where he marrieth, hath Children, and continueth 40 Yeares, *Exod.* 2. and after returneth into *Egipt*. *Exod.* 4.

Moses marriage.

Caleb, b.

2476

Caleb was borne. *Jos.* 14.

2485

The Men of *Gath* kill certaine of the *Ephraites*, 1. *Paral.* 8.

2514

The last Moneth of this Yeare were done all the Things contained in the 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, of *Exod.* This Yeare was the 431. Yeare after the Promyse made to *Abraham* in *Charran*. *Gen.* 12.

2515

This first Yeare of Departure from *Egipt*, contayneth the Historie of *Moses*, from the 9. of *Exod.* unto the 39. The 14. Day of the first Moneth, being the 25. of *April*, was slaine the first Passover. *Exod.* 12. The 20. Day of the same Moneth the People murmured in *Mara*. *Exod.* 15. *Num.* 33.

The first Passover.

Murmur.

Quailes.

The 15. Day of the second Moneth, God brought Quailes upon the Limits of *Israel*.

Manna.

Water.

The 16. Day, they first did eate Manna: This was a Figure of Christ. *Job.* 16. *Lev.* 10. Not long after, Water was given them out of the Rock in *Raphidim*, which also signifieth Christ. 1. *Lev.* 20.

Amalek overthrown.

Josua overthrew the *Amalakits*. *Exod.* 17. Moses appointed Magistrates after the Counsel of *Jethro*. *Exod.* 18.

Sinay.

The Law given.

The thirde Moneth after their Departure out of *Egipt*, they came into the Desert of *Sinay*.This 67. Day of this Yere, was the Law given in Mount *Horeb*. *Exod.* 19. And after, the Promyse of the great Prophet to come, which was Christ. *Deu.* 18.

Tables broken.

The Calfe.

The 108. Day of this Yeare, being the 28. of *July*, Moses brake the two Tables of Stone, and 3000. Men were slaine for worshipping the Calfe which *Aaron* had made. After God giveth *Moses* other Tables of the Law.

Tabernacle erected.

2516

Moses erecteth the Tabernacle the first Day of the first Moneth.

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The 14. Day of this Year was celebrated the second Passover.
Num. 9. About this Time, he that blasphemed was stoned to Death. Levit. 24.

About the 23. Day of the second Moneth, a Fier from the Lord consumed the outmost of the Tents of *Israel*. Num. 11.

About the 24. of the third Moneth, they lusted after Fleshe, and were destroyed many of them. Num. 11. *Miriam* was stricken with Leprosie. Num. 12.

The 8. Day of the 6. Moneth, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, Sonnes of *Aaron*, perished with Fier from Heaven. Levit. 20.

Not long after 12 Spies were sent into the Land of *Canaan*, and returned. The People murmure and are excluded from entring the Land. Num. 14.

Here *Moses* breaketh off the Story for 36 Yeares: Remem- bring only the Punishment of him that gathered Sticks upon the Sabbath. Num. 15.

This was the 39. Yeare after the Departure of *Israel* out of *Egypt*: hath the Storie of *Core*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*: the suddain Destruction of 14700, and the flourishing of *Arons* Rodd. Num. 16. 17, 18.

The 40. Yeare after their Departure out of *Egypt* *Miriam* dieth. Num. 20. being more then 130 Years old. About this Time *Moses* striketh the Rock twice, of Infidelitie, and therefore is not suffered to enter into the Land of *Canaan*.

The first Day of the first Moneth, *Araon* dieth in Mount *Hor*, of Age 123 Yeares. Num. 20. and 33.

King *Arad* is destroyed. The Storie of the Brasen Serpent erected in the Wildernesse. Num. 21.

The seventh Moneth, *Sihon* King of the *Amorites* is over- thrown.

From this Time every fiftieth Yeare was the Yeare of *Jubilee*: And every seventh Yeare the Yeare of Rest or Saboth.

Shortly after, *Og* King of *Basan* is overthrown. Deut. 2. 3. Num. 21.

After followeth the Storie of *Bilham*. Num. 22—25.

He prophesied of the Comming of Christ. Num. 24.

Moses assigneth *Josua* his Successor. Num. 27.

The Destruction of the *Midianits* by *Pinchas*. Num. 31. a mongest whom perished *Bileam*.

The first Day of the 11. Moneth *Moses* readeth *Deutronomy* unto the *Israelites*. Deut. 1. 3.

The first Day of the last Moneth called *Adar*, *Moses* dyeth, of the Age of 120 Yeares. Deut. 34. After whom *Josua* ruleth.

Shortly after *Josua* sendeth Spies to *Jericho*. Jos. 2.

A.M. *Moses*.

Passover 2.
The Blas-
phemer.

The People
lust.
Miriam a
Lepar.
Nadab and
Abihu
burnt.
Spies.
Murmur.

The Sabbath
Breaker.

2553 *Core*, *Da-*
than, &c.
Arons Rodd.

2554 *Moses Inf-*
delity.
Araon, d.

The Brasen
Serpent.

Sihon over-
thrown.

The first Ju-
bilee.

Og.

Bilham.

Moses, d.
Josua ru-
leth.

The

Josuah.

A.M.

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- 2555 The tenth Day of the first Moneth the *Israelits* passe over *Jordan*. *Jos. 3. 4.*
 The 11. Day of the first Moneth, the *Israelits* were circumcised in *Gilgal*. *Jos. 5.*
 The 14. Day they eate the Passover. The Day after Manna ceaseth. *Jos. 5. 9. 11.*
 Jericho. About the first Day of the 2. Moneth, the Walles of *Jericho* fell downe. *Jos. 6.* After, *Achan* was stoned for taking of the execrable Things. *Jos. 7.*
 Sunn standeth still. The same Yeare the Sunne and Moone stand still at the Commaundement of *Josuah*. *Jos. 10.*
 2561 The same Yeare, follow the Things written. *Jos. 8. 9. and 10.*
Josuah in seven Yeares had overcome 31. *Kinges* of *Canaan*, and assigned unto every Tribe their Lot. The Tabernacle was erected in *Siloh*. The *Rubenits*, *Gadits*, &c. sent Home, *Jos. 22.*
 Josuah, d. 2580 *Josuah* dyeth of 110 Yeares. *Jos. 24.* having governed the People after *Moses* 25 Yeares.
 Pineas. The same Yeare dyed *Eleazer* the high Priest, whom *Pineaz* succedeth.
 2600 About this Time was the Destruction of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, mentioned *Jud. 19. 20.*
 Jubil. 1. 2602 And fixe Monethes, beginneth the first Yeare of *Jubiley*.
 Othniel. 2608 This Yeare ended the Servitude of *Israell* under *Cbusan* in the Dayes of *Othniel*. *Jud. 3.*
 2633 The Tribe of *Dan* possesseth his Lot. *Jud. 18.*
 2648 Began the Servitude of *Israel* under *Eglon*. *Jud. 3.*
 Jubil. 2. 2651 And fixe Monethes approched the second *Jubelie*.
 Ehud. 2666 *Ebude* slewe *Eglon*, and delivered *Israell* for 80 Yeares, *Jud. 3. 30.*
 Jubil. 3. 2700 And six Monethes began the third *Jubelie*.
 2717 *Obed* is borne of *Ruth* by *Boaz*.
 Samgar. 2747 *Samgar* delivereth *Israell*. *Jud. 3.*
 Jubil. 4. 2749 And six Monethes began the 4. *Jubelie*.
 Barak. 2766 *Siffera* the Captaine of *Jabin* is overthrowen by *Barak* and *Deborah*. *Jud. 4. 5.*
 Siffera.
 Jubil. 5. 2798 And six Monethes entred the fifth *Jubiley*.
 2806 Began the Servitude of *Israel* under the *Madianits*. *Jud. 6.*
 Gedeon. 2813 *Gedeon* delivereth *Israell*. *Jud. 8. 28.* and ruleth 40 Yeares. He had 70 Sonnes by his Wives: and by his Concubine, he had *Abimelec*, *Jud. 8. 30.*
 Jubil. 6. 2847 And six Monethes began the six *Jubiley*.
 Abimelec. 2853 *Gedeon* dieth, *Israel* is three Yeares under *Abimelec*. *Jud. 9. 22.* and was slaine at *Tebes*.

Began

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	A.M.	Judges.
Began <i>Tholab</i> to judge over <i>Israell</i> after <i>Gedeon</i> for 23. Yeares. He is called <i>Badan</i> . 1. <i>Sam</i> . 12.	2856	<i>Tholah</i> .
Was borne <i>Jesse</i> the Father of <i>David</i> .	2878	<i>Jesse</i> .
<i>Jair</i> began to judge <i>Israel</i> after the Death of <i>Tholab</i> , for 22 Yeares.	2879	<i>Jair</i> .
And six Monethes entred the seventh <i>Jubiley</i> .	2896	<i>Jubil</i> . 7.
The <i>Philistines</i> and <i>Ammonits</i> began to oppresse <i>Israel</i> for 18 Yeares, <i>Jud</i> . 10.	2901	
Began the first of these sixe Yeares wherein <i>Jephtha</i> judged <i>Israel</i> . <i>Jud</i> . 12. 7.	2919	<i>Jephtha</i> .
<i>Ebzan</i> began to judge <i>Israel</i> for 7 Yeares, <i>Jud</i> . 12.	2925	<i>Ebzan</i> .
<i>Ely</i> the Priest was borne. 1. <i>Sam</i> . 4. This Yeare began <i>Elon</i> to judge <i>Israel</i> , for 10 Yeares, <i>Jud</i> . 12.	2932	<i>Elon</i> .
Began <i>Abdon</i> of <i>Ephraim</i> to judge <i>Israel</i> for 8 Yeares, <i>Jud</i> . 12.	2942	<i>Abdon</i> .
And six Monethes, entred the eight <i>Jubilie</i> .	2945	<i>Jubil</i> . 8.
The <i>Israelites</i> served the <i>Philistines</i> for 40 Yeares after the Death of <i>Abdon</i> . <i>Jud</i> . 13.	2950	
Began <i>Sampson</i> of <i>Dan</i> to judge <i>Israel</i> for 20 Yeres. <i>Jud</i> . 15. which incurre into the former Servitude.	2970	<i>Sampson</i> .
<i>Sampson</i> pulled the House upon him selfe and the <i>Philistines</i> . <i>Jud</i> . 16. Here begin the 40 Yeares wherein <i>Eli</i> judged <i>Israel</i> . 1. <i>Sam</i> . 4.	2990	<i>Eli</i> .
Began the ninth <i>Jubilie</i> .	2994	<i>Jubil</i> . 9.
About this Time was <i>Samuel</i> the Prophet borne, in <i>Bethalem</i> . 1. <i>Sam</i> . 1.	3000	<i>Samuel</i> , b.
<i>Eli</i> died, his ij. Sonnes being slaine the same Day, and the Ark of God is taken by the <i>Philistines</i> . About this Time were determined those 450 Yeres of the Judges, whereof <i>Paul Aet</i> . 13. Then began <i>Samuel</i> to rule. Then ceassed the Idol of <i>Michab</i> . <i>Jud</i> . 18.	3030	<i>Eli</i> , d. <i>Samuel</i> ru- leth.
And one Moneth, <i>David</i> was borne, who at the Death of <i>Saul</i> was 30 Yeares olde. 2. <i>Sam</i> . 5.	3039	<i>David</i> , b.
And six Monethes was the tenth <i>Jubilie</i> .	3043	<i>Jubil</i> . 10.
The Slaughter of the <i>Philistines</i> , 1. <i>Sam</i> . 7.	3050	
And one Moneth <i>Saul</i> was chosen the first King over <i>Israel</i> . 1. <i>Sam</i> . 9. when <i>Samuel</i> had governed 27 Yeares and 7 Monethes. This Yeare <i>Nabaz</i> King of the <i>Ammonites</i> besiegeth <i>Jabes</i> . 1. <i>Sam</i> . 11.	3057	<i>Saul</i> chosen King.
<i>Saul</i> the second Yeare of his Election was rejected of God. The same Yeare were done the Things mentioned 1. <i>Sam</i> . 13. and 14.	3059	<i>Saul</i> reject- ed.
The <i>Rubenites</i> and <i>Gadites</i> about this Time destroyed the <i>Hagarites</i> , 1. <i>Paral</i> . 6. Referre unto this Yeare the Stories contained, 1. <i>Sam</i> . 15. and 16. This Yeare which was the	3062	<i>Hagarites</i> destroyed.

David.	A.M.	A brieft Chronicle of Holy Scripture.
David anointed.		the fift of Saules Raigne, David was anointed by Samuel. 1. Sam. 16.
Goliath slaine.	3063	This Yeare being the fixth of Saul, David overthroweth Goliath. 1. Sam. 17.
Dauids Marriage.	3064	David for 100 Foreskinnes of the Philistines, becommeth Sonne in Law unto Saul, &c.
	3065	Were done the Thinges contained in 1. Sam. 19. 20, 21, and 22.
Gad.	3066	In this Time lived the Prophet Gad. 1. Sam. 22. This Yere was borne Mephibosheth the Sonne of Jonathan. David spoileth the Philistines. 1. Sam. 23.
Dauids Deliverance.	3067	Saul hearing of the Invasion of the Philistines, ceaseth to persecute David, 1. Sam. 23. and 24.
Samuel, d. Abigail.	3068	Samuel dieth. 1. Sam. 25. Abigail pacifieth David. Nabal dieth, &c. 1. Sam. 25. David taketh Abigail to Wife.
Ziclag.	3069	Ziclag is given to David, &c. 1. Sam. 27.
	3070	The first Moneth of this Yeare the Philistines make Warre against Israel: Saul asketh Counfel of a Pythoneffe. 1. Sam. 28. He is slaine with his 3 Sonnes, &c. 1. Sam. 30, 31.
Saul slaine.		David is crowned King over Judah in Hebron, being 30 Yeares olde.
David crowned.	3072	Amnon was borne unto David. 1. Sam. 3.
Asahel slaine.	3076	Abner killeth Asahel the Brother of Joab. Absolon was borne in Hebron. 2. Sam. 3.
Abner slaine.		After 7 Monethes Abner and Ishbosheth are slaine. David is made King in Hebron over al the Tribes, and driveth the Jebusites out of Jerusalem. 2. Sam. 5. 1. Paral. 12. Hiram King of Tyrus sendeth Cedars and Workmen to David.
Hiram.		
	3077	Thamar was borne the 8. Yeare of Dauids Raigne.
The Arke brought to Obededom.	3078	This Yeare David again overthroweth the Philistines. 2. Sam. 5. The Ark of the Lord was brought into the House of Obededom, and after 3. Monethes into Sion. 2. Sam. 6.
Messias promised.	3079	About this Time (1063. before the Birth of Christ) Messias is promised to David. 2. Sam. 7. From this Time Nathan prophesied 30 Yeares. At the same lyved Heman, Jedithum, and Asaph, mentioned in the Titles of certaine Psalmes.
Heman, &c.		
Dauids Victories.	3081	David subdueth the Philistines, and taketh the Tribute out of their Handes. 2. Sam. 8.
	3082	The Moabites are slaine, and made Tributaries unto David. 2. Sam. 8. The Syrians and Damascens are slaine by David. 2. Sam. 8. The Gratulation of Thoi King of Hemath. 1. Paral. 19. David overthroweth the Idumeans by Abisai. 2. Sam. 8. 1. Paral. 19. Joab destroyeth all their

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their Males. But <i>Hadad</i> one of the Kings House flyeth to <i>Pbaraob</i> into <i>Egipt</i> .		A.M.	David.
<i>Nabaz</i> King of the <i>Ammonites</i> dieth, his Sonne <i>Hanon</i> cutteth off the Beardes and Skirtes of <i>Dauids</i> Messengers, &c. 2. <i>Sam.</i> 10.	3084		Hanon.
In this Yeare fell the Adultery of <i>David</i> with <i>Bathsaba</i> , the Murder of <i>Uriah</i> , and surprising of <i>Rabba</i> . 2. <i>Sam.</i> 11.	3085		Uriah.
Was borne the Child gotten in Adulterie. 1. <i>Paral.</i> 3. <i>Nathan</i> reproveth <i>David</i> . The Childe dieth. 2. <i>Sam.</i> 12.	3086		
And three Monethes was borne <i>Salomon</i> of <i>Bathsaba</i> . 1. <i>Paral.</i> 3. whose Name and Office God revealed unto <i>David</i> . 1. <i>Paral.</i> 23.	3088		Salomon borne.
<i>Thamar</i> was ravished by <i>Amnon</i> her Brother. 2. <i>Sam.</i> 13.	3090		Thamar.
<i>Amnon</i> was slaine by the Commaundement of his Brother <i>Absolon</i> . 2. <i>Sam.</i>	3092		Amnon.
Sixe Monethes within this Yeare began the 11. <i>Jubiley</i> .			Jubil. 11.
<i>Absolon</i> after three Yeares Banishment returneth to <i>Jerusalem</i> . 2. <i>Sam.</i> 13. 14.	3095		
He is brought into the Presence of his Father <i>David</i> . 2. <i>Sam.</i> 14.	3097		
This Yeare <i>Absolon</i> ambitiously seeketh the Favour of the People: prepareth him Charriots and Horses, &c. 2. <i>Sam.</i> 15.	3098		
<i>Absolon</i> conspireth against <i>David</i> his Father, the 30. Yeare of his Raigne, betweene the Passover and Pentecost. 2. <i>Sam.</i> 15. 16.	3099		Absolons Conspiracie.
The same Yeare <i>Siba</i> conspireth against <i>David</i> , 2. <i>Sam.</i> 16. 1.	3100		Siba his Conspiracie.
To this Yeare, and the two following, is referred the Famine mentioned 2. <i>Sam.</i> 12.	3103		Famin.
The <i>Gebeonites</i> hang up the two Sonnes and five Nephewes of <i>Saul</i> , for his Crueltie against them. 2. <i>Sam.</i> 21.			Sauls Sonns hanged.
About this Time were slaine those Giants of the Posteritie of <i>Goliath</i> , mentioned 2. <i>Sam.</i> 21. 1. <i>Paral.</i> 21.			Giants slaine.
About this Time <i>David</i> numbeth the People, contrary to the Law. <i>Exod.</i> 30. and brought a Plague upon the People. 2. <i>Sam.</i> 25, when he had raigned 38. Yeares.	3107		David numbeth the People.
The Conspiracie of <i>Adoniah</i> : <i>Salomon</i> is appointed to be King after <i>David</i> . 1. <i>Reg.</i> 1. unto which Time must be referred the Beginning of <i>Salomons</i> Raigne. About three Monethes within this Yeare was <i>Roboham</i> borne unto <i>Salomon</i> .	3108		Adoniah his Conspiracie.
<i>David</i> commendeth the Kingdome to <i>Salomon</i> : Ordereth the Building of the Temple, and distributeth the Offices of the Priestes and Levites. 1. <i>Paral.</i> 23. 24.	3109		Roboham b. David ordereth the State, and the Church.

Salomon. A.M.

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Hadad King
of Syria.

3110

The first Moneth of this Yeare, endeth the 40 Yeare of *Dauids* Raigne, and he dieth. This Yeare *Hadad* the *Idumean* returneth out of *Egypt*, and raigneth over *Syria*.
1. Reg. 11. *Adoniah* and *Joab* are executed. *Abiathar* banished, whom *Zadok* succeedeth. 1. Reg. 2. *Simei* is commaunded not to depart from *Jerusalem*.

Adoniah
and Joab
executed.Salom. ma-
ryage.

3112

Salomon marrieth *Pharao* his Daughter. God appeareth unto *Sal.* in *Gebeon*. 1. Reg. 3.

A vision.

Salo. judg-
eth the two
Women.

Salomon judgeth the Cause of the two Women. 1. Reg. 3.

Temple
founded.

3118

This Yeare, and 31 Daies, the Foundation of the Temple was laied. *Simei* is executed. 1. Reg. 2.

Finished.

Arke placed.

Sacrifice.

Salo. House
built.

The Temple was finished, the Arke brought out of the Tower of *Sion* into the Temple, which was dedicated the same Time, and Fier commeth from Heaven upon the Sacrifices. 2. Paral. 7.

Vision.

3131

The same Yeare *Salomon* began to build his owne House, which was finished in 13 Yeares. 1. Reg. 7.

Cities built.

3133

God appeareth againe unto *Salomon*. 1. Reg. 9. 2. Paral. 7.

Shippes.

3133

Hiram refuseth *Salomons* offer. 1. Reg. 9.

Salomon buildeth Cities, *Gazer*, &c. 1. Reg. 9.

Salomon sendeth Shippes into *Ophir*. 1. Reg. 9. 1. Paral. 10. which returne after 3 Yeares.

The Queene
of Saba.

3137

About this Time the Queene of *Saba* visiteth *Salomon*. 1. Reg. 10.

Jubil. 12.

3141

And six Monethes was the 12. *Jubilie*.

Ahia.

3147

Abia prophesied that *Jerobeam* should be King of the tenne Tribes of *Israel*. 1. Reg. 11.

Jeddi.

The same Time prophesied *Jeddi*. 2. Paral. 9.

Salomon
dieth.

3148

And three Monethes *Salomon* died, when he had raigned almost 40 Yeares. 1. Reg. 11. whom *Rehabeam* succeeded, *Jerobeam* returneth out of *Egypt*, and is made King over the tenne Tribes of *Israel*. 1. Reg. 11. he inventeth the Idolatrie of *Dan* and *Bethel*: So the Kingdome is devided into *Judah* and *Israel*. 1. Reg. 12.

The King-
dome devi-
ded.The Idolatry
of Dan and
Bethel.

3148

And 7 Monethes with 14 Daies, was held the Feast of *Tabernacles* in *Bethel*. The Prophet threatneth the Altar, plagueth the King, and prophesieth of *Josias*. 1. Reg. 13.

The Altar
in Bethel
threatned.

3149

The Citie of *Sichem* was built, 1. Reg. 12.

Sichem built

3151

And 4 Monethes, *Rehobeam*, after he had raigned 3 Yeares, forsooke the Law of the Lord. 1. Paral. 11.

Rehobeam
his Fall.Sisak spoyleth
Jerusal.

3154

Sisak King of *Egypt* spoileth *Jerusalem*, and carrieth away all the Treasures, with the golden Shieldes, 2. Paral. 12. 1. Reg. 14.

Semaia the
Prophet.

Then God spake unto the Princes of *Judah* by the Prophet *Semaia*. 2. Paral. 12. with this Prophet lived *Iddo*. 2. Paral.

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	A.M.	Kinges.
This Yeare was borne <i>Jehoiada</i> the High Priest.		
<i>Reboeam</i> dieth, <i>Abiam</i> succeedeth in <i>Judah</i> , and overthroweth the <i>Israelites</i> . 1. Reg. 15. 2. Paral. 13. <i>Benbadad</i> the Sonne of <i>Tabrimon</i> King of <i>Syria</i> was confederated with <i>Abiam</i> . 1. Reg. 15.	3165	<i>Abiam</i> K. of <i>Judah</i> .
<i>Afa</i> was made Kinge of <i>Judah</i> , after 91 Daies. 1. Reg. 15.	3168	<i>Afa</i> King of <i>Judah</i> .
And 10 Monethes, <i>Nadab</i> is made King of <i>Israel</i> after the Death of <i>Jerobeam</i> his Father. 1. Reg. 15.	3169	<i>Nadab</i> King of <i>Israel</i> .
<i>Nadab</i> dieth in the Beginning of the second Yeare of his Raigne, slaine by <i>Baasa</i> , who succeeded him in the Kingdome.	3171	<i>Baasa</i> King of <i>Israel</i> .
<i>Jehosaphat</i> was borne.	3175	
Now were determined the tenne Yeares of Peace. wherein <i>Afa</i> built fenced Cities: After which Time he had continuall Warre with <i>Baasa</i> . 1. Reg. 15.	3178	
And 61 Daies, Sacrifice is offered unto God of the Pray taken from the <i>Æthiopians</i> , whom <i>Afa</i> destroyed. 2. Paral. 15.	3183	<i>Afa</i> his Victorie.
<i>Baasa</i> King of <i>Israel</i> vexed <i>Judeab</i> , and built <i>Rama</i> . 2. Paral. 16. 1. Reg. 15. <i>Hanani</i> the Prophet is cast into Prison by <i>Afa</i> . 2. Paral. 16.	3184	<i>Rama</i> built.
And six Monethes was the 13. <i>Jubilie</i> .	3190	<i>Jubil.</i> 13.
<i>Jehu</i> Sonne of <i>Hanani</i> , prophesieth against <i>Baasa</i> . 1. Reg. 15.		<i>Jehu</i> proph.
<i>Baasa</i> dieth, his Sonne <i>Ela</i> succeedeth in the Kingdome of <i>Israell</i> , and raigneth one Yeare and 24 Daies.	3194	<i>Ela</i> King of <i>Israel</i> .
The 54. Day, <i>Zimri</i> killeth <i>Ela</i> , and raigneth seven Daies, and is slaine by <i>Omri</i> . 1. Reg. 16.	3196	<i>Zimri</i> King of <i>Israel</i> .
And 91 Daies <i>Tibni</i> dieth, and <i>Omri</i> raigneth alone. 1. Reg. 16.	3199	<i>Omri</i> raigneth.
<i>Joram</i> is borne unto <i>Jehosaphat</i> .	3200	
<i>Omri</i> the sixt Yeare of his Raigne commeth to <i>Samaria</i> , which he had built to be the Seat of the Kingdome of <i>Israel</i> . 1. Reg. 16.	3202	<i>Samaria</i> built.
And 76 Daies <i>Omri</i> dieth, the 12. Yeare of his Raign, after him succeeded <i>Achab</i> . 1. Reg. 16.	3206	<i>Omri</i> , d. <i>Achab</i> .
About this Time <i>Hiel</i> buildeth <i>Jericho</i> . 1. Reg. 16.		<i>Jericho</i> built.
King <i>Afa</i> beginneth to be diseased in his Feete, the 39. Yeare of his Raigne. 2. Paral. 16.	3207	<i>Afa</i> his Gout.
And three Monethes <i>Afa</i> dieth. <i>Jehosaphat</i> succeedeth King over <i>Jehudab</i> . 1. Reg. 22.	3209	<i>Jehosaphat</i> raigneth.
And three Monethes, <i>Jehosaphat</i> in the third Yeare of his Raigne, sendeth Princes and Levites to publishe the Booke of the Law, in the Cities of <i>Judad</i> . 2. Paral. 17.	3211	The Law published.
<i>Ahasia</i> Nephew to <i>Jehosaphat</i> by his Sonne <i>Joram</i> , was borne. 2. Reg. 8.	3217	<i>Ahasia</i> , b.

<i>Kinges.</i>	<i>A.M.</i>	<i>A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.</i>
<i>The drought.</i>	3220	About this Time began the three Yeares of Drought (1. Reg. 17.) denounced by <i>Elias</i> : <i>Elias</i> sojourneth with the Widow of <i>Sarephta</i> , and raiseth hir Sonne from Death. <i>Obadia</i> hideth an hundreth Prophetes of God in two Caves, 1. Reg. 18. 4.
<i>Sarephta.</i>		
<i>Obadia.</i>		
<i>Baals Prophets slain.</i>	3223	<i>Elias</i> presenteth him selfe unto the King. Fier from Heaven consumeth his Sacrifice. 850 Prophetes of <i>Baal</i> are flaine. 1. Reg. 18. 17. 38. 49.
<i>Elizeus.</i>		<i>Elizeus</i> is called to be a Prophet, 1. Reg. 19.
<i>Samaria besieged.</i>		Towards the End of this Yeare, <i>Benbadad</i> King of <i>Syria</i> besiegeth <i>Samaria</i> with a great Armie, which <i>Achab</i> overthroweth. 1. Reg. 20.
<i>A second Victory.</i>	3224	The <i>Syrians</i> again are overthrowen, and <i>Benbadad</i> is taken: 1. Reg. 20.
<i>Naboth stoned.</i>		This Year <i>Naboth</i> , by the wicked Practice of <i>Jezabel</i> , was stoned for his Vineyard. 1. Reg. 21.
	3226	This Yeare the <i>Sunamite</i> conceaveth a Sonne, as <i>Elizeus</i> had said. 2. Reg. 4.
<i>Ahasia made King.</i>	3226	<i>Ahasia</i> is made King over <i>Israel</i> , his Father <i>Achab</i> yet living. 2. Reg. 1.
		Also <i>Jehosaphat</i> caused his Sonne <i>Joram</i> to be saluted King of <i>Juda</i> . 2. Reg. 1. 3.
<i>Jehosaphat reproveth.</i>		About this Time <i>Jehosaphat</i> is reproveth by <i>Eliezar</i> the Prophet, for joining with <i>Ahasia</i> in Navigation. 2. Paral. 20.
<i>Achab slain at Ramath.</i>	3227	<i>Jehosaphat</i> goeth with <i>Achab</i> to <i>Ramath</i> , where <i>Achab</i> is slaine, 1. Reg. 22.
<i>Ahasia reigneth.</i>		The third Moneth of this Yeare <i>Ahasia</i> succeedeth his Father <i>Achab</i> . in <i>Israel</i> , and dieth after 11 Daies. The <i>Moabites</i> fall from <i>Israel</i> . 2. Reg. 3. About this Time <i>Elias</i> consumeth 100 Soldiars, and their ij Captains, with Fier from Heaven. 2. Reg. 1.
<i>100 Soldiars burnt.</i>		
<i>Joram King.</i>	3227	And almost iij. Monethes, <i>Ahasia</i> dieth, his Brother <i>Joram</i> succeedeth. 2. Reg. 1, and 3. In the Beginning of his Raigne <i>Elias</i> was taken up into Heaven.
<i>Elias is rapt into Heaven.</i>		
<i>Elizeus.</i>	3228	<i>Elizeus</i> cureth the Waters, and curseth the Children that mocked him. 2. Reg. 2. <i>Jehosaphat</i> is reproveth by <i>Jehu</i> the Prophet, and calleth back his People unto God. 2. Paral. 19.
<i>Jehosaphat reproveth.</i>		
<i>Warr with Moab.</i>	3229	<i>Joram</i> King of <i>Israel</i> , with <i>Jehosaphat</i> , and the King of <i>Edom</i> , go out against <i>Mesa</i> King of <i>Moab</i> , and <i>Elizeus</i> with them. 2. Reg. 3.
<i>Oile multiplied.</i>	3230	This Yeare, <i>Elizeus</i> multiplied the Oile of the Prophetes Widow. 2. Reg. 4.
<i>One raised from Death.</i>	3231	This Yeare <i>Elizeus</i> raiseth from Death the <i>Sunamits</i> Sonne, &c. 2. Reg. 4, and 8. The same Yeare was done the Miracle

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Miracle of xx. Loaves by <i>Elizeus</i> . 2. Reg. 4. A litle before this <i>Elizeus</i> had cured the Pottage poysoned with <i>Colocyn- thida</i> .		Pottage cured.
And three Monethes, when <i>Jehosaphat</i> had raigned 22 Yeares, his Sonne <i>Joram</i> (who hitherto had only the Title of the Kingdome) was taken by him into the Fel- lowship of Government.	3231	
This Yeare <i>Jehosaphat</i> gott Victory against <i>Ammon</i> and <i>Moab</i> without Battail, as <i>Jebasiel</i> the Prophet had said. 2. Pa- ral. 20.	3232	<i>Jehosaphat</i> his Victorie.
The same Yeare <i>Naaman</i> the Syrian was cured of his Leprosie by <i>Elezeus</i> . 2. Reg. 5.		<i>Naaman</i> cured.
<i>Elezeus</i> causeth Iron to swimme: An Armie of Angelles are shewed unto <i>Elezeus</i> his Servant: He bringeth his Enemies into <i>Samaria</i> , 2. Reg. 6.	3233	<i>Iron swim- meth.</i> <i>An Armie of Angels.</i>
<i>Benbadab</i> besiegeth <i>Samaria</i> , but being made afraid, he leaveth his Tents furnished unto his Enemies the <i>Israelites</i> . 2. Reg. 6. and 7.	3234	<i>Samaria be- sieved.</i>
The thirde Monethe of this Yeare, <i>Jehosaphat</i> died. 2. Pa- ral. 20. <i>Joram</i> slaieth his Bretherne. 2. Paral. 21. <i>Idumea</i> and <i>Libna</i> fall from <i>Joram</i> . <i>Elias</i> but not the <i>Thisbite</i> , by Letters denounceth the Wrath of God against <i>Joram</i> . 2. Paral. 21.	3235	<i>Jehosaph. d.</i> <i>Joram his Murder.</i> <i>Elias proph.</i>
About the Beginning, the <i>Philistines</i> and <i>Arabians</i> waft <i>Judea</i> , and lead Captives the Kinges Wives, and his Sonnnes, except <i>Abasia</i> alias <i>Jobas</i> . 2. Paral. 21.	3236	<i>Judea wast- ed.</i>
The 9. Moneth of this Yeare began <i>Joram</i> to be diseased in his Bowelles, ij Yeares before his Death. 2. Paral. 21.	3237	<i>Joram dis- eased.</i>
This Yeare about Harvest ceased the 7 Yeares Famine foretold by <i>Elezeus</i> . 2. Reg. 8.	3238	
The <i>Sunamite</i> returneth out of <i>Palestina</i> , and recovereth hir Landes by <i>Joram</i> . 2. Reg. 8.		<i>The Suna- mite her Returne.</i>
<i>Benbadad</i> King of <i>Syria</i> dieth, when he had raigned 55 Yeares. <i>Hazael</i> succeedeth and raigneth 47 Yeares.	3239	<i>Hazael K. of Syria.</i>
<i>Abasiab</i> raigneth in <i>Judah</i> for his Father lying Sicke. 2. Reg. 9.		<i>Ahasiah.</i>
The 273. Day of this Yeare, <i>Joram</i> dieth, having raigned 8. Yeares.		
The first Moneth, <i>Abasia</i> goeth downe with <i>Joram</i> King of <i>Israel</i> , against <i>Hazael</i> King of <i>Syria</i> unto <i>Ramoth</i> , where <i>Joram</i> is wounded. After they are both slaine by <i>Jehu</i> . 2. Reg. 9. <i>Jezabel</i> is eaten of Dogges. 2. Reg. 9.	3240	<i>Battail with Hazael.</i> <i>Jehu.</i> <i>Jezabel.</i>
And 90 Daies, <i>Jehu</i> beginneth to raigne over <i>Israell</i> . 70 Sonnnes of <i>Achab</i> are slaine. <i>Baales</i> Priestes are slaine in their	3239	<i>Achabs Sonnns slain.</i> <i>Baal his priests slain.</i>

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		their Temple. 2. Reg. 10. <i>Jonadab</i> the <i>Rechabite</i> was neare Frind to King <i>Jebu</i> .
<i>Athalias Murder.</i>		<i>Athalia</i> , Mother to <i>Abazia</i> killeth the Kings Sonnes, only <i>Joas</i> escapeth. 2. Paral. 22. 23.
<i>Jubil. 14.</i>		This Yeare and fixe Monethes, began the 14 <i>Jubilie</i> .
<i>Joas made K. of Judah.</i>	3245	And 90 Daies <i>Joas</i> being 70 Yeares olde, was brought forth, and made Kinge by <i>Jehoiada</i> the Priest. <i>Athalia</i> is slaine. 2. Reg. 11. 2. Paral. 23.
<i>Hazael invadeth Isr.</i>	3246	About this Time <i>Hazael</i> King of <i>Syria</i> invaded <i>Israel</i> . 2. Reg. 10.
	3260	<i>Amazias</i> is borne unto <i>Joas</i> King of <i>Juda</i> . 2. Paral. 23.
<i>Joahas King of Israel.</i>	3267	And 90 Daies, <i>Joahas</i> succeedeth his Father <i>Jebu</i> in the Kingdome of <i>Israel</i> . 2. Reg. 13. During whose Raigne, the Kinges of <i>Syria</i> afflict <i>Israel</i> .
<i>Temple repaired.</i>		<i>Joas</i> King of <i>Judah</i> , the 23. Yeare of his Raigne, repaireth the Ruynes of the Temple. 2. Paral. 24.
	3282	<i>Joas</i> is made King of <i>Israel</i> in the Life of his Father <i>Joahaz</i> .
<i>Jehoiada, d.</i>	3283	<i>Jehoiada</i> the Priest dieth being 130 Yeare olde.
<i>Joas his fal.</i>	3284	<i>Joas</i> after the Death of <i>Jehoiada</i> suffereth Idolles to be worshipped in Groves. <i>Zacharias</i> the Priest reproveth it, and is stoned in the Temple.
<i>Hazael his Victorie.</i>	3285	<i>Hazaell</i> spoileth <i>Jebuda</i> , and carrieth awaye the Treasures of <i>Jerusalem</i> . 2. Reg. 12. <i>Joas</i> appointeth his Sonne <i>Amazia</i> King over <i>Jebuda</i> . <i>Joahas</i> King of <i>Israel</i> dieth. 2. Reg. 13. <i>Joas</i> King of <i>Juda</i> in the 40. Yeare of his Raign, was killed of his Servants. 2. Paral. 24.
<i>Amazia reigneth.</i>		
<i>Elizeus, d.</i>	3286	<i>Elizeus</i> dieth, having prophesied 63 Yeares. The Irruption of the <i>Moabites</i> : a Soldiar slaine, and cast into <i>Elizeus</i> Sepulchre, revived 2. Reg. 13. <i>Hazael</i> dieth the 47. Yere of his Raigne, <i>Benhadad</i> his Sonne succeedeth. 2. Reg. 13.
<i>Hazael, d.</i>		
<i>Benhadad succeedeth.</i>	3287	<i>Joas</i> King of <i>Israel</i> thrice overcometh <i>Benhadad</i> King of <i>Syria</i> . 2. Reg. 13.
<i>Jubil. 15.</i>	3288	And 6 Monethes was the 15. <i>Jubilie</i> .
<i>Amazia his Victorie.</i>	3297	About this Time <i>Amazia</i> overcommeth the <i>Idumeans</i> : is an Idolater, reproveth of the Prophet, procureth <i>Joas</i> unto Battail, is vanquished and taken, &c. 2. Reg. 14. 2. Paral. 25.
<i>His Overthrow.</i>		
<i>Jerobeam the Second.</i>	3298	And 89 Daies, <i>Joas</i> dieth: his Sonne <i>Jerobeam</i> the second of that Name, succeedeth. 2. Reg. 14.
	3309	And 89 Daies <i>Uzzia</i> the Sonne of <i>Amazia</i> is borne, called also <i>Azaria</i> .
<i>Amazia, d.</i>	3313	<i>Amazia</i> dieth in the End of <i>June</i> , having raigned 29 Yeares. 2. Reg. 14. his Sonne <i>Azaria</i> succeedeth, but being only 4. Yeares olde, the Kingdome was governed by the Senate of

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	A.M.	Kinges.
of Sanhedrim, till he came to 16 Yeares of Age. 2. Reg. 15.		Sanhedrim.
After this Yeare almost 11 Monethes, Phul Belochus succeedeth Sardanapalus King in Assyria, and raigned 48 Yeares. This is thought to have bene that King of Ninivie, whom Jonas the Prophet brought unto Repentance. 2. Reg. 14. Jonas. 3.	3321	Phul Belochus.
Azaria being now 16 Yeares olde, beginneth him selfe to rule, in the End of June. About this Time began Hosea to Prophesie, and continued his Ministerie more than 70 Yeares. Ose. 1.	3326	Azaria rul-eth. Hosea prophesieth.
Two Yeares before those Troubles of Warre which followed presently after the Death of Jerobeam, Amos prophesied of the Destruction of Israell. Amos 1. A litle before him prophesied Joel of a great Drought, and against Samaria. Joel 1.	3337	Amos prophesieth. Joel.
And six Monethes began the 16. Jubilie.	3338	Jubil. 16.
One Day after this Year ended, died Jerobeam the second, when he had raigned 40 Years and 277 Daies. After his Death there is no King in Israel for 12 Yeares and 60 Daies.	3339	Jerob. d. No King in Israel.
Jotham the Sonne of Azaria is borne.	3341	
And 61 Daies, Zacharias, Sonne of Jerobeam obtayneth the Kingdome of Israel, which for the Troubles of civil Warres he hetherto had wanted.	3351	Zacharias raigneth.
And 240 Daies, about the Ende of November, Zacharia, when he had raigned only six Monethes, was slaine by Shallum, who succeeded him in the Kingdome. Hitherto from the Beginning of the Raigne of Jeku were 112 Yeares, and 154 Daies. Shallum raigned not after the Moneth of December, and was slaine by Menachem. 2. Reg. 15. who after 178 Daies possessed the Kingdome.	3351	Is slaine. Shallum succeedeth.
Phul Belochus King of Assyria invadeth Israel: and for 1000 Talents of Silver confirmeth Menachem in the Kingdome. 2. Reg. 15.	3353	Is slaine. Menachem raigneth.
Tobias the elder is borne. Tob. 1. and 14.	3355	
Uzzia stricken with Leprosie, committeth the Goveruement of his House unto his Sonne Jotham, being but 16 Yeares olde.	3356	Uzzia, a Lepar. Jotham.
In the Entrance of this Yeare Achaz was born. After 88 Daies of the same Yeare dieth Menachem, when he had raigned 10 whole Yeares: whom Pekahia his Sonne succeedeth in the Kingdome. 2 Reg. 15.	3362	Achaz, b. Pekahia raigneth.
And almost iij. Monethes in the Ende of the second Yeare of his Raigne, Pekahia is slaine by Pekab Sonne of Remalia, who	3364	Is slaine.

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- Pekah
raigneth. who is made King of *Israel* in the Moneth of *June*.
2 Reg. 15.
- Uzzia, d. 3366 And almost iij. Monethes *Uzzia* dieth, having raigned 52
Yeares: His Sonne *Jotham* of the Age of 25 Yeares raigh-
Jotham
raigneth. eth in his steade. 2. Paral. 27. 2 Reg. 15.
- Esay his
Vision. This Yeare *Esay* saw the Lord sitting upon an high Throne.
Esay 6. and therefore had begon to prophesie somewhat
before this.
- Olympiades
begin. 3368 And 91 Dayes began the *Grecians* to number Yeares by the
Olympiades.
- Micha pro-
phesieth. About this Time began *Michab* the *Moraskite* to prophesie,
and taught 56 Yeares.
- Thiglath-
Pillefer. 3369 And almost 11 Monethes, *Pbul-Belochus* dieth, after whom
succeeded *Thiglath-Pillefer*, or *Pbul-Affar*, who raigned in
Babylon twenty five Yeares.
- Ezechia, b. 3372 *Ezechia* is borne: Then was *Abaz* about 11 Yeares olde,
and so could not be the natural Father of *Ezechia*, but a-
dopted him.
- Pekah and
Rezin con-
spire. 3381 From this Time *Pekah* and *Rezin* conspired to invade *Juda*.
2. Reg. 15. Upon the End of this Yeare *Jotham* dieth,
when he had raigned 15 Yeares and 279 Daies, whom
Ahaz his Sonne succeedeth in *Judah*. 2. Reg. 16.
- Jotham, d.
Ahaz King
of Judah. 3382 *Abaz* Sacrificeth his owne Sonne, &c. 2. Reg. 16.
- Jerusalem
besieged. 3383 *Rezin* King of *Syria*, and *Pekah* King of *Israel* besiege *Jeru-*
salem, and take it not, but carrie many Jewes Captive to
Damascus and *Samaria*, whom *Obed* the Prophet com-
maundeth to set free. 2. Reg. 16. 2. Paral. 28. *Esa*. 7.
- Obed propb. This Yeare *Esaie* prophesieth that Christ should be borne of
a Virgine which was done 759 Yeares after) and that *Rezin*
and *Remalia* should shortly after be destroyed.
- Esay pro-
phesieth of
Christ. 3384 *Thiglath-Pelefer* King of *Affyria*, hired by *Achaz*, besiegeth
Damascus, and killeth *Rezin* the King thereof. 2. Reg. 16.
- Damascus
besieged. At the same Time he invadeth *Israell*, and carrieth the
Tribes of *Gad*, *Ruben*, and halfe *Menasse*, Captive into
Affyria. 1. Paral. 6. 2. Reg. 16.
- Gad, Rub.
Manasses
captive. 3385 About the 88. Day, *Pekah* Sonne of *Remalia*, when he had
raigned 20 Yeares was slaine of *Hosea* and his Confederates.
2. Reg. 15. After his Death *Israel* had no King for viij.
Yeares, and 278 Daies. In the meane Time happened
those Wars wherein the *Idumeans*, *Philistines*, and *Thiglath-*
Pillefer troubled *Jubab* and *Achas*. 2. Paral. 28.
- Pekah slain.
No King in
Israel. 3386 And six Monethes began the 17. *Jubilie*.
- Warres. 3391 And 19 Daies the Foundation of *Rome* was laied, the 20.
Day of *Aprill*. The same was the 10. Yeare of *Achaz*
his Raigne.

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	A.M.	Kinges.
And one Day, about the 2. of April, Hosea obtaineth the Kingdome of Israel. About this Time Habacuc prophesied.	3393	Hosea King of Israel. Habacuc prophesied.
Pbul Assar, alias Thiglatb-Pellefer dieth, having raigned 25 Yeares: and Zalmanesser (called by Ptolomie Nabonasser) succedeth him in the Kingdome of Assyria, in the Ende of Februarie. Hosea calleth him Salman. cap. 10.	3395	Salmanass. K. of Assyria.
Ezechias was made King of Judah, being of Age 25 Yeares. 2. Reg. 18.	3396	Ezech. K. of Judah.
Achaz dieth in the 16. Yeare of his Raigne: Then Esay foretold the Victorie of Ezechia against the Philistines. Esa. 15. 2. Reg. 18.	3397	Achaz, d.
Ezechias openeth the Doare of the House of God, and causeth the same to be purged. 2. Paral. 29. He destroyeth Idolatrie in Judah: Breaketh the Brazen Serpent. 2. Reg. 18. celebrateth the Passover: destroyeth the Idolatrie of Jerobeam. 2. Paral. 31.		Ezechias reformeth Religion.
This Yeare, Salmanesser maketh Hosea Kinge of Israel tributarie. 2. Reg. 17.	3398	Hosea King of Israel.
Salmanesser againe invadeth Israel, and besiegeth Samaria 3 Yeares. 2. Reg. 17, 18. Before this Siege they of the Tribe of Simeon obtaine Gedar, and destroye the Remnant of the Amalekites. 1. Paral. 5.	3400	Salmaness. 2. Assault.
In the Beginning Samaria was taken, and Israell carried Captive into Assyria, without Promise of returne into Canaan.	3403	Israel carried Captive.
In the 14. Yeare of Ezechias, Sanherib invadeth Judeah. 2. Reg. 18. The same time Thartan, one of his Captaines, taketh Asdod. Esa. 20. The Angell of God killeth 158000 Assyrians, Sanherib flieth to Ninivie, and is slaine of his owne Sonnes in his Idols Temple, and Asser-Haddon succeeded in the Kingdome. 2. Reg. 19.	3410	Sanherib besiegeth Jerusalem. Sanherib slaine.
This Yeare Tobia became Blinde. Tob. 2.		
Ezechias falleth Sicke unto Death, and is cured by Esay the Prophet, 2. Reg. 20. Esay 38.		Ezechias Sicknesse.
The Shadow of Achaz his Diall is carried backe 10 Degrees.		Achaz dial.
Merodach K. of Babylon sendeth Embassadors unto Ezechias. 2. Reg. 20. Esay 39. About that Time Esay prophesieth of Cyrus that he should destroy Babylon, and restore Judah, which came to passe 192 Yeares after.	3411	Esay prophesied of Cyrus.
Manasses was borne. Tobias the Yonger taketh a Wife: his Father receaveth his Sight. Tob. 11. 14.	3414	
Ezechias dieth, having raigned 29 Yeares, and Manasses succedeth him, being but 12 Yeares olde. 2. Paral. 33.	3425	Ezechias Death.

<i>Kinges.</i>	<i>A.M.</i>	<i>A brieft Chronicle of Holy Scripture.</i>
<i>Dejoces.</i>	3434	<i>Deioces</i> King of the <i>Medes</i> began to raigne for 53. Yeares.
<i>Jubil. 18.</i>	3435	And six Monethes was the 18 <i>Jubilie</i> .
<i>Manasses</i> <i>Captivitie.</i>	3456	<i>Manasses</i> a most wicked Idolater, burning his owne Children, and killing the Prophets, was about this Time bound with Chaines, and carried Captive into <i>Babylon</i> : and <i>Eliachim</i> ruled in <i>Judab</i> . <i>Esay</i> 22. <i>Tobia</i> dieth.
<i>Manasses</i> <i>Repentance.</i>	3457	<i>Manasses</i> in Prison repenteth of his Sinnes, and is restored unto his Kingdome.
<i>Amon, b.</i>	3458	<i>Amon</i> Sonne of <i>Manasses</i> is borne.
<i>Jofias b.</i>	3473	And 46 Daies, <i>Jofias</i> Sonne of <i>Amon</i> is borne.
<i>Amon</i> <i>raigneth.</i>	3479	And 45 Daies, <i>Manasses</i> having raigned 54 Yeares and more, dieth about the middest of <i>May</i> , <i>Amon</i> his Sonne succeedeth, being 22 Yeares olde.
<i>Amon slain.</i> <i>Jofias raigneth.</i>	3481	And 45 Daies, <i>Amon</i> when he had raigned 2 Yeares was slaine of his Courtiers: whom after the People put to Death. 2 <i>Reg.</i> 21. and made <i>Jofias</i> his Sonne King, being but 8 Yeares olde.
<i>Nebuchadnezer the First.</i>	3483	The first Moneth of this Yeare, <i>Nebuchadnezer</i> , the Father of <i>Nebuchadnezer</i> the Great, began his Raigne, and raigned 35 Yeares.
<i>Jubil. 19.</i>	3484	And six Monethes began the 19. <i>Jubilie</i> .
<i>Phraortes.</i>	3487	<i>Phraortes</i> succeeded his Father <i>Deioces</i> in the Kingdome of the <i>Medes</i> , after he had raigned 53 Yeares. <i>Herodot.</i> Lib. 1.
<i>Sallum, b.</i> <i>Eliachim, b.</i>	3488	About the middest of this Year was <i>Sallum</i> the eldest Sonne of <i>Jofiab</i> borne. After him was borne <i>Eliakim</i> Sonne of <i>Jofia</i> , who was after called <i>Joiakim</i> . 2 <i>Reg.</i> 23.
<i>Joachas, b.</i>	3490	And 45 Daies <i>Joachas</i> Sonne of <i>Jofia</i> was borne.
<i>Jofias destroyed Idolatrie.</i>	3492	And 45 Daies began the 12 Yere of <i>Jofia</i> his Raigne, he destroyed the high Places, Groves, Idols, and Altars of <i>Baal</i> , and burnt upon them the Boanes of the Priestes. 2. <i>Reg.</i> 23. according as it was prophesied 344 Yeares before. 1. <i>Reg.</i> 13. Anno 3148.
<i>Jeremie.</i> <i>Zephenias.</i> <i>Nebuchad.</i>	3493	<i>Jeremie</i> began to prophesie in the 13. Yeare of <i>Jofias</i> . <i>Jer.</i> 1. About the same Time <i>Zephanias</i> prophesied. <i>Zeph.</i> 1. This Yeare and 334 Daies, <i>Nebuchadnezer</i> the First, overcame the King of the <i>Medes</i> .
<i>Holofernes slaine.</i>	3495	<i>Holofernes</i> is slaine the 14. Yeare of <i>Jofias</i> King of <i>Judab</i> .
<i>The House of God restored.</i> <i>The Booke of the Law found.</i> <i>A solemne Pasover.</i>	3498	And 45 Daies, began the 18. Yeare of <i>Jofias</i> his Raigne: He restored the House of the Lord his God. 2. <i>Reg.</i> 22. 2. <i>Paral.</i> 34. <i>Hilkija</i> the High Priest findeth the Booke of the Law written by <i>Moses</i> . <i>Huldab</i> the Prophetesse foretelleth the Destruction of <i>Judab</i> . Here begin the 40 Yeares of the Sinne of <i>Judab</i> . <i>Ezech.</i> 4.
	3499	And 13 Daies, <i>Jofias</i> holdeth a most solemne Pasover at <i>Jerusalem</i> . 2. <i>Reg.</i> 23.

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	A.M.	Kinges.
<i>Zedechias</i> the Sonne of <i>Jofias</i> is borne. 2. Reg. 24.	3503	<i>Zedechia, b.</i>
This Yeare was <i>Joachim</i> or <i>Jechonias</i> borne. 2. Reg. 24.	3506	<i>Joiachim, b.</i>
<i>Phraortes</i> King of the <i>Medes</i> , perisheth in Battail: after whom <i>Cyaxares</i> his Sonne succeedeth, and raigneth 40 Yeares. <i>Herod. 1.</i>	3509	<i>Phraortes slaine. Cyaxares.</i>
And 45 Daies, <i>Jofias</i> going out to meet <i>Pharo Neco</i> , King of <i>Egipt</i> , dieth in <i>Megiddo</i> , when he had raigned 31 Yeares. 2. Paral. 34. his Sonne <i>Joachas</i> succeedeth, being 23 Yeares olde. About this Time <i>Jeremie</i> was cast into Prison by <i>Passur</i> . <i>Jer. 19.</i> <i>Joachas</i> when he had raigned 3 Monethes, was carried by <i>Pharo Neco</i> into <i>Egipt</i> , and dyed there. Thither also was carried <i>Sallum</i> , and there dyed. <i>Jer. 22.</i>	3512	<i>Jofias, d.</i> <i>Joachas K. of Judah. Jeremie imprisoned. Joachas d. Sallum, d.</i>
And 137 Daies, <i>Eliachim</i> , Sonne of <i>Jofias</i> , is made King of <i>Judah</i> by <i>Neco</i> , and is called <i>Joiakim</i> : He paieth a great Tribute unto <i>Pharao</i> . 2. Reg. 23. He causeth the Prophet <i>Urias</i> to be slaine with the Sworde. <i>Jer. 26.</i>	3512	<i>Eliach. K. of Judah.</i>
<i>Joachim</i> ordaineth his Sonne <i>Jechonias</i> King of <i>Judah</i> , being then but eight Yeares olde. 2. Paral. 36.	3515	<i>Urias Prophet slaine.</i>
This Yeare after Winter, <i>Nebuchadnezer</i> the Great, sent by his Father, besiegeth <i>Jerusalem</i> , and taking <i>Joiakim</i> , carrieth away part of the holy Vesselles, and manie of the <i>Jewes</i> Captive: And amongst them, <i>Daniell</i> , <i>Hanania</i> , <i>Misael</i> , and <i>Asaria</i> . <i>Dan. 1. 2.</i> Who are taught the Tonge and Learning of the <i>Chaldeans</i> for three Yeares. <i>Dan. 1. 4.</i>		<i>Jerusalem besieged. Daniel, &c. Captive.</i>
The <i>Rechabites</i> for Feare of the Warres, came to <i>Jerusalem</i> . They refuse to drink Wine. <i>Jer. 35.</i>	3516	<i>Rechabites.</i>
About this Time <i>Nebuchadnezer</i> overthroweth the Host of <i>Pharao Neco</i> at <i>Euphrates</i> . <i>Jer. 46.</i>		<i>Pharao Neco overthrowen.</i>
About the 122. Day, <i>Nabuchadnezer</i> , called also <i>Nebuchadretzar</i> , succeedeth his Father in the Kingdome of <i>Babylon</i> . <i>Jer. 25.</i> <i>Jeremie</i> is againe cast into Prison, and commaundeth <i>Baruch</i> to write his Prophecies, which he readeth unto the People, and Princes. The King burneth the Booke, &c.	3517	<i>Jeremie imprisoned. Baruch.</i>
<i>Daniell</i> a yong Man about 20 Yeares olde delivered <i>Susanna</i> .	3518	<i>Susanna.</i>
<i>Joiakim</i> rebelleth against <i>Nebuchadnezer</i> , in the sixth Yeare of his Raigne, and is distressed of the <i>Caldeans</i> . <i>Daniel</i> and his Companions excell the rest. He expoundeth the Kinges Dreame. <i>Dan. 2.</i> is renowned for his Wisdome: is advanced unto Honor, and preferreth his iij. Companions: who shortly after are cast into the burning Furnace. <i>Dan. 3.</i>	3519	<i>Joiakim rebelleth.</i> <i>Daniel his Advancement. Burning Furnace.</i>
<i>Nebuchadnetzar</i> besiegeth <i>Tyrus</i> , in the seventh Yeare of his Raigne.	3523	

<i>Kinges.</i>	<i>A.M.</i>	<i>A brieve Chronicle of Holy Scripture.</i>
Jechoniah K. of Judah.	3523	And 29. Daies, <i>Jechonia</i> is made King of <i>Judab</i> by <i>Nebuchadnezer</i> , when he was 18 Yeares old: Then were carried captive into <i>Babylon</i> 3023 <i>Jewes</i> . <i>Jer.</i> 52. 2 <i>Reg.</i> 24.
Zedecia. The Capti- vitie of Ju- dah began.	3523	And 122 Daies, <i>Nebuchadnezer</i> sendeth his Host to <i>Jerusalem</i> for <i>Jechonia</i> , and the holy Vesselles of the Temple. 2. <i>Paral.</i> 36. Then were carried Captive with <i>Jechonia</i> tenne thousand of the Nobles and valiant Men, &c. 2. <i>Reg.</i> 24. <i>Jer.</i> 24. Presently after this, <i>Methania</i> was made King of <i>Judab</i> , and called <i>Zedecbia</i> : He was the Sonne of <i>Jofias</i> . <i>Jer.</i> 37. At this Time began the Yeares of the Captivitie of <i>Judab</i> , according to <i>Ezechiel</i> cap. 40. before the Burning of the Temple 11 Yeares.
	3526	And 131 Daies. <i>Hether</i> referre the End of the 27. and the 28. of <i>Jer.</i> Not long after the false Prophet <i>Hanania</i> dieth, the Death whereof <i>Jeremie</i> had foretold. <i>Jer.</i> 28.
Zed. goeth into Baby- lon.	3527	<i>Zedechias</i> in the 4. Yeare of his Raigne goeth into <i>Babylon</i> . <i>Jer.</i> 51. At the same Time <i>Jeremie</i> committeth unto <i>Seraia</i> his Prophecie against <i>Babylon</i> . <i>Jer.</i> 50 and 51.
Ezechiell prophefieth.	3528	And 45 Daies, the fift Yeare of the Raigne of <i>Zedechias</i> , <i>Ezechiel</i> began his Prophecie, and taught by the Space of xx Yeares. Unto this Time are to be referred <i>Ezech.</i> cap. 8. to the 19.
Jerusalem besieged.	3529	And 131 Daies referre hither. <i>Ezech.</i> 20, 21, 22, 23. And 128 Daies, in the 9. Yeare of <i>Jechonia</i> his Captivitie, died the Wife of <i>Ezechiel</i> . The same Day <i>Nebuchadnezer</i> with his Armie besieged <i>Jerusalem</i> . <i>Jer.</i> 52. 2. <i>Reg.</i> 25.
	3531	And 343 Daies, <i>Ezechiel</i> foretelleth the Defolation of <i>Egipt</i> for 40 Yeares. <i>Ezech.</i> 29.
Jeremies 2. Imprif.	3532	And 122 Daies, <i>Jeremie</i> was againe imprifoned. <i>Jer.</i> 32. 33. and accused to be the Cause of this third Captivitie. The first was An. 3513. The second An. 3517.
Jubil. 20.	3533	This Yeare and fix Monethes was the 20. <i>Jubilie</i> . wherein should have ben set Free all Bond Men and Bond Women, <i>Levit.</i> 25. for violating of which Law, they are reprov'd by the Prophet <i>Jeremie</i> .
Nebuchad. goeth against Pharao.		At this Time <i>Nebuchadnezer</i> left the Siege of <i>Jerusalem</i> , and went against <i>Pharao</i> . Then <i>Jeremie</i> came out of Prison, and preached, his cap. 34. foretold the Returne and Victorie of the <i>Chaldeans</i> : And was the 4. Time put in Prison: and accused of Treason. <i>Jer.</i> 37.
Jer. 4. Im- prisonment.	3534	<i>Ezechiel</i> prophefieth against <i>Tyrus</i> cap. 26, 27, and 28. and against <i>Egipt</i> 30.
Jer. 5. Im- prisonment.	3534	And 60 Daies, <i>Zedecbia</i> conferreth with <i>Jeremie</i> : he is the 5. Time imprifoned, but more tollerably then before, cap. 37. After he is put in the Dungeon of <i>Myer</i> , which was

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		<i>A.M.</i>	<i>Daniel.</i>
was his 6. Imprisonment: He is delivered by <i>Ebedmelech</i> . <i>Jer.</i> 38. in the Time of the Famine. 2. <i>Reg.</i> 25. <i>Nebusaradan</i> entreth the Citie to burne it. <i>Zedechias</i> is taken in Flight. <i>Jer.</i> 39. hath his Eyes pulled out, when he had seene his Sonnes slaine: is carried bound into <i>Babylon</i> , and there dieth. <i>Jeremie</i> is delivered by <i>Nebusaradan</i> . <i>Jer.</i> 39. 40.			<i>Zedechia taken, &c.</i>
The 131. Day of this Yeare, was the Temple, Palace, and Citie of <i>Jerusalem</i> burnt. <i>Jer.</i> 52. About this Time <i>Abdiab</i> prophesied against <i>Idumea</i> . <i>Gedalia</i> gathereth the Remnant of the People, and is slaine by <i>Ismael</i> . The People for feare of the <i>Chaldeans</i> go into <i>Egipt</i> , and carrie <i>Jeremie</i> with them by Force.	3535		<i>The Citie and Temple burnt.</i> <i>Gedalia slaine.</i>
This Yeare the 122. Day, <i>Nebuchadnezer</i> taketh <i>Tyrus</i> , having besiged it 13 Yeares. The same Yeare <i>Jeremie</i> prophesieth against the Kinge of <i>Egipt</i> . <i>Jer.</i> 44.	3536		<i>Tyrus taken</i>
<i>Pharao Neco</i> goeth against <i>Carchemin</i> . 2. <i>Reg.</i> 23. 2. <i>Paral.</i> 35. the Spoile of <i>Egipt</i> is promised to <i>Nebuchadnezer</i> . <i>Ezech.</i> 29.	3538		<i>Carchemin.</i>
The 23. Yeare of the Raigne of <i>Nebuchadnezer</i> , after he had subdued the <i>Ammonites</i> , <i>Moabites</i> , and <i>Egyptians</i> , he sendeth <i>Nebusaradan</i> into <i>Judab</i> , who carrieth Captive 745 Men. <i>Jer.</i> 52. Here are determineth the 390 Years of the Iniquitie of <i>Israel</i> , and the 40 Yeares of the Sinne of <i>Judab</i> . <i>Ezech.</i> 4. About this Time <i>Cyaxares</i> destroyeth <i>Ninive</i> .	3539		<i>Nebuchad.</i> <i>745 Captives.</i>
This Yeare <i>Nebuchadnezer</i> sawe the Vision of the great Tree to be cut downe: which was expounded unto him by <i>Daniel</i> . <i>Dan.</i> 4.	3541		<i>The Vision of the Tree.</i>
<i>Darius Medus</i> was borne, who helped <i>Cyrus</i> in taking of <i>Babylon</i> . He was the Sonne of <i>Abasuerus</i> . <i>Dan.</i> 9. This Yeare <i>Nebuchadnezar</i> for Madnes was driven from his Kingdome to live amongst Beasts, seven Yeares. <i>Dan.</i> 4.	3542		<i>Darius, b.</i> <i>Nebuchadnezer his Madnes.</i>
<i>Astyages</i> succeedeth his Father <i>Cyaxares</i> in the Kingdome of the <i>Medes</i> , and reigneth 35 Yeares. <i>Nebuchadnesar</i> is restored to his Reason and Kingdome, and praiseth the most high God. <i>Dan.</i> 4.	3549		<i>Astyages raigneth.</i> <i>Nebuchad. restored.</i>
<i>Nebuchadnesar</i> dieth having raigned 45 Yeares. His Son <i>Evilmerodach</i> succeedeth him, being saluted King 2 Yeares before the Death of his Father.	3559		<i>He dyeth.</i> <i>Evilmerodach.</i>
About the 358. Day of this Yeare, <i>Evilmerodach</i> , preferreth <i>Jechonias</i> , who had ben Captive more then 36 Years, and was now 55 Years old. 2. <i>Reg.</i> 25. <i>Jer.</i> 52.	3560		<i>Jechonias preferred.</i>
This Yeare ended the 40 Yeares of the Desolation of <i>Egypt</i> . <i>Eze.</i> 29.	3579		

And

Cyrus.

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- Jubil. 21. 3582 And 6 Moneths was the 21. *Jubilie*.
- Astyages taken. 3584 *Astyages* King of the *Medes* was taken by *Cyrus*. After this Victory, *Cyrus* lived: he raigned 29 Yeares.
- Evilmerodach, d. 3589 And 122 Daies *Evilmerodach* dieth, and his Sonne *Belschatzar* raigneth after him. About this Time *Daniel* sawe the Vision of foure Beasts, signifying the foure Kingdomes of the World. *Dan.* 7.
- Belschatzar Vision of 4 Beastes. 3593 This Yeare, or 3602. was the third Yeare of *Belschatzar* in which *Daniel* saw the Vision contained, *Dan.* 8. The same Yeare in the Spring Time, the *Medes* and *Persians* tooke *Babylon*, according to *Daniel* his Prophecie. Then was verified the saying of *Jer.* 51. *Darius Medus* was at this Time with *Cyrus*, *Belschatzar* was slaine in the 5. Yeare of his Empire.
- Babylon taken. 3604 *Cyrus* in the first Yeare of his Raigne, permitteth the *Jewes* to returne to *Jerusalem*, to builde the Temple, &c. *Efra.* 6. Then was fulfilled the Prophecie of *Esay* concerning *Cyrus*, cap. 44. The same Yeare *Daniell* praieth, and is informed by the Angell *Gabriell*, of the Comming and Office of Christ. *Dan.* 9. He is after cast into the Lions Denne, and miraculously delivered. *Dan.* 6.
- The Returne of the Jewes to Jerusalem. Daniel prayeth. The Lions Denne. 3605 The 9. Day of the fifth Moneth, were ended the 70 Yeares of the Desolation of *Jerusalem*. The first Day of the 7. Moneth, the *Jewes* then returned, assembled themselves at *Jerusalem*, and the same Moneth offered Sacrifices, and held the Feast of Tabernacles. *Esd.* 3. This Yeare died *Darius Medus*.
- The Feast of Tabernacles. Daniels Fast. 3606 In the Entraunce of this Yeare *Daniell* fasted and mourned. cap. 10. About the 24. Day of this Yeare, *Daniel* receaveth of the Angel the Prophecies of his 11. and 12. Chapters. And shortely after dieth. In the Moneth of *May*, the Foundation of the Temple was layed by the *Jewes*. *Esd.* 3. And the Worke hindred by their Neighbours.
- His Death. The Temple founded. 3607 In the Beginning of this Yeare, the *Samaritanes* againe seeke to hinder the Worke of the Temple, and complaining to *Abasuerus*, cause the staying therof 16 Yeares, all the Daies of *Cyrus* unto the 2. Yeare of *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspis*. *Esd.* 4. 5. The same Yeare *Cyrus* going to warre against *Tomyris*, Queene of the *Scythians*, committeth his Kingdome unto *Abasuerus*, otherwise called *Cambyses* his Sonne, who raigned 6 Yeares under *Cyrus*, and after him before *Darius* seven Yeares.
- Samarit. hinder the Worke. 3610 *Abasuerus* made a great Feast, wherin *Vasthi* was divorfed. *Hest.* 1.
- Cyruswarre against Tomyris.

Cyrus

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	A.M.	Hester.
<i>Cyrus</i> dieth, having raigned 29 Yeares, <i>Cambyfes</i> raigneth alone after his Father 7 Yeares, and 5 Moneths.	3613	<i>Cyrus, d.</i>
Toward the Ende of this Yeare in <i>Januarie</i> , the 7. Yeare of <i>Abasuerus</i> , <i>Hester</i> , called also <i>Atossa</i> , or <i>Edefza</i> , became Wife unto <i>Abasuerus</i> . <i>Hester</i> 2.		<i>Hester married to Abasuerus.</i>
<i>Mardocheus</i> by <i>Hester</i> , signifieth unto <i>Abasuerus</i> the Treason of <i>Bigthan</i> , and <i>Tberes</i> his Servants, <i>Hester</i> 2. <i>Haman</i> is advanced unto high Honor. <i>Hester</i> 2.	3614	<i>Mardocheus. Fidelitie. Haman advanced.</i>
In the Entrance of this Yeare, <i>Haman</i> practiseth to destroy the <i>Jewes</i> , perfwadeth the King, and sendeth Letters for Execution of his Devise. <i>Hest.</i> 3. which <i>Hester</i> understanding by <i>Mardochai</i> , commandeth a Fast to be held of the <i>Jewes</i> . <i>Hest.</i> 4. After calleth <i>Abasuerus</i> and <i>Haman</i> unto a Banquet: <i>Mardochai</i> is honored: <i>Hester</i> intreateth the King for hir People, and obtaineth. <i>Haman</i> is hanged, &c. <i>Hest.</i> 7, 8, 9. The Feast of <i>Purim</i> is instituted.	3619	<i>His Practise against the Jewes.</i>
And 5 Monethes, <i>Cambyfes</i> or <i>Abasuerus</i> killeth him selfe with his owne Sword: And <i>Magus</i> raigneth for vij. Monethes.	3620	<i>Haman hanged. Purim. Cambyfes killeth himselfe.</i>
<i>Darius</i> the Sonne of <i>Hystaspis</i> beginneth his Raign, who toke <i>Hester</i> to Wife, by whom he had <i>Xerxes</i> Father of <i>Artaxerxes Longimanus</i> , a great Benefactor of the <i>Jewes</i> : He raigneth 36 Yeares.	3621	<i>Darius raigneth.</i>
In <i>September</i> the second Yeare of <i>Darius</i> his Raigne <i>Serubabel</i> and <i>Jehoshua</i> the Priest, stirred up by <i>Aggay</i> and <i>Zacharie</i> the Prophets, began to finish the Building of the Temple, which had ben intermitted for more then 15 Yeares. <i>Ezr.</i> 5. <i>Agg.</i> 1. and that by the Commandement of <i>Darius</i> . <i>Ezr.</i> 5.	3623	<i>The Temple built.</i>
The second Temple was finished in the Ende of this Yeare, about the third of <i>March</i> , the 6. Yeare of <i>Darius Hystaspis</i> . <i>Efr.</i> 6.	3627	<i>Finished.</i>
The 14. Day was held the Passover. <i>Efr.</i> 6.	3628	
And six Monethes was the 22. <i>Jubilie</i> .	3631	<i>Jubil. 22.</i>
<i>Darius</i> dieth having raigned 36 Yeares, after succeeded his Sonne <i>Xerxes</i> by <i>Atossa</i> , or <i>Hester</i> , and raigned 21 Yeares.	3657	<i>Darius, d.</i>
In the End of this Yeare, <i>Xerxes</i> went with his Army against <i>Grecia</i> , according to <i>Daniels</i> Prophecie. <i>Dan.</i> 11. The same Time was a marvelous great Eclips of the Sunne.	3664	<i>Xerxes went into Grecia.</i>
In the Moneth <i>Nisan</i> , <i>Ezra</i> deliberateth to ascend unto <i>Jerusalem</i> . <i>Efr.</i> 7. and commeth thither the first Day of the 5. Moneth. <i>Efr.</i> 7. 8.	3671	<i>Ezra cometh to Jerusalem.</i>
The 10. Moneth, &c. was Inquisition made of those that had married strange Wives. <i>Efr.</i> 10.		<i>Strange Wives put away.</i>
<i>Xerxes</i> died when he had raigned 21 Yeares, slaine by <i>Artabanus</i> , who shortly after was slaine by <i>Artaxerxes</i> in Revenge	3678	<i>Xerxes slaine.</i>

Nehemias.

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- venge of his Fathers Death, who succeeding in the Kingdome, raigned 59 Yeares and six Monethes.
- Pericles governeth Athens. 3679 And 182 Daies, *Pericles* after the Flight of *Themistocles*, obtained the Governement of *Athens* which indured 40 Yeares.
- Jubil. 23. 3680 And six Monethes was the 23. *Jubilie*.
- 3683 The *Jewes* build the Wall and Gates of *Jerusalem*, by Favor of *Artaxerxes*.
- Samaritans. 3684 This Yeare in the Beginning, the *Samaritans*, and other Borderers threw downe the Walls, and burnt the Gates of *Jerusalem*, by Commaundement of *Artaxerxes*. *Ezra*. 4.
- Nehemias. 3685 In the first Moneth, *Nehemias* obtaineth Leave of *Artaxerxes* to build againe the Streates and Walls of *Jerusalem*, *Nehem* 7. 11. From this Yeare begin the 70 Weekes or 490 Yeares, which the Angell *Gabriel* saieth unto *Daniell*, should be unto the Death of Christ. This Yeare was a great Famin in *Jerusalem*. *Nehem*. 5.
- The 70 Weekes begin. Famin. The Wall finished. The Wall was finished, and the Feast of Tabernacles celebrated. Also the 207. Day of this Yeare was a Fast, and the Booke of the Law read. *Nehem*. 9.
- 3696 In the Beginning, *Nehemias* returned unto the King after he had governed in *Judaea* 12 Years. *Nech*. 5.
- 3697 This Yeare, or the Yeare following, *Nehemias* returneth to *Jerusalem*, and reproveth such as had offended. cap. 13.
- Apseudes. 3710 *Apseudes* governed in *Athens*, and *Aenesius* was *Ephorus* in *Sparta*.
- Pythod. 3716 *Pythodorus* was Pretor at *Athens*.
- The Warre of the Peloponnesus. 3717 In the spring Time began that great Warre of *Peloponnesus*.
- A Plague. 3718 Now began the second Yeare of the same Warre: and brought also an exceeding great Plague.
- Pericles, d. 3725 *Pericles* died about the middest of this Yeare, after he had governed in *Athens* 40 Yeares.
- Artaxerx. Long, dieth. 3724 The 225 Daies *Artaxerxes Longimanus* died, when he had raigned 59 Yeares and an half, after *Xerxes* his Fathers going into *Europa*.
- Jubil. 24. 3729 And six Monethes, was the 24. *Jubilie*.
- Hannibal. 3737 This Yeare *Hannibal* with 100000 Men came into *Sicilia*. This was not he that after warred against the *Romaines*, but an other more auncient.
- Jubil. 25. 3778 And 6 Moneths was the 25. *Jubilie*.
- Alexander the Great. 3808 In the Beginning *Alexander* the Great succeeded his Father *Philip* in the Kingdome of *Macedonia*, and raigneth 12 Yeares.
- 3810 And 15 Daies, entred the 4. Yeare of *Alexander* his Raigne, in which he besieged and tooke *Tyrus*, as *Esay* had said. 23.
- Tyrustaken. The

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The same Yeare he came to <i>Jerusalem</i> , but was pacified of <i>Jaddo</i> the High Priest, and went thence towards <i>Babylon</i> . <i>Jer.</i> 50.		Alex. came to <i>Jerusal.</i>
About the middest of this Yeare was the last Battaile fought, betweene <i>Darius Codomanus</i> , and <i>Alexander</i> , at <i>Arbela</i> , wherein was fulfilled the Propheſie of <i>Daniel</i> . cap. 8. Of the Goate overthrowing the Ramme. About the same Time happened that great Victorie of the <i>Jewes</i> (2. <i>Machab.</i> 8) in <i>Babylonia</i> .	3811	The Battaile at <i>Arbela</i> . <i>Dan. Vision</i> fulfilled.
The 225. Day <i>Alexander</i> died, when he had raigned 11 Yeares and 7 Moneths. His Monarchie was divided into foure Kingdomes. <i>Daniel.</i> 7. 6.	3818	<i>Alexander Mag. dieth.</i>
The first of <i>Aprill</i> next following the Death of <i>Alexander</i> the Great, was the Beginning of the Yeares of the Kingdome of the <i>Græians</i> , mentioned in the Historie of the <i>Machabies</i> .	3819	The Yeares of the <i>Græians</i> begin.
And six Monethes began the 26. <i>Jubilie</i> .	3827	<i>Jubil. 26.</i>
The 230 Daies began the numbring of the Yeares of the <i>Chaldeans</i> , with the Raigne of <i>Seleucus</i> in <i>Syria</i> and <i>Babylonia</i> .	3831	The Yeare of the <i>Chaldeans</i> .
The twelfth Day, <i>Ptolemæus Philadelphus</i> began his Raigne: when his Father <i>Ptolemæus Lagi</i> had raigned 38 Yeares after the Death of <i>Alexander</i> .	3857	<i>Ptol. Phil. raigneth.</i>
The 194. <i>Ptolomæus Philadelphus</i> had raigned 13 Yeares and an halfe.	3870	
Began the 17. Yeare of the Raigne of <i>Ptolomeus Philadelphus</i> , what Time the 70 Interpreters translated the Old Testament, out of the <i>Hebrew</i> into the <i>Greeke</i> Tongue, which Translation is not now extant but an other far differing from the <i>Hebrew</i> .	3873	The 70 Interpreters.
And six Monethes was the 27. <i>Jubilie</i> .	3876	<i>Jubil. 27.</i>
<i>Ptolomeus Philadelphus</i> died, having raigned 38 Yeares, whom <i>Ptolæmeus Evergetes</i> succeeded, and raigned 26 Yeares.	3895	<i>Ptol. Philad. dyeth. Evergetes.</i>
<i>Ptolæmeus Evergetes</i> dieth, and <i>Ptolæmeus Philopator</i> succeedeth, who raigned 16 Yeares and 6 Moneths. Somewhat before this Time, <i>Jesus Siracides</i> wrote his Booke called <i>Ecclesiasticus</i> .	3921	He dieth. <i>Philopat. Ecclesiasticus written.</i>
And six Monethes was the 28. <i>Jubilie</i> .	3925	<i>Jubil. 28.</i>
<i>Ptolomeus Philopator</i> dieth, and <i>Ptol. Epiphanes</i> succeedeth, for 23 Yeares.	3937	<i>Ptol. Epiphanes.</i>
<i>Antiochus</i> the Great, King of <i>Syria</i> , Father of <i>Antiochus Epiphanes</i> , was slaine in the 36. Yeare of his Raigne.	3944	<i>Antiochus the Great.</i>
<i>Heliodorus</i> is raised from Death. 2 <i>Machab.</i> 3. 4.	3954	<i>Heliodorus rayſed.</i>

Machab.

A.M.

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Seleuchus
dieth.

3956

This was the 127. Yeare of the Raigne of the Grecians, wherein *Seleuchus* died in the 12. Yeare of his Raigne, and his Brother *Antiochus Epiphanes* raigne in his Steade.

Antiochus.
Onia.

3958

And about 7 Monethes, *Onia* was put from the Priesthood by his Brother *Jason*. 2. *Machab.* 4.

Ptolomeus
Philometor.

3961

The 36. Day, began the Raigne of *Ptolomeus Philometor*. The same Yeare about the 170. Day, *Lucius Æmilius Paulus* overcame *Persea* Kinge of *Macedonia*. *Antiochus Epiphanes* bringeth back his Armie out of *Egipt*: is honorably receaved by *Jason*, High Priest, at *Jerusalem*, who after is deprived of the Priesthood. 2. *Machab.* 4.

Cyprus
wonne.

The same Yeare *Antiochus* goeth againe into *Egipt*: he winneth *Cyprus* by the Treason of *Macron*. Signes are scene in the Aire at *Jerusalem*, portending grievous Things. *Jason* invadeth *Jerusalem*, exerciseth great Crueltie. *Antiochus* compelled by *Popilius* returneth out of *Egipt*, commeth to *Jerusalem* with great Furie, killeth 80 thousand: carrieth Captive 40000, and selleth 80000. Entreth into the holy Place, spoileth the Treasurie of 800 Talents of Silver.

Antiochus
rageth at
Jerusalem.

3964

In the 145. Yeare of the Raigne of the Grecians, *Antiochus* sendeth *Apollonius* to *Jerusalem*, who invadeth *Jerusalem* by Fraud, and wasteth it. 2. *Machab.* 5. *Judas Machabeus* with his nine Brethren go into the Woodes and Mountaines. 2. *Machab.* 5. *Antiochus* forceth the Greake Religion upon the Jewes, many are cruelly handled, amongst whom *Eleazarus*, with the Mother and her seven Sonnes. 1. *Machab.* 1. 2. *Machab.* 6. 7. Then also was the Abomination of Desolation sett upon the Altar of the Lord. After followeth the Storie of *Mattathias*. 1. *Machab.* 2.

Apollonius
wasteth Je-
rusalem.Greake Re-
ligion forced
upon the
Jewes.Mattathias,
d.

3965

Mattathias dieth, his Sonne *Judas Machabeus* succeedeth, and overthroweth *Apollonius*. 1. *Machab.* 3.

Judas his
Victorie.

3966

Judas Machab. giveth a great overthrow unto *Lysias* his Captains. 1. *Machab.* 4. and after to *Timotheus* and *Bacchides*, of whose Armie he slew 20000.

3967

Judas againe discomfiteth the Armie of *Lysias*. 1. *Machab.* 4. purgeth the Temple, and fortifieth the Citie of *Jerusalem*, and *Bethzuram*.

Antiochus
sicke.

Antiochus hearing of the evill Successe of his Armie in *Judea*, falleth greivously Sicke: and appointeth his Sonne *Antiochus Eupater* to raign after him. 2. *Machab.* 9. Sacrifice is offered at *Jerusalem* the 25. of December. 1. *Machab.* 4. *Judas Machabeus* againe overthroweth *Lysias* in the Moneth of November.

Ant. Epi-
phanes, d.

3968

In the Beginning of this Yeare, being the 146. Yeare of the Grecians, *Antiochus Epiphanes* dieth. 1. *Machab.* 6.

which

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A.M. Machab.

which <i>Lysias</i> understanding from <i>Eupater</i> , maketh Peace with the <i>Jewes</i> . 1. <i>Mach.</i> 6. <i>Judas</i> overcommeth the <i>Arabians</i> , and after <i>Timotheus</i> at <i>Datheman</i> . 1. <i>Mach.</i> 5. where followeth a second Victorie against <i>Timotheus</i> .		
This Yeare was a great Famine, which caused the rendring of <i>Bethzura</i> and the Temple. 1. <i>Mach.</i> 6.		Famine.
<i>Judas</i> besiegeth <i>Sion</i> . 1. <i>Mach.</i> 6. meeteth <i>Antiochus Eupater</i> comming with a great Army: is besieged of the King, and receaveth Conditions of Peace: The King hearing of the Treason of <i>Philip</i> in <i>Antiochia</i> hasteth thether. 1. <i>Mach.</i> 6.	3969	
<i>Antiochus Eupater</i> , in the third Yeare of his Raigne is slaine with <i>Lysias</i> at <i>Antiochia</i> by the Soldiars of his Uncle <i>Demetrius</i> , Sonne of <i>Seleuchus</i> .	3970	Ant. Eupater slaine.
<i>Alcimus</i> accuseth the <i>Machabeis</i> , and is restored by <i>Bacchides</i> unto the Priesthood. 1. <i>Mach.</i> 7.		Alcimus.
<i>Nicanor</i> is sent against <i>Judas</i> , maketh Peace with him, after breaketh Covenant, and invadeth <i>Judah</i> : and finally is slaine with 35000 Men, in the Moneth of <i>March</i> . 1. <i>Mac.</i> 7.		<i>Nicanor</i> his Falshood. He is slaine.
<i>Judas</i> sendeth Embassadors to <i>Rome</i> , <i>Demetrius</i> sendeth <i>Bacchides</i> and <i>Alcimus</i> against <i>Judas</i> , who forsaken of his Soldiars is slaine, &c. <i>Mach.</i> 8. 9. <i>Jonathas</i> succedeth <i>Judas</i> , revengeth the Death of his Brother <i>Johannes</i> , and overthroweth 1000 of <i>Bacchides</i> Soldiars.	3971	<i>Judas</i> sendeth to <i>Rome</i> . <i>Jud.</i> slaine. <i>Jonathas</i> .
<i>Alcimus</i> pulleth downe certaine Walls of the Temple, is stricken with Palsey, and dieth. The <i>Jewes</i> have Peace for ij. Yeares.	3972	<i>Alcimus</i> stricken.
<i>Bacchides</i> assauleth <i>Jonathan</i> , but being compelled, maketh Peace with him, and returneth into <i>Syria</i> .	3975	Peace made with <i>Jonathan</i> .
This Yeare in <i>October</i> began the 29. <i>Jubilie</i> .	3979	<i>Jubil.</i> 29.
<i>Alexander</i> Sonne of <i>Antiochus Epiphanes</i> , in the 160. Yeare of the Raigne of the <i>Grecians</i> , taketh the Citie of <i>Ptolemaida</i> , and raigneth there. 1. <i>Mach.</i> 10. <i>Jonathan</i> becommeth High Priest.		<i>Alexander</i> , Sonne of <i>Epiph.</i> <i>Jonathan</i> high Priest.
<i>Demetrius</i> dieth in Battail against <i>Alexander</i> .	3980	<i>Demet. d.</i>
<i>Alexander</i> marrieth <i>Cleopatra</i> , Daughter of <i>Ptolomeus Philometor</i> King of <i>Egypt</i> : where <i>Jonathas</i> is honorably received. 1. <i>Mach.</i> 10.	3981	<i>Cleopatra</i> .
<i>Jonathas</i> and <i>Simeon</i> take <i>Joppa</i> , which was fortified by <i>Apollonius</i> .	3984	<i>Joppa</i> taken.
<i>Ptolomeus Philometor</i> taketh both Kingdome and Wife from <i>Alexander</i> his Sonne in Law, and giveth them unto <i>Demetrius</i> , the Sonne of <i>Demetrius</i> called <i>Nicanor</i> : And when he had seene the Head of <i>Alexander</i> , which <i>Zabdiel</i> the <i>Arabian</i> had cut off, he dieth the third Day after, in the	3986	<i>Alex.</i> deprived of Kingdome and Wife. Is slaine. <i>Ptolo. Philometor, d.</i>

Macbab. A.M.

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167. Yeare of the Grecians Raigne. *Demetrius* possesseth the Kingdome of *Asia*. *Jonathas* sendeth him 30000 choise Soldiars.
- Antiochus, Sonne of Alexand. Jonathas taken. Simon. Jon. and his Sonns slain. 3987 *Antiochus* the Sonne of *Alexander*, taketh the Crown and expelleth *Demetrius*, &c. 1. *Mach.* 11. *Tryphon* circumventeth *Jonathas* by Treason, and taketh him Prisoner. *Simon* his Brother is chosen Captaine in his stead, and resisteth the Attemptes of *Tryphon*. 1. *Mach.* 13. Shortly after *Jonathas* and his ij. Sonnes are slaine in *Galud*.
- Antiochus slaine. 3988 In the 169. Yeare of the Grecians, *Tryphon* secretly killeth *Antioc.* Sonne of *Alex.* and taketh the Crown unto himself, whom *Simon* resisteth. 1. *Mach.* 13.
- Simon. 3989 *Demetrius* easeth the Jewes of their former Burdens. 3990 *Simon* purgeth the Tower of *David*, which the Enemies had helde for 18 Yeares, and maketh his Sonne *John* Captain over his whole Host. 1. *Mac.* 13.
- Demetrius taken. 3991 *Arsaces* King of the *Persians* and *Medes*, taketh *Demetrius* Prisoner. 1. *Mach.* 14. *Tryphon* tyranniseth in his Kingdome ij. Yeares. 1. *Mach.* 15.
- The Rom. Covenant with Simon. The *Romaines* renew with *Simon* the Covenant made with *Juda* and *Jonathas*: so doth the *Spartanes*. The Priesthood and Government is confirmed unto *Simon*. 1. *Mach.* 14.
- Anti. Soter obtaineth the Kingdom. Cendebeus his Flight. 3993 *Antiochus Soter*, Sonne of *Demetrius*, Father of *Nicanor*, entreth his Fathers Kingdome, expelleth and distresseth *Tryphon*. 1. *Mach.* 15. *Judas* and *Johannes* put *Cendebeus* to Flight: *Judas* is wounded, *Johannes* pursueth the Victorie. 1. *Mach.* 16.
- Simon and his Sonnes slaine. Johannes Hyrcanus. 3 Seetes. 3995 And 306 Daies, in the 177. Yeares of the Grecians, *Ptolemeus*, Sonne of *Abobus*, killeth *Simon* his Sonne in law, with his ij. Sonnes, *Mattathia* and *Judas*, in a Banquet. *Johannes Hyrcanus* Sonne of *Simon* obtained the Kingdome for 31 Yeares.
- Jubil. 30. 4000 About this Time arose amongst the Jewes iij. Sectes, the *Pharisees*, *Esseis*, and *Sadduces*.
- 4023 And six Monethes began the 30. *Jubilie*.
- 4026 And 10 Monethes ended the 31. Yeare of the Raigne of *Johannes Hyrcanus*.
- Aristobulus dieth. Alex. Janneus raigneth. He dyeth. 4028 Six Moneths and 14 Daies died *Aristobulus*, having raigned one whole Yeare, and somewhat more: whom *Alex. Janneus* his Brother succeded, married *Salome* his Wife, and raigned 37 Yeares.
- Jubil. 31. 4065 *Alex. Janneus* dieth: his Wife holdeth the Kingdome, and his Sonne *Hyrcanus* the Priesthood for 9 Yeares.
- 4072 And six Monethes entred the 31. *Jubilie*.

Salome,

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	A.M.	Machab.
Salome, called also <i>Alexandra</i> , dieth, hir Sonne <i>Hircanus</i> , holdeth the Kingdome iij. Monethes, and is expelled.	4072	Salome, d.
About this Time was borne <i>Herod</i> the Great.		Herod, b.
And iij. Moneths, <i>Pompeius</i> taketh <i>Jerusalem</i> , when <i>C. Antonius</i> , and <i>M. Tullius</i> were Consuls, in the Yeare of Rome 690.	4080	Pompeius taketh Jerusalem.
And 348 Daies, <i>C. Julius Cæsar</i> was slaine in the Senate the 15. of May: whom, the 19. of August, <i>Octavius Augustus</i> succeeded, who held the Empire 12 Yeares with <i>Antonius</i> , and 44 Yeares alone, in all 56 Yeares.	4099	Jul. Cæsar slaine. Octavius.
And ij. Monethes, about the Feast of <i>Pentecost</i> , <i>Pacorus</i> King of the <i>Parthians</i> entred <i>Jerusalem</i> , carried <i>Hircanus</i> Captive, and set <i>Antigonus</i> for him over <i>Judea</i> .	4103	
In the End of this Yeare, the <i>Romaines</i> taking in evil Part that <i>Antigonus</i> raigned in <i>Judea</i> ; <i>Herod</i> the Great is made King of <i>Judea</i> .	4104	Herod made K. of Judea.
In the Beginning of Feb. <i>Herod</i> besiegeth <i>Jerusalem</i> .	4107	Jerusalem besieged and taken.
In the third Moneth <i>Herod</i> taketh <i>Jerusalem</i> .	4108	
And almost iij. Monethes, was fought that Battaile, which is called <i>Actiaca</i> : Then began <i>Augustus</i> to raigne alone.	4112	
<i>Antonius</i> flieth unto <i>Alexandria</i> in <i>Egypt</i> .		
<i>Hircanus</i> is slaine being 80 Yeares olde.	4113	Hircanus slaine.
And six Monethes entred the 32. <i>Jubilie</i> .	4121	Jubil. 32.
Eight Monethes and 24 Daies, was the Feast of <i>Eucænia</i> instituted. 2. <i>Mach.</i> 1. What Time <i>Herod</i> began to prepare for the Building of the third Temple: This Preparation indured 8 Yeares.	4124	Eucænia instituted.
The Temple is built, and finished in one Yeare and 6 Monethes. The second Temple hetherto had stode almost 506 Yeares.	4133	Temple built the 3. Time.
In the third Moneth, the Temple was dedicated.	4135	
The Angell appeared unto <i>Zacharia</i> in the Temple: He is promised a Sonne, whose Name should be <i>John</i> . <i>Luke</i> 1.	4141	Zacharia is promised a Sonne.
About the 6. Day, the Angel <i>Gabriel</i> , declared unto the Virgine <i>Marie</i> , that she should conceive a Sonne, which should be the Sonne of God. <i>Luc.</i> 1. Then it is thought that the Starre first appeared unto the Wise Men in the East. <i>Math.</i> 2.	4142	Christ conceived. Starre.
The 268. Day of this Yeare, the 25. of <i>December</i> , was borne in <i>Bethlem</i> in <i>Judea</i> , our Lord <i>JESUS CHRIST</i> , in the 42. Yeare of the Raigne of <i>Augustus</i> Emperor of Rome, at whose Birth the Angels rejoyce <i>Luc.</i> 2. The 276. Day, he was circumcised and called <i>Jesus</i> , for which the <i>Hebrewes</i> write <i>Jehoschua</i> , the Lord and Savior. After this the Wise Men came out of the East to <i>Jerusalem</i> , and enquire		Christ born. Wise Men out of the East.

Christ.

A.M.

Abrieſe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.

Christ pre-
ſented at
Jeruſalem.Infantes
ſlaine.Herod, d.
Archilaus.Archilaus
banished.Jeſus diſput-
eth with the
Elders.

M. Amb.

An. Rufus.

Auguſt. d.
Tiberius.Valerius
Gratus.

Pilatus.

Daniels
Weekes
ended.John Bapt.
called.Christ bap-
tized.Johns Te-
ſtimonie.Chriffs
Temptation.
The Lambe
of God.

Nathaniel.

A Marriage
in Cana.Christ purg-
eth the Tem-
ple.

enquire for Chriſt. *Matth. 2.* whence they are directed unto *Bethlehem*, &c. After Chriſt is preſented unto the Lord in the Temple at *Jeruſalem*, to whom *Simeon* and *Anna* beare Witneſſe. *Luc. 2.* *Herod* cauſeth the Infantes of *Bethlehem* to be ſlaine: And after killeth the Senate of *Sanhedrim*. Now was fulfilled the Propheſie of *Jaacob*, concerning the comming of *Schilob*. *Gene. 49.*

4144 And 7. Daies, *Herodes Magnus* dieth, and *Archilaus* his Sonne ſucceedeth in the Kingdome of *Judea*.

4145 After the Death of *Herod*, the Angel appeareth unto *Joſeph* in *Egypt*. *Matth. 2.*

4152 And 7 Daies, *Archilaus* was baniſhed unto *Vienna*, entring the 9. Yeare of his Raigne.

4153 And 24 Daies, *Jeſus* loſt of his Parentes, is found in the Temple diſputing with the Elders. *Luc. 2. 41—45.*

4154 *Marcus Ambivius* was Preſident in *Judea*.

4156 *Anius Rufus* was Preſident in *Judea*.

4156 And 140 Daies, *Auguſtus* dieth, after he had raigned 56 Yeares: *Tiberius* ſucceedeth 14 Yeares.

4158 *Valerius Gratus*, is the fifth Preſident over *Judea*.

4167 And 20 Daies was ended, the 26. Yeare of the Nativitie of Chriſt, and the 69 Weekes of *Daniel*.

4169 *Pilatus* ſucceedeth unto *Valerius Gratus*, who had ben Preſident in *Judea* 11 Yeares.

4170 And ſix Monethes was the 33. *Jubilie*, and the middeſt of *Daniel* his 70 Weekes, in which the Sacrifices of the Olde Teſtament ſhould be aboliſhed, (*Dan. 9.*) and the New Teſtament begin.

A.Ch.

29 About the 11. Day of *October*, in the Yeare of Chriſt 29. *John* the Baptiſt was called, and began to preach in the 15. Yeare of *Tiberius*.

4170 And 281. Day was the fixt of *Januarie*, on which Day Chriſt was baptiſed by *John* in *Jordan*.

The 14. of *Februarie*, *John* witneſſeth of Chriſt unto thoſe that were ſent from *Jeruſalem*. *Job. 2.*

4170 And 320 Daies, were ended the 40 Daies of Chriſtes Faſting and Temptation in the Wildernes. The next Day, *John* having witneſſed of Chriſt, that he was the Lambe of God, ſendeth unto him two of his Diſciples. *Job. 1.* *Simon* is called *Peter*. Chriſt calleth *Phillip*: He bringeth *Nathaniel* unto Chriſt. *Job. 1.* Chriſt goeth unto *Cana* in *Galilea* to the Marriage, after to *Capernaum*, and thence aſcendeth to *Jeruſalem* againſt the Paſſover, which then was the 7. of *April*: and caſteth the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple. *Job. 2.*

This

A Second Collection of TRACTS.

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A brieffe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.

This Yeare were done the Things described by <i>John</i> , cap. 3. and 4. <i>Matth.</i> 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9. <i>Mark.</i> 1, 2.	4172	A.M.	Christ.
The 268. Day of this Yeare, entred the 31. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> .	31	A.Ch.	
This Yeare were done the Things contained <i>Job.</i> 5. <i>Matth.</i> 10, 11, 12, 13. <i>Mark</i> 3, 4, 5, 6. <i>Luk.</i> 6, 7, 8, 9.	4173		
The 268. Day began the 32. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> .			
The 13. of <i>April</i> , <i>John Baptist</i> was beheaded.	4174		<i>John beheaded.</i>
Shortly after, <i>Christ</i> feedeth 5000 Men with five Loaves and ij. Fishes. <i>Job.</i> 6.			
This Yeare were done the Things written <i>Matth.</i> 14. from the 13. Verse unto the 20. Chap. at these Wordes. <i>Behold, we ascend unto Jerusalem, &c.</i>		A.Ch.	
The 268. Day of this Yeare, began the 33. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> .	33		
To this Yeare referre <i>Christ</i> his last Jorney and Miracles, his Passion, Resurrection, Apparitions, Ascension: and the Comming of the Holy Ghost. The 15. Day of the first Moneth, which was the third of <i>April</i> , <i>Christ</i> was crucified, in the Ende of <i>Daniel</i> his 70 Weekes. The 24. Day of <i>May</i> , <i>Christ</i> ascended into Heaven, 40 Daies after his Resurrection. In one of the 10 Dayes following, <i>Matthias</i> was chosen to be Apostle in the Place of <i>Judas</i> . <i>Act.</i> 1. The 24. of <i>May</i> , was the Feast of Pentecost, then the Holy Ghost descended upon the Apostles. <i>Act.</i> 2. Referre unto this Yeare, all that is written unto the 7. of the <i>Actes</i> .	4175		<i>Christs last Jorney to Jerusalem. Christ crucified. Ascended into Heaven. Matthias chosen. The Comming of the Holy Ghost.</i>
The 268. Day of this Yeare, entred the 34. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> . The next Day <i>Stephanus</i> was accused, and stoned to Death. <i>Act.</i> 7.	34	A.Ch.	<i>Stephanus stoned. Persecution.</i>
After followed a great Persecution of the Church at <i>Jerusalem</i> , &c. <i>Act.</i> 8.			
<i>Philip</i> preacheth the Gospel in <i>Samaria</i> : whether <i>Peter</i> and <i>John</i> are sent: <i>Simon Magus</i> . The Eunuche of <i>Aethiopea</i> taught and baptised by <i>Philip</i> . <i>Act.</i> 8. The 25. of <i>Januarie</i> , <i>Saul</i> going to <i>Damascus</i> was converted in the Way, &c. <i>Act.</i> 9. 22. 26. The <i>Jewes</i> conspire against him: He is conveyed away by the Disciples, and goeth into <i>Arabia</i> . <i>Gal.</i> 1. after he returneth to <i>Damascus</i> .			<i>Samaria converted by Philip. Sauls Conversion.</i>
The 141. Day, began the 20. Yeare of <i>Tiberius</i> his Raigne. <i>Philip</i> the Brother of <i>Herod</i> dieth.	4176		<i>Tiberius.</i>
And 268 Daies, entred the 37. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> his Nativitie.	4177	A.Ch.	
<i>Paul</i> , three Yeares after his Conversion, commeth to <i>Jerusalem</i> . <i>Gal.</i> 1. is brought unto the Apostles by <i>Barnabas</i> . <i>Act.</i> 9. Praying in the Temple he saw <i>Christ</i> and heard him. <i>Act.</i> 22. Thence he is conveyed unto <i>Cesaria</i> , and	37 4178		<i>Paul cometh to Jerusalem.</i>

Paul, Pet.	A.M.	A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.
Is sent to Tarsus.		so sent to Tarsus. <i>Act.</i> 9. <i>Cæsaria</i> is a Citie in Syria, and <i>Tarsus</i> a Citie in <i>Cicilia</i> . <i>Gal.</i> 1.
Peter rayseth Dorcas. Goeth to Cornelius.	4179	<i>Peter</i> comming to <i>Lydda</i> , healeth <i>Aeneas</i> : at <i>Joppa</i> raiseth <i>Tabitha</i> , or <i>Dorcas</i> : Seeth a Vision, and goeth to <i>Cornelius</i> : who with others receaveth the Holy Ghost, and is baptised. <i>Act.</i> 10. And returning to <i>Jerusalem</i> , geveth a Reason of his Entrance unto the <i>Gentiles</i> . <i>Act.</i> 11. <i>Barnabas</i> is sent by the Church of <i>Jerusalem</i> unto <i>Antiochia</i> . whether he fetcheth <i>Paul</i> from <i>Tarsus</i> . <i>Agabus</i> foretelleth of a Famin. <i>Act.</i> 11.
Barnabas is sent to Antiochia.		
Tiberius, d. Caligula.	A.Ch. 38	The 268. Day of this Yeare entred the 38. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> . The 349. Day being the 16. of <i>March</i> , <i>Tiberius</i> the Emperor died in the 23. Yeare of his Raigne, <i>C. Caligula</i> succedeth in the Empire, and delivereth <i>Herodes Agrippa</i> out of Prison, where <i>Tiberius</i> had left him. This Yeare <i>Flavius Josephus</i> was borne.
Josephus, b. Vitellius. Marullus. Paul and Barn. came to Jerusale.	4180	The 14. Day, <i>Vitellius</i> commeth to <i>Jerusalem</i> in the Feast of <i>Easter</i> : A little after, <i>Marullus</i> sent by <i>Caligula</i> , is President of <i>Judea</i> . <i>Paul</i> and <i>Barnabas</i> come with Almes to <i>Jerusalem</i> , and after returne to <i>Antioch</i> , having with them <i>Mark</i> . <i>Act.</i> 12.
They are sent unto the Gentiles.	A.Ch. 39	The 268. Day, entred the 39. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> , in which <i>Paul</i> and <i>Barnabas</i> , sent out by the Holy Ghost, travaile into <i>Seleucia</i> , <i>Cyprus</i> , <i>Salamina</i> , and <i>Paphus</i> , where <i>Sergius Paulus</i> was converted. <i>Act.</i> 13.
Sergius Paulus.		
Perga Pamphilia. Antiochia. Caligula his Fall.	4181 A.Ch. 40	The 268. Day began the 40. Yeare of our Lord. They went to <i>Perga</i> in <i>Pamphilia</i> , where <i>Mark</i> leaveth them. They come unto <i>Antiochia</i> in <i>Pisidia</i> . <i>Act.</i> 13. At this Time <i>Caligula</i> having hetherto governed well, began to degenerate.
Iconium. Pilate, d. Herodes	4182 A.Ch. 41	The 268. Day, entred the Yeare of our Lord 41. All which Yeare, with part of the next, <i>Paul</i> and <i>Barnabas</i> tarrie at <i>Iconium</i> . <i>Act.</i> 14. About this Time <i>Pilate</i> killeth himselfe. <i>Herodes Antipas</i> dieth in <i>Spaine</i> .
Antip. d. The Gospel of Matth. written.	4183 A.Ch. 42	The 268. Day, began the 42. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> . About this Time <i>S. Matthew</i> writeth his Gospell in <i>Judea</i> . The 298. Day, the 24. of <i>Januarie</i> , <i>Caligula</i> dieth, when he had reigned 3 Yeares, 10 Monethes, and 8 Daies. <i>Claudius</i> succedeth in the Empire: and giveth the Kingdome of <i>Judea</i> unto <i>Herodes Agrippa</i> : His Brother, called also <i>Herod</i> , was made King of <i>Chalcida</i> . <i>Josephus</i> .
Caligula, d. Claudius succeedeth. Herodes Agrippa K. of Judea.	4184	<i>Paul</i> and <i>Barnabas</i> driven from <i>Iconium</i> , fle to <i>Lystra</i> and <i>Darbe</i> , and preach theare. At <i>Lystra</i> , <i>Paul</i> was stoned, and left for dead, but was raised againe. <i>Act.</i> 14.
Paul and Barn. come to Lystra. Paul stoned.		

A Second Collection of TRACTS.

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A brieft Chronicle of Holy Scripture.

	A.M.	Christ.
The 268. Day, began the Yeare of <i>Christ</i> 44. They returne to <i>Lystra</i> , <i>Iconium</i> , and <i>Antiochia</i> in <i>Pisidia</i> , and ordaine Elders in every Church. <i>Act.</i> 14.	4185	Returning. They ordain Elders.
And the 15. Day, at <i>Easter</i> , <i>Herod</i> havinge slaine <i>James</i> the Brother of <i>John</i> , put <i>Peter</i> in Prison, &c. <i>Act.</i> 12.	4186	Peter imprisoned by Herod.
The 298. Day, was the 45. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> . About this Time, <i>Mark</i> the Disciple of <i>Peter</i> , preached the Gospel in <i>Egypt</i> . Not long after this, <i>Herod</i> was stricken of the Angel. <i>Act.</i> 12.		Mark preached in Egypt. Herod dieth of Wormes.
This Yeare <i>Paul</i> and <i>Barnabas</i> came into <i>Pamphilia</i> , and preached the Woord at <i>Perga</i> : and thence returned to <i>Antiochia</i> in <i>Syria</i> , whence they were commended to the Grace of God. <i>Act.</i> 14. 26.		Paul & Bar. returne to Antioch and tarry there.
The 268. began the Yeare of <i>Christ</i> 46. A great Part of this Yeare they tarried at <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Act.</i> 14. 28.	4187	
The 268. Day, entred the 47. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> . About this Time <i>Theudas</i> the Rebel, his Head was brought to <i>Jerusalem</i> : not his that is mentioned <i>Act.</i> 5. but an others. This Yeare as is thought, <i>S. Luke</i> wrote his Gospel.	4188	<i>Theudas</i> the Rebell slaine. Luke wrote his Gospel.
The 268. Day, began the 48. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> . This Yeare, which was the 14. of <i>Paul</i> 's Conversion, he went up with <i>Barnabas</i> and <i>Titus</i> unto <i>Jerusalem</i> , to the Synode there. <i>Act.</i> 15. <i>Gal.</i> 2. After this <i>Peter</i> was reprov'd of <i>Paul</i> at <i>Antioch</i> . <i>Gal.</i> 2. Not long after the Synode, <i>Barnabas</i> and <i>Marke</i> sayled into <i>Cyprus</i> : <i>Paul</i> and <i>Silas</i> travailed thorough <i>Syria</i> and <i>Silicia</i> , confirming the Brethren. <i>Act.</i> 15. And comming to <i>Derbe</i> and <i>Lystra</i> , <i>Paul</i> taketh <i>Timothie</i> to be a Companion of his Journey.	4189	The Synode at Jerusl. Peter reprov'd. The Travail of Paul and Silas. Timothie called.
The 268. Day, beginneth the 50. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> . About this Time, in the 8. Yeare of <i>Claudius</i> the Emperour, <i>Cumannus</i> succeeded <i>Tiberius Alexander</i> in the Government of <i>Judea</i> .	4191	<i>Cumannus</i> governeth in Judæa.
This Yeare of <i>Christ</i> , <i>Paul</i> wrote both his Epistles to the <i>Theſſalonians</i> .		The Epist. to the Theſſalonians.
The 268. Day, entred the Yeare of <i>Christ</i> 51. This Yeare, not before <i>September</i> , <i>Paul</i> came from <i>Athens</i> to <i>Corinthus</i> .	4192	Paul came to Athens.
The 268. Day, began the 52. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> , 30 Daies after began the 11. Yeare of the Raigne of <i>Claudius</i> the Emperour.	4193	His being at Corinth.
The 334. Day, <i>Paul</i> having continued at <i>Corynth</i> one Yeare and six Monethes (<i>Act.</i> 18.) in the Beginning of <i>March</i> , sailed thence with <i>Aquila</i> and <i>Prisilla</i> , and leaving them at <i>Ephesus</i> , went now the fowerth Time after his Con-		Ephesus.

Christ.

A.M.

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.

He went the

4. Time to
Jerusalem.Apollo came
to Ephesus.Druf. mar-
ried to A-
ziza.Paul came to
Ephesus.

12 Discip.

Philip mar-
tyred.The former
Epist. to the
Corinth.The first E-
pist. of Pet.Paul left
Ephesus.Came to
Philippi.2. Epist. to
the Cor.

Claud. d.

Nero suc.

Epist. to
Titus.Paul came
to Corinth.The Epist.
to the Ro-
maines.2. Epistle
of Peter.Paul came
the 5. Time
to Jerusale.

Taken there.

Sawe a Vi-
sion.He is sent
to Cæsaria.Tertull. ac-
cuseth him.

version to *Jerusalem*: and thence descended to *Antioch*: after into *Galicia* and *Phrygia*. *Act.* 18. In the mean Time *Apollo* came to *Ephesus*. *Act.* 18.

4194 The 268. Day, entred the 53. Yeare of our Lord. About this Time, in the 12. Yeare of *Claudius* his Raigne, *Agrippa* advanced by the Emperor, gave his Sister *Drucilla*, Wife to King *Azizus*, whom shortly after she forsoke and married with *Felix*. In the End of this Yeare, *Paul* came to *Ephesus*, and found there 12 Disciples. *Act.* 19. who being before baptized with Baptisme of *John*, then receaved the Holy Ghost. At this Time, *Paul* fought with Beastes at *Ephesus*. *1. Cor.* 15.

4195 The 268. Day, began the 54. Yeare of *Christ*. This Yeare *Philip* the Apostle, was martyred at *Hierapolis*.

4196 The 268. Day, entred the Yeare of *Christ* 55. This Yeare was written the former Epistle to the *Corinthians*, by *Paul*, being then at *Ephesus* with *Priscilla* and *Aquila*. *Act.* 18. The same Yeare was written the first Epistle of *Peter* from *Babylon* in *Ægypt*, not in *Chaldæa*. *1. Pet.* 5. 13.

4197 This Yeare in *June*, *Paul* departed from *Ephesus* about Pentecost. *1. Cor.* 16. after the Tumult raised against him there. *Act.* 20. After being at *Philippi*: he wrote his Second Epistle to the *Corinthians*.

The 13. of *October*, *Claudius* the Emperor died: after whom *Nero* succeeded.

From *Nicepolis* in *Macedonia* *Paul* wrote his Epistle to *Titus*, in the Winter Time.

A.Ch. The 268. Day, began the Yeare of our Lord 56.

56 In the Beginning whereof, *Paul* came thorough *Macedonia* into *Grecia*. *Act.* 20. in which Journey also he came to *Corinth*. At this Time was written the Epistle to the *Romaines*: and purposing thorough *Syria* to go to *Jerusalem*, understanding of the Treacherie of the *Jewes* against him, turned by *Macedonia* and came to *Philippi*. *Act.* 20.

This Yeare *Peter* wrote his Second Epistle.

4198 The 63. Day, *Paul* the 23. Yeare of his Conversion, came the fifth Time to *Jerusalem*, and was kindly entertained of the Brethren. *Act.* 21. But after the *Jewes* laied Handes upon him, and would have slaine him, had he not bene rescued of the *Tribune*. *Act.* 21. The next Day he was brought before the Elders. *Act.* 22. Fortie Men conspire against him. *Act.* 23. The Lord appeareth unto him: He is sent unto *Cæsaria* to *Felix*, before whom *Tertullus* and others accuse him: He defendeth him selfe. *Act.* 24.

The

A Second Collection of TRACTS.

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A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.

	A.M.	Paul.
The 268. Day of this Yeare, entred the 57. Yeare of our Lord.		
The 268. Day was the Beginning of the Yeare of Christ 58.	4196	Festus succeedeth in
The 63. Day, when Paul had ben Captive an whole Yeare, Porcius Festus succeeded Felix in the Governement of Judea.	A.Ch. 58	Judæa.
Act. 24. Paul speaketh for him selfe before Agrippa and Bernice. Act. 25.	4200	Pa. Defence before Agr. His Danger at Sea.
The 183. Day in October, Paul and his Companions, were in Danger at Sea. Act. 27.		
The 3 Monethes following, November, December, and Januarie, Paule wintered in the Ile of Miletum. Act. 28.		Miletum.
The 268. Day entered the Yeare of Christ 59. About the 14. of February in the 4. Yeare of the Raigne of Nero, Paule came to Rome. Act. 28. 16.		Paul came to Rome.
The 268. Day began the 60. Yeare of our Lord.	4201	
The 268. Day entred the Yeare of our Lord 61.	A.Ch. 60	
The 319. Day, was ended that two Yeares Space, which Paul continued in his owne hired Lodging. Act. 28. 30. During which Time he wrote these Epistles.	4202	His Imprif. at Rome.
To the Galatians.		Epist. to the Galatians.
To the Ephesians, by Tychicus.		Ephesians.
To the Philippians, by Epaphroditus.		Philippians.
To the Colossians.		Colossians.
To Philemon.		To Philem.
At this Time as seemeth the Actes of the Apostles were written by S. Luke. About this Time Paul 27 Yeares after his Conversion, was delivered out of his first Imprisonment at Rome, in the 6. Yeare of Nero the Emperour.	4204	The Actes of the Apostles written.
The 268. Day entred the Yeare of our Lord 63.	A.Ch. 63	Paul delivered.
The 30. Day, James the Lesse was slaine of the Jewes, after he had bene thirtie Yeares Bishop of Jerusalem.	4205	James the Lesse slaine.
The 195. Day entred the 10. Yeare of Nero his Raigne wherein began the seconde Persecution of the Christians, and continued until the Death of Nero, the Pretence was the Burning of Rome: which Nero himself had caused to be done, and after laied it on the Charge of the Christians.	4206	The 2. Persecution of the Christians.
In May, began the last Warre against the Jewes.		
The 268. Day was the Yeare of Christ 68. About this Time Paule wrote his 2. Epistle to Timothie.	A.Ch. 68	2. Epist. to Timothie.
The 89. Day in the last Yeare of Nero, and the 68. Yeare of our Lord, Paule at the Commaundement of the Emperour was beheaded at Rome, the 35. Yeare after his Conversion.	4210	Paul beheaded at Rome.
The 7. Yeares and almost an halfe of the Apostle his Life, after his Deliverance out of Prison, was in good		

A.M.

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.

Paul his Vi-
sitat. of the
Churches.Part bestowed in visiting of the Churches of *Grecia, Macedonia, Asia, &c.*4210 The 195. Day which was the 13. of *October*, began the 14. Yeare of *Nero* his Empire.Galba tooke
the Empire.A.Ch. The 268. Day entered the Yeare of *Christ* 69.69 The 76. Day the 16. of *June*, *Galba* tooke the Empire. *Nero* being yet alive, and helde it for seven Moneths.

A.Ch. The 268. Day was the Yeare of our Lord 70.

Vitellus sa-
luted Emp.70 The 268. Day, the second of *Januarie*, *Vitellius* was saluted Emperour of his Armie, *Galba* and *Oto* yet living. The 15. Day of the same Moneth, *Galba* was slaine. Whom *Oto* succeeded.Galba slain.
Otho suc-
ceedeth.4212 The 19. Day being the 20. of *Aprill*, ended those 95 Daies in which *Oto* raigned alone, and began the 8 Moneths of *Vitellius* his Empire.

Vitell. Emp.

Flav. Vesp.
Emperour.The 91. Day, the first of *July*, *Flavius Vespasianus* being 60 Yeares old, was compelled of his Army then in *Judea*, to take upon him the Empire: after which Time he lived almost nine Yeares.A.Ch. The 268. Day entered the 71. Yeare of *Christ*.Titus sent
to Jerusale.71 The 306. Day, in the Beginning of *February*, *Vespasian* sent his Sonne *Titus* to destroy *Jerusalem*.The Temple
burnt.4213 The 131. Day was the 10. of *August*, in which the Souldiers of *Titus Vespasianus* fired the third Temple, which *Herode* built for the second. *Math.* 26.4220 The 268. Day began the 79. Yeare of *Christ*.

Vespas. d.

A.Ch. The 84. Day the 24. of *June* died *Flavius Vespasianus*, when he had raigned almost nine Yeares. After him succeedethTitus Vesp.
succeedeth.4221 *Titus Vespasianus*, who raigned two Yeares and 81 Daies.4222 The 268. Day, entered the Yeare of *Christ* 81.Titus Vesp.
dieth.A.Ch. The 165. Day being the 13. of *September*, *Titus Vespasianus* died: After whom succeeded *Domitianus*.Domitian
succeedeth.

4236 The 268. Day, began the Yeare of our Lord 93.

3. Persecut.
of Christian.4236 The 165. Day, began the 14. Yeare of *Domitian* his Raigne, in which was raised the third Persecution against the Christians. Then was *John* the Apostle banished into *Pathmos* where (as is thought) he wrote his Gospell, and the Revelation. The Epistles of *John*, as also those of *Jude*, *James*, and to the *Hebrewes*, when they were written, cannot certainly be determined.John banish-
eth into Path-
mos: He
writeth his
Gospell, &c.
Other Epist.4237 The 268 Day, entered the 96. Yeare of *Christ*.

Dom. slain.

A.Ch. The 170. Day, being the 18. of *September*, was *Domitian* the Emperour slaine, whom *Nerva* succeeded. At thisNerva succ.
John com-
meth to E-
phesus.4238 Time *John* commeth from *Pathmos* to *Ephesus*.

The

A briefe Chronicle of Holy Scripture.

	<i>A.M.</i>	
The 210. Day, <i>Nerva</i> had raigne 13 Monethes and ten Daies: and adopted <i>Trajanus</i> in the Fellowship of the Empire, and after lived three Moneths, and died the 27. of <i>January</i> .	4239	<i>Trajanus succeedeth Nerva.</i>
The 268. Day, began the 98. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> .	<i>A.Ch.</i>	
The 210. Day ended the first, and began the second Yeare of <i>Trajanus</i> Raigne.	98 4240	
This Yeare <i>S. John</i> the Apostle died.	4242	<i>John, d.</i>
The 210. Day, entered the 12. Yeare of <i>Trajanus</i> his Raigne. At this Time began the 4. Persecution of the Christians.	4250	4. <i>Persecution of the Christians.</i>
The 268. Day, began the 116. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> .	4257	
The 130. Day, <i>Adrianus</i> being in <i>Syria</i> , understandeth that <i>Trajane</i> being Sicke, had nominated him Emperour of <i>Rome</i> . Who also died the third Day after.	<i>A.Ch.</i> 116 4258	<i>Adrianus Emperour.</i>
The 130. Day, the 9. of <i>August</i> , <i>Adrian</i> began the ninth Yeare of his Raigne.	4266	
The 268. Day, entred the 125. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> .	<i>A.Ch.</i>	
The 130. Day, began the 14. Yeare of <i>Adrian</i> his Raigne. At this Time <i>Barcohabas</i> Head of the <i>Jewish</i> Faction, drew unto Punishment the Christians that would not denie <i>Christ</i> . This Warre continued for six Yeares, and brought a finall Destruction upon the <i>Jewes</i> .	125 4271	<i>Barochabas his Crueltie. The finall Destruction of the Jewes.</i>
The 268. Day entred the 135. Yeare of <i>Christ</i> .	4276	
The 130. Day ended the 19. Yeare of <i>Adrian</i> his Raigne, in which he finished the Warre of the <i>Jewes</i> , and banishing them out of the Land, charged them, not so much as from any high Place to looke towards the Land of their Fathers.	4277	<i>Adrian his edict against the Jewes.</i>
The 268. Day began the Yeare of <i>Christ</i> 136.	<i>A.Ch.</i> 136	
The 268. Day entred the Yeare of <i>Christ</i> 137.	4278	
The 100. Day being the 10. of <i>July</i> , <i>Adrian</i> the Emperour died, when he had raigne well neare 21 Yeares.	4279	<i>Adrian dyeth.</i>

Declaration of generall Corruption of Religion, Scripture, and all Learning; wrought by D. *Bilson*. While he breedeth a new Opinion, That our Lord went from Paradise to Gehenna, to triumph over the Devils.

To the Most Reverend Father in God, JOHN W. H. Doct. in Divinitie, and Metropolitan of *England*.

By HUGH BROUGHTON. 1604.

Religion
troubled.

DOCTOR *Bilson* inventing a new Opinion that our Lord descended from Paradise to Gehenna, to triumph over the Devils, troubled all Religion and learned Writers. In Religion thus he missed. Wee beleve that Devils are yet in this World; and the Scriptures assure us of that. Wherefore it were most ridiculous to feigne a Journey to Devils thether, where they were not. If some were, as Carriers of Soules, yet not as tormented, and Dwellers there before the Time.

Againe, *Gebenna* were an holy Place, if the Altar which sanctifieth all that it toucheth went thither. But none may so thinke. And Devils in this World knew Christ to be the Holy One of God, and tremble. And no neede know we why he should go to *Gebenna* for them, and God telleth all that we may know. Besides, Soules in *Hades* holie and contrarie know all the others Case, as Men here that have but a great Ditch betwixt them, and they are much deceived who thinke Hell to be in this World, lowe in the Earth. Before Gods Throne the wicked are tormented for ever and ever, so both Sides knowe one the others Case, that without comming to them, they see what is done. And our Lord would not have taught us, (Luc. 16.) that none can passe from one sort to the other, if he had bene to take that Journey. The Bible taught no such Dream. Therefore it is but a Dreame: And thus Religion is disturbed. Scriptures D. *Bilson* brings three, as having no more; the 16. *Psal.* which is thus. *Thou wilt not leave my vitall Soule to Death, and, by a Consequent, neither my Body in Ayer, or Grave: nor my Soule among Soules, till the Bodie see Corruption.*

Scriptures
marred.

Psal. 16. in
the right
Meaning by
all Jewes.

4. Faultes
most grosse
in D. *Bilson*
in 4. Words.

So the generall Consent of *Ebrews* take the Wordes. Yet hee would thus translate all. *Thou wilt not forsake my Soule in Hell.* The Nipper of others, as arrogant in *Ebrowe* Studies, shalbee told that hee hath missed foure Times in foure Wordes. *Hebrews* shall judge; and for the 70. all *Greekes*, the rare Fa-
thers.

The

The second Scripture that he durst adventure upon, is this: *Act. 2. per- Him God rayfed up losing the Sores of Death.* Saint Peter spake to *verted to Sadduces,* that would not heare of Soule, Spirit, and Hell. And that the Sores that made the Soule leave the Body were by Gods Power disannulled, and it receaved the Soule and Life: And therein Christ brake for us the Bandes of Death. D. Bilson would have Death the second Death, and that our Lordes Soule hath the second Death. You know full well that his Soule shall have the second Death for ever and ever, unlesse he revoke this Blasphemie: It is great Pittie that D. Bilson consulteth not with others before such Wordes fled through the Hedge of his Teeth. Higher Blasphemies never were uttered. The third and last Text of all that he durst trust, is cleane contrarie to his Purpose, shewing the plain *The third and last Text* Effect of the Ghospell. *Say not in thy Harte who can go up to most bright. Heaven, to bring Christ down? Or who can go to the Deep to bring Christ from the Dead? But if thou beleewe that Jesus is Lord, and that God rayfed him from Death, thou shalt be saved.*

The Incarnation and Resurrection, both made plaine, are by St. Paul the Heads of Doubt among Jewes. But D. Bilson dreameth *A monstrous* of a Hell here. Chrysostome and Œcumenius would have taught *Dreame.* him better. And these most Holy Scriptures, the Joy of our Soules, hath he most grievously corrupted.

Endles be the Faultes in this marring of Scripture, and no Time would serve to write them. Moses now, by him, hath not all Religion. For he could not father upon him this Doctrine of going *Moses made* from Paradise to Hell. So neither all the Prophets Volumes. *unperfect.*

And David once only (and in a Sence never known, till Doctor *Danger* Bilsons Daies) teacheth that our Lorde going a Victour, and tri- *feigned by* umpher over the Powers of Darknes from Paradise, as unto greater *D. Bilson* Danger by Millions of Degrees then before, doeth praise God that *after Tri-* he did not forsake his Soule in Hell, but losed the Sores of the *umph.* second Death before him: and to that Deepe our Mindes must descend, by D. Bilson, if wee will be saved.

Thus vile for Wisdome he maketh the Rocke of Salvation. By D. Bilson our Lord having passed his Danger here, where he praied unto him that could save him from Danger, and being made perfect and gone through the Veyle of his Flesh into Heaven, after all this was in greater Danger then before which needed a Miracle of the Godhead to lose before him the Sorrows of Hell. Otherwise the Humanity had not by it selfe gone through all, but had perished in the World invisible, saving that God did not *Most strange* forsake his Soule in Hell. *Miracles*

And of this Danger David must speake to the prophane World, *told by D.* before they beleaved the Resurrection and scante the Creation of *Bilson to* visible Things, and of Spirits had heard little: and of Soules Im- *Men that* mortalitie and Paradise; and never heard whereout of this World *refused ever* *plaine* Devils *Matters.*

All Ebrews
rejected for
their owne
Tongue.
The strict
Proprietie
of Psal. 16.

Bilsons Re-
jection of all
Hebrewes
would be
Ruine to all
Stay of Re-
ligion.

Errour of
800 Yeares
for Rabbins
Age.

Without
Massorites
no Bible can
ever be truly
printed.

Devils keepe. All these Things being stepped over, a Danger, after all was performed, must be houlden from *David* by Words never so before understood; to make the Scripture a Nose of Wax and all the old Testament unperfect: But for one Place drawn beyond all Witt. Also the Gospell must be unperfect omitting Parte of Beliefe. And all Saint *Pauls* foureteene Epistles, but for one Terme *Abyssus* taken in the Devils Sence, not in Heathen or 70 Sence. So all fall. The generall Consent of *Ebrewes* in *Baba Bathra* was cited that they make this Sence, *Psal. 16.* He dyeth not of whom that is so spoken in strict Propriety, and *Peter* addeth but this, *to die he was, but not to tarrie in Death to Corruption.*

All *Ebrews* Doctor *Bilson* rejecteth for their Grammar Sence of *Sheol*. None ever rejected all *Latines* for *Latine*, or *French* for the *French*: yet D. *Bilson* dareth rejecte all *Hebrewes* for *Hebrew*: such an Hebrician is he. By the same Doctrine he might teach never to hope for sound Knowledge in any Parte of the Lawe: no not for one Letter: whether it hath the Forme that God wrought in the two Tables or a later invented. And for the very Forme as *Tau* in *Ezechiel* mistaken, and *Rempham*, much Coyle is kept. And in our daylie *Hebrew* Bibles, Wordes 848. come in the Margine by God's Authority, and yet checke not the Text: and the *French* of late translating the Margine, *Esai. 9.* troubled some greatly, gathering a Contradiction betwixt the old and new Translation. For all this no D. without Rabbins Helpe can tell what Wordes make the Bible.

A certeyn helper of D. *Bilson* who can assiste him to marre all Learning and Religion, (one whom you leave though he be your Chapleyne to answere for himselfe) he, as his Learning and Skill, will at once shewe it selfe maketh the eldest Rabbines 300 Yeares later then the Apostles.

So the *Massorites*, Observers of the Letters and shorte Writings, and little Particles innumerable, often in one Line, with Millions of Millions of Notes, all they were nothing worth.

For we seeke how the Bible stood in *Ezraes* Age not how 800 Yeres after and all the *Jewes* hold that the *Massorites* began with *Ezra*. Neither could we otherwise say we had the Bible. Without Help and Knowledge of the *Massorites* no Printer can ever print the right Bible.

Rob. St. in *Ester* tenth putting the Margine in the Text, for *Xerxes*, committed a great Faulte: and *Plantines* Heyres will now print after the *Massoreth*, missing often hitherto. As in *Daniel 8.* all misse though the *Massoreth* els where warned of that Place: *Bombergiana* the Lesse mention in the Margine a right reading: but not yet printed.

By

By the *Massoreth* all Wordes be past Corruption: who if they had not bene of *Ezraes* Time, Bibles had infinitely disagreed, nowe they be sure, though Copiers misse now and then. So 800 Yeres in Rabbins Age are missed to disgrace all Certainty of Scripture. *Of other* But wheras in the New Testament the Apostles still tell of *Jewes* *Rabbins* Matters, and all their Speeches be in the *Talmud* (as Men of one Age. Common weale must agree in the same chiefe Heades:) this would never be by *Jewes* 300 Yeres tossed from their own Tongue and State, that *Jerusalemey Talmud* should be parcelled, by later Men then the Tongue 300 Yeares: and that poore base Men voide of Wealth, Leisure and Liberty should searce all the Lawe most curiously. Who would thinke so? They say, that from Age to *Rabbins* Age their Fathers left Works: the chiefe Sayings of all which the *Jerusalemey Talmud* and the *Babylonian* and *Midras Rabba* and such *continued throughout all Ages.* like Record in the same Words.

And *Onkelos* by all Graunts is neare the Apostles Time: and *Uziel* of their Time, but a Complier of farre Elder: and *Targum Jerusalemey* in *Cyrillis* Age famous as auncient, called of him *Samariticon*, upon *Genes. 4.* And seeing many thousand *Levites* had Learning in their Charge and all *Israell* (saving Hand-laborers) frequented Divinity Schooles to heare and speak twise a Weeke; how should they omitt to write Observations, such as we have now, full of unspeakable Labour and long Study? All that is in the New Testament is handled here and there in the *Talmud*, and much largely, where, in knowen Things our Lord would be short: so D. *Bilson* missed much for Rabbins, to the Ruine of all Religion, and to augment *Sathans* Blindnes.

An other Matter of singular Use suffereth Disgrace by D. *Bilson*. The *Sadduces* noted that *Moses* never named Lyfe eternall, nor Resurrection, nor Place of Joy or Tormente, nor any Prophets, but in Visions. The *Scribes* graunt this; yet bring Matter from *Moses* for all this, and shew that the scoffing World was to be taught as Beastes by the Bellie openly, and closely to Lyfe. But *That the Scribes knew no Terme in Moses for Hell.* when Prophets ceased and open prophecyng, and iron-legged *Macedones* turned *Judab* much to be *Sadduces*, and Schooles were but of few: then they enacted Tearmes of better Hope, as World of Soules, Judgment Day, Paradise, *Gebenna*, Resurrection, Feasting in Heaven: and such. And this the Newe Testament alloweth.

By D. *Bilson* all this were vaine, or he himselfe. He can find in the Law a proper Name for Hell. And how would he have vexed the *Sadduces* if hee had bene in their Dayes; All the *Scribes* had bene nothing to him.

Now after *Ebrews* let us searce *Greek* Affaires. God advanced *Of Greekes* *Greek* with daylie increase, first when *Judab* went to *Babell*, then in all Sortes.

Pisistratus Tyrant of *Athens* brought *Homer* into high Use and Glory.

And many Poets for Sentences, Comedies, and Tragedies, flourish daylie. So Physicians, Philosophers, Orators, and Historiques for two hundred Yeres Paines, that the *Greek* Tongue came to an unspeakable Perfection of Elegancie.

The Septuagint:

And the *Jewes* (taught by *Daniell* that soone *Grecia* should Reigne) before hand studied *Greeke*. And God shewed the Use of their Labour. For when the Iron legged *Macedonians* began to reigne, they required, and had the *Ebrev* holy Bookes all turned into *Greeke*, wherein the Translators shewed Wit in applying most divinely Heathen *Greeke* to Divinity. And they shewed excellent Skill in all *Greeke* Kindes.

The Apostles have all the Jewells of *Greeke* Elegancy.

And when the *Macedonians* by 300 Yeres Government, had carried *Greeke* from the *West* over all, and *Jewes* with *Greek* Bible: then our Lord commeth and his Apostles to shew *Greekes* in their owne Language and Meaning all the Mysteries of Salvation: and gather all brave Termes from Heathen plainely to Divine Use, 4000 several Wordes into one little Booke, that the most Parte of Woords are used but once which is not so in the Old Testament. The 70. did the like, who to one *Ebrev* Word gave eleven *Greeke* now and then, to shew Heathen all Eloquence in their Kinde.

The *Greeke* Fathers compared Heathen most narrowly with Apostolique *Greeke*.

To apply Heathen *Greeks* to the Prophets and Apostles, the *Greeke* Fathers laboured another 300 Yeres, to shew how they had the same Speeches still though in Matter not well carried. *Iustine Martyr* to Heathen is much herein, and *Clemens Alexandrinus* hath contrived all Heathen hither, being a Store like *Alexandrian* Library.

Eusebius also is not a little in this Sorte, and infinite others specially for the maine, the eternall State in *Hades*; for good, as *Abraham*, *Luk.* 16. and *Ioseph*, *Gen.* 37. and for wicked, as *Dives*, *Luk.* 16. And as Heathen 300 Yeres made *Haden* the Lodge of all Soules and the Philosophers helde it an happie Thing to go soone thither: so in the Creede Heathen would say that by *to katelethein eis badou*, we meant a most happie Passage from this World to God. And so all the Fathers place the happie Fathers in *Hades*, and meant no worse Lodge. To dash all foure, thus ariseth *Bilfon*.

D. Bilfon teacheth *Greeke* to all *Greeks*.

Bilfon leaveth Heathen to their Alleagers, and faith for *Iosephes Hades*, that the *Greeke* Fathers that placed his Soule there as in Paradise, understood not the 70. and that *St. Luke* 16. teacheth to understande *Haden* for Hell, because the rich Man is in it, as though *Abraham* were not there also: and to conclude for Heathen *Greeke*, the 70. the Apostles, the Fathers, he disannulleth all common

common Agreement for their *Greeke*, as though he had made a Vowe to roote out all Learning, with Religion. Witt also cometh in Question, our subscribing to *Zuricke* sayeth: *Per inferos intelligimus Paradisum, &c.* most faithfully and learnedlie. Yet Doct. *Bilson* being told that *Hades* to the Good is Paradise, would needs prove that Christ went to Hell because he went to *Hades*. Yet when all *Greeke* Doctors place all the Fathers in *Hades*, (and they place Christ no lower) he will not have them in Hell. And thus with strange Dealing, he hath by Preaching, and great Sale of his Errors, fought the Destruction of Religion, of Scripture, of *Ebrew* Tongue and Learning, of all Kindes of *Greeke* Elegancie, and all Proceeding in disputing; by taking that for all his Argument, that is truly affirmed to be cleane contrary.

To your G. by Order, Complaint was to be made, that you should with all your Learning and Might bring D. B. into the right Way. It is a pitifull Thing that Bishops should be found infinitely fuller of Error for the Grounds of Faith, and learned Studies, then any other in all the Kingdome.

A Mind that loved the Truth and heard that the *Greeke* in the Creede for 3000 Yeares Use, in our Lordes Soules Passage, is no more then to go hence to God, would make no more Stirre, but wisely confesse that by Heathen *Greeke* the Creede penned for Heathen must be expounded. And that cleare Plainnesse beseemeth a publike Abridgment of Faith, such as to all the simple Folke ought to be expounded. Your Heart and Confession by *Maister King* at *Frankfurt* knoweth who hath cleared the Trueth, and how can you suffer D. *Bilson* to deceave the People?

And D. *Bilson* being in high Place, should seeme flexible unto the Trueth, as his Blame for Stubburnes in Heresie would be notorious, and if he would plainly and absolutely confesse that he hath bene deceyved, and that the *Greeke* in the Creede teacheth most certainly that our Lordes Soule ascended unto Paradise from the Crosse, and never descended into Hell, this Humilitie would be his high Commendation, and cut of an infinite Companie of his Errors.

As you are holy Fathers and Partakers of the heavenly Callinge, kicke not against the Spurre. But say: let him be *Anathema Maran Atha* that loveth not the Trueth of Redemption. It is a most high Injurie against God and the Kinge, that the Church is led amisse by Bishops Errors.

God give all us Understanding in all Thinges, and garde our Hearts and Mindes in the Knowledge and Love of our Lord and Saviour: that in all Partes of Holy Doctrine, we may nourish Peace and Trueth.

Two little Workes defensive of our Redemption, That our LORD went through the Veile of his Flesh into Heaven, to appeare before GOD for us.

Which Journey a Talmudist, as the Gospell, would terme, a going up to Paradise: But Heathen Greeke, a going downe to *Hades*; and Latin, *Descendere ad Inferos*. Wherein the unlearned Barbarous anger GOD and Man, saying, *That JESUS descended to HELL*: and yeelde unto the blasphemous Jewes by sure Consequence upon their Words, *That he should not be the Holy One of God*.

By HUGH BROUGHTON. 1604.

If any Man love not the Lord JESUS, let him be Anathema Maran Atha.
1 Cor. 16.

To the READER.

B*Y* knowing that *Hades*, a Terme used in the Creede, is the Place generall, where Soules are before Gods Throne, divided there, far enough, by Heaven and Hell, so that in Speach of the holy, *Hades* the generall, by Difference of the Person, is Heaven, and in the wicked Hell, as we commonly terme Hell: which Place is on high, out of this World by Apo. 14. and all Jewes in Cether Malc. fol. 11. by knowing of this great Light cometh to Religion. First their Opinion falleth, who thank God for sending his Sonne to redeeme the Fathers from *Hades*, to Paradise: that is, from Paradise to Paradise. So Limbus Patrum and Purgatorie fall: when *Hades* hath onely two Partes, Heaven and Hell. So our Madnes falleth, who in the Creede, put for that Part of *Hades*, which holdeth the faithfull, and is Heaven or Paradise, the Part which holdeth the wicked, and put for Heaven, Hell, to which they that goe, perish for ever. Here standeth the Article: Our Lord being in Body crucified, dead and buried, had a Soule immortall, as all Men, which went hence to God: and being in *Hades*, holy, had not Hell but Heaven. This is all. When the Gospell began scant any beld Soules immortall. Pliny sheweth that. Therefore it was needfull the Creed should have it. When the Immortalitie was graunted, very many Creedes did omit the Article: because in Speach of a Man, to die and to go to *Hades* is all one. Of an Horse, Grekes would say, he is dead. Of a Man more: He is dead and gone to *Hades*. This Matter unknowne hath vexed the World by Ignorance of one Greeke Worde. And two Bishops vexed their owne. Against whom two smal Writings folow: besides much otherwise printed and written to them. The Style is not of their Gall, but it may gall, in Mildnes.

The

The Argument of the Admonition following.

Br. wrote unto Queene *Elizabeth*, that King *Edward* the Sixt and her Majestie. swearing to the Gospell, sware to this, That to goe to *Hades* in the Creede, was to goe to Paradise, even by *Heathen Greeke*: to whom *Hades* is the World of Soules: in which the holy have Paradise, and the godles, *Gebenna*. Both be on high before Gods Throne. And Br. commended the Cause to Q. *Elizabeths* M. and the King of *Scots* Majestie. Against that a Libell was allowed to scoff the *Scottish* Mist, penned by some *Belial* Bar Lo: and against Salvation *Bilson* raged: as this short Worke telleth.

A Lye resumed of D. BILSON.

DOctor *Bilson* in his Sermon Booke against Maister Jacob, folio 419. fumeth thus: First then tell your Abettor that all the Realme will take him not onely for a Rayler against all Honestie, but a Lier against all Duty that voucheth so Confidentialie: King *Edward* the sixt and his Subiectes helde that Christ his Soule never went to *Gebenna*: and the Realm knoweth the Qu. Oath, and also the Q. adventureth her eternall State. These be no States to come within his uncleane Mouth. He may doe well to remember who they be of whom it is written: They despise Governement: and speake ill of them that be in Authoritie: as raging Waves of the Sea, foming out their owne Shame. Thus the D. writeth. Marke now the Zurich Confession, which K. Edw. and Queene Eliz. allowed. Per inferos intelligimus non locum supplicii designatum impiis, sed defunctos fideles, quemadmodum per superos adhuc superstites in vitâ. Proinde anima Christi descendit ad inferos, id est, delata est in sinum Abrahæ: in quo collecti fuerunt omnes defuncti fideles. Ergo cum Latroni secum crucifixo dixit, hodie mecum eris in Paradiso, promisit ei consortium vitæ, & beatorum spirituum. Licet enim Dominus descendisse dicatur, fit tamen ex more loquendi. Confitemur in hoc articulo animas esse immortales, easque protinus à morte corporeâ transire ad vitam. This is the Zurich Confession, allowed by King Edward and Qu. Eliz. So Descending must be graunted to be Ascending, and Hell * to be Paradise. If our Bishops misse in Termes, they must blame them selves: and not rage with hereticall Satanean Madnes upon such as force them to Faith. Now what grace the D. hath in his Wordes, all may soone judge: considering what him selfe graunteth: and how in his Escape afterwarde he differeth from all the Worlde. This was the Question: Whether our Lords Soul went hence to *Gebenna*: or hence to Paradise: John Cant. and all vexed by him know that, and for one of these two Opinions the Princes Religion was to be esteemed. And if J. C. had invented a going from Paradise to *Gebenna*, Geneveans would have renowned

* Let no simple ever thinke that Hell, as Men commonly speak is Heaven. But if a Foole put Hell, by his Tongue where Heaven is indeed: a Foole cannot by

unlearnedship turne Heaven to Hell. The barbarous Translation of the Greeke Creede which deceaved D. *Bilson* is blamed: not the true Creede.

him over the World. Now marke how rightly the right reverend Father and Doct^r taketh of him selfe the Lye unto him selfe, fol. 219. We have no Warrant in the Word of God so to fasten Christs Soule unto Hell for the Time of his Death, that it might not be in Paradise before it descended into Hell. Now John Cant. will graunt, that he damnetb them both: and justifieth the Adversary, as a Greeke Epistle printed at Hannawe required Sir John Fortescue once Queene Elizabeths Greek Reader, to determine, whether both Bishops were not condemned most certainly by their owne Graunt. The ridiculous feigning of a new Satanean Fable that our Lord went from Paradise to Gehenna: and to Hades, as from Paulls to London, from Winchester to England, from England to Europe, from Europe to this World, from part to the whole: and againe, the Fable that he went not to Hades, that is, in Trueth, to the World of Soules, till his Body was buried: and again, his feigning thrise, at Paules, Hades in S. Matthew, cap. 5. twise, with 10. once, where Gehenna is the Text, perverting the Originall with wresting Scriptures and Fathers to an Opinion that never came into Holy Mindes, this excuseth not his Lye, but augmenteth his Impiety: that befooleth all Scriptures of God, and all Divines that ever have bene in the World. Cursed be he that maketh the Blinde wander out of the Way, and let all the People say, Amen.

The Argument and Effect of the Epistle following.

J. C. was advised in a Worke dedicated to Queene Elizabeth and to the most Noble, our King now, That he should not burne for Gehennaes Honour, least he burned in Gehennaes Flame for ever and ever: At the first he skoffed all Trueth of God and the King: but being taught how he was caught in his owne Syllogisme thus: The Place which our Lordes Soule went to hence, telleth what Hades (his HELL) meaneth in the Creede: But Paradise is the Place which our Lord went to hence: Therefore Paradise is the HELL of the Creed, being taught how he was caught, he sent his Chaplayne M. Geffrey King, obteyning the Queenes Hand for his Leave, to agree with his Adversarie: and he upon Agreement, returned presently, saying that he should be sent againe: but presently after he came home, hee would write. Conditions were not kept. The Libell was still folde: and Machmadisme was in it: and a contumelious Mockage of Christ and all Christians and Jewes: when he said Ruben the Jewe his Ebrew Epistle was forged: whereby he hindred the Defence of Christianitie, and deserved rooting out. Besides that, after the King was ours, Paules sold the Treason of the Libel. For not standing to his Covenant, three Greeke Orations plaid upon him: and one dedicated to the King and Brettish Nation in Queene Elizabeths Days: And after all, this Epistle. At the first Sight he laid the Blame on Bar Lo, that usurped his Auctoritie, as being guiltless: yet when at the Court a Duke shewed what he had done, he fell as dead, and soone died. The Party greeved was much greeved at his Death: because he had protested he never spake against him. Yet as Ely, so he by Softness paid for others Blame: while he repressed not bad Soules. And his

his Gentleman wished *Bar Lo* unborne: as more Griefe to the Archbishop then all that ever were his Adversaries: not only for his Libel against the *Scottish* Mist: full of most deadly Treason, and full of Blasphemy and Lying against God and Man: But also for his Satanean Declamation at *Paules* against the best Nobilitie, and the best bent for the Good of the State: against whom the *Iscariot* railed and raged: whereby the Nobilitie justly terme him: The vilest that is this Day under the Cope of Heaven: as bent against God, the King, the Nobilitie, and all Humanitie. So *Bar Lo* will be his Notation.

To the aged Sir, JOHN of Canterb. Archbishop, Grace and Truth.

MAister *Francis Hall* told that your G. deprived *M. Pickard* and him of their Benefices, and gave both to *Bar Lo* (whom he described after his Name, a *Babe most bad*) for defending your *Gebenna*: which Hæresie of yours was used for a Barr, that you were not fit to confirme others, who so erred your selfe: against all the Bible, all *Greekes* and *Hebrewes*. That the Children whiche you would have confirmed and you together may be truly firmed herein, behold your owne Graunt in *D. Bilson*: to whom in *Bar Lo* his Booke, your Grace and Wisedome referreth the unlearned for a learned Defence of your Minde: which held that the Creed telleth whether our Lordes Soule went hence. And this is your Proposition and myne too: and you will adventure your eternall State upon it, and I myne. This it is: The Place into which our Lordes Soule went hence, is *Hades* or *Hell* of the Creede. This Position is built upon a Rocke: that no Storme, Windes, nor Waves can shake it. And if we agree to what Place our Lord his Soule went hence, we agree what *Hades* or your *Hell* is in the Creede. Nowe to your Proposition, this Assumption *D. Bilson* layeth downe, folio 219. *Paradise is the Place to which our Lord went hence*. Therefore by your owne Graunt *Hades* or *Hell* in the Creede is *Paradise*. Seeing then the whole Tenour of *Moses* and the Gospell, cannot moove you: seeing the universall Judgement of the *Hebrewes* for their owne Tongue, can not moove you: seeing 3000 Yeares Heathen *Greeke* cannot moove you: and *Eulogines* Patriarcha 1200 Yeres old, with all other Christian *Greekes* which doe place *Abraham* in *Hades*, can not moove you, and seeing the *Zurick* Confession, which sayth, *per Inferos intelligimus non locum supplicii designatum impiis, sed defunctos fideles, & sinum Abrabæ* can not move you, let your owne Confession moove you: and publish it in Print, that the Simple deceived by you, may know how you led them to deny that our Lorde went through the Vaile of his Flesh into the most holy. Which they that will denie, may as well denie all Religion and Trueth of God. You have most highly injured the Majestie of God: pretending that *Sheol*, Psal. 16. was the Devils Lodge, which no *Ebrew* ever thought, neither suffreth *Moses* to thinke: contemning the Gospell for the Hand of God receaving the Holy Soule of our Lorde: pervertinge Sorowes of Death into the second Death, *Act. 2.* to befooll all Christianitie, turning Saint *Paul* to *Gebennean* Darknes: where he pur-
poselie

posellie speaketh of the Gospells Brightnes: in these three Injuries you staine all the Bible, while you make some Jarr from all the rest, and befoole the most holy Writers. This your Sinne is haynous. So your despising of *Ebrev* D D. For their owne Tongue, wil be holden of the *Scottish* Mist and *Brettish* Nation, and all Nations a brutish Parte, and no lesse the rejecting of *Heathen Greeke*, for the Creede penned for Heathen: and your restrayning of *Greeke* only to Poets: and your teaching as generall that *Hades* in them is ugly, this your Learning wil be holden Babish. Also where D. *Bilson* rejecteth the World of Soules, as checking all *Jewes* in their owne Tongue, his wrangling was Senseles: that he knew no Place where Soules were togeather. Hath he ever seene in this World all Bodyes togeather; other saw them not, yet the Speech, this World is Currant with all Men. And for *Hades Macedones* call it Heaven. *Portus* Dictionarie would have taught you so much, though you sought no deeper *Grætiens*. And in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Hades* is *Juppiter*. To your Blame for denying the lxx. in *Psal.* 110. a Warrant for the New Test. *Greeke*, you say nothing, as damned. And D. *Bilson* saith: the *Greeke* Fathers understood not *Josephs Haden*. Such Owles you bring to *Athens*: and make your *Witgiste* a Scoph to all learned. Also you answer nothing to your Blame for saying, that it were better the Trueth of *Daniel* were hid, then Antiquitie should be disgraced for missing. Others thought it a gracelesse Speech. So when you condemne Saint *Paul* for cursing *Ananias*, which Thing he was bound to doe, by expresse Lawes, for stryking treacherouslie, and misleading the Blind, you check Christ that promised a Mouth that no Adversarie could resist, and befoole *Moses* for making a Defence for an open impudent Judge. The Blind, the Deafe, the Officers may not lightly be cursed: but in open Wilfulnes they be cursed, as *Saul* of *David*, and *Sedechias* of *Ezechiel*, and the *Pharises*, *Mat.* 23. Herein you stand at the Mercy of God. Moreover touching *Abraham Ruben* the *Jew*, you have injured Christ our Lord, and all Christians most wickedly. If he had not bene answered, all Christians had bene worse thought of. Now he and all the *Jewes* in the Empire speak better of Christianity. And some by that have bene baptized: and one D. told that he would be baptized and come to *Englande*: he is the Man that prefaced to *Aruc*. So a rare learned *Jew*, to whom at *Basil* one gave *Rubens* Epistie, and shewed the Apostles *Thalmudicall* rare Skill, he made Request to the Professours, when the Party was gone, to desire him to returne to instruct him more fully: (but the Party could not) and afore requested his Teacher to translate into *Ebrev*, as he spake to him, the New Testament. This deserved better then your Language. You say the Party feigned that whiche is written of his Praise: and Scoph his Skill in *Ebrev* and *Greeke*: and terme him an Ass, and offre all Disgrace. For all, Christians and *Jewes* should thinke you unworthy to have the Benefit of Christian Policie. And as you know you have the Anathema maran Atha given you. It returneth to the Giver if you deserve it not. If your desert be doubtles, you are surely miserable: as in your perpetuall Untruthes and misusing of the Realmes Authoritie to *Satans* Slavery. So when you schopped the Hope in the *Scottish* Mist, and the *Brittish* Nation, what meant you but

to endeavor to set Millions to kill one another. Six Yeres *Beza* noised a Testament bent badly, and *Geneva* meant to kill one for leaning on the *Scottish* Mist: as three Scottes there then tolde the Party: and *Beza* wrote much alike to your old Head. Yet the Party boldly printed the *Scottish* Mist then to be his King. And now with what Face can you looke for any good Subject, who knowes the Blessing of the *Scottish* Mist turned to a shyning Sunne ever to wish you well: after your so great Endeavour to overthrow your owne Nation; The *Brettish* Nation would, as *Dauids* 37. Worthies, have layde their Life in their Hands for their lesfull Prince, then and now most deare King. And wisheth you, after Pardon, to be an harty Subject. Great Cause you have.

To the R E A D E R.

AS Britanie conteyning England with Scotland, a Scott is not born in England because he is borne in Britanie: So Hades conteyning Heaven and *HEL*, our L. his holy Soule going to Hades to his holy Joy, can not be sayd to goe to *HEL*, because his went to Hades. But the barbarous Translation should be lothed of al wise and such as would not descend to *HEL*, to their eternall Woe.

The KINGS MAJESTIES Speech, as it was delivered by him in the Upper House of the Parliament to the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and to the Knights, Citizens and Burgeesses there assembled, on *Munday* the 19. Day of *March* 1603. being the first Day of this present Parliament, and the first Parliament of his Majesties Raigne.

IT did no sooner please God to lighten his Hand, and relent the Violence of his devouring Angel against the poore People of this Citie, but as soone did I resolve to call this Parliament, and that for three chiefe and principall Reasons: The first whereof is, (and which of it selfe, although there were no more, is not onely a sufficient, but a most full and necessarie Ground and Reason for convening of this Assemblie) This first Reason I say is, That you who are heere presently assembled to represent the Body of this whole Kingdome, and of all sorts of People within the same, may with your owne Eares heare, and that I out of mine owne Mouth may deliver unto you the Assurance of my due Thankfulnes for your so joyfull and generall Applause to the declaring and receiving of me in this Seate (which God by my Birth-right and lineall Descent had in the Fulnesse of Time provided for me) and that, immediatly after it pleased God to call your late Sovereigne of famous

Memorie, full of Dayes, but fuller of immortall Trophes of Honour, out of this transitorie Life. Not that I am able to expresse by Wordes, or utter by Eloquence the vive Image of mine inward Thankfulness, but onely that out of mine owne Mouth you may rest assured to expect that Measure of Thankfulness at my Hands, which is according to the Infinitenesse of your Deserts, and to my Inclination and Abilitie for Requital of the same. Shall I ever? nay, can I ever bee able, or rather so unable in Memorie, as to forget your unexpected Readines and Alacritie, your ever memorable Resolution, and your most wonderfull Conjunction and Harmonie of your Hearts in declaring and embracing me as your undoubted and lawfull King and Governour? Or shall it ever be blotted out of my Minde, how at my first Entrie into this Kingdome, the People of all Sorts rid and ran, nay rather flew to meete mee? their Eyes flaming nothing but Sparckles of Affection, their Mouthes and Tongues uttering nothing but Sounds of Joy, their Hands, Feete, and all the rest of their Members in their Gestures discovering a passionate longing, and earnestnesse to meete and embrace their new Sovereigne. *Quid ergo retribuam?* Shall I allow in my selfe, that which I could never beare with in an other? No I must plainly and freely confesse heere in all your Audiences, that I did ever naturally so farre mislike a Tongue so smoothe, and diligent in paying their Creditors with lippe Payment and verball Thankes, as I ever suspected that sort of People meant not to pay their Debtors in more substantiall fort of Coyne. And therefore for expressing my Thankfulness, I must resort unto the other two Reasons of my convening of this Parliament, by them in Action to utter my Thankfulness: Both the sayd Reasons having but one Ground, which is the Deedes, whereby all the Dayes of my Life, I am by Gods Grace to expresse my sayd Thankfulness towards you, but divided in this, That in the first of these two, mine Actions of Thankes, are so inseparably conjoynd with my Person, as they are in a Maner become individually annexed to the same: In the other Reason, mine Actions are such, as I may either doe them, or leave them undone, although by Gods Grace I hope never to be wearie of the doing of them.

As to the first: It is the Blessings which God hath in my Person bestowed upon you all, wherin I protest, I doe more glorie at the same for your Weale, then for any particular Respect of mine owne Reputation, or Advantage therein.

The first then of these Blessings, which God hath joyntly with my Person sent unto you, is outward Peace: that is, Peace abroad with all foreine Neighbours: for I thanke God I may justly say, that never since I was a King, I either received Wrong of any other Christian Prince or State, or did Wrong to any: I have ever, I praise God, yet kept Peace and Amitie with all, which hath beene so farre tyed to my Person, as at my comming here you are Witneses I found the State embarqued in a great and tedious Warre, and onely by mine Arrivall heere, and by the Peace in my Person, is now Amitie kept, where Warre was before, which is no small Blessing to a Christian Commonwealth: for by Peace abroad with their Neighbours the
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Townes flourish, the Merchants become rich, the Trade doeth encrease, and the People of all Sorts of the Land enjoy free Libertie to exercise themselves in their severall Vocations without Perill or Disturbance. Not that I thinke this outward Peace so unseparably tyed to my Person, as I dare assuredly promise to my selfe and to you the certeine Continuance thereof: but thus farre I can very wel assure you, and in the Word of a King promise unto you, That I shall never give the first Occasion of the Breach therof, neither shall I ever be mooved for any particular or private Passion of Minde to interrupt your publique Peace, except I be forced thereunto, either for Reparation of the Honour of the Kingdome, or else by Necessitie for the Weale and Preservation of the same: In which Case, a secure and honourable Warre must be preferred to an unsecure and dishonourable Peace: yet do I hope by my Experience of the by-past Blessings of Peace, which God hath so long ever since my Birth bestowed upon mee, that hee will not be weary to continue the same, nor repent him of his Grace towards mee, transferring that Sentence of King *Davids* upon his by-past Victories of Warre to mine of Peace, That, *that God who preserved me from the devouring Jawes of the Beare and of the Lyon, and delivered them into my Hands, shall also now grant me Victory over that uncircumcised Philistine.*

2. But although outward Peace be a great Blessing; yet is it as farre inferiour to Peace within, as Civill Warres are more cruell and unnaturall then Warres abroad. And therefore the second great Blessing that God hath with my Person sent unto you, is Peace within, and that in a double Forme. First, by my Descent lineally out of the Loynes of *Henry* the Seventh, is reunited and confirmed in me the Union of the two princely Roses of the two Houses of LANCASTER and YORKE, whereof that King of happy Memorie was the first Uniter, as hee was also the first Ground-layer of the other Peace. The lamentable and miserable Events by the civil and bloody Dissention betwixt these two Houses was so greate and so late, as it neede not be renewed unto your Memories: which, as it was first settled and united in him, so is it now reunited and confirmed in me, being justly and lineally descended not onely of that happy Conjunction, but of both the Branches thereof * many Times before. But the Union of these two princely Houses is nothing comparable to the Union of the two ancient and famous Kingdoms, which is the other inward Peace annexed to my Person.

And here I must crave your Patiences for a little Space, to give mee Leave to discourse more particularly of the Benefites that doe arise of that Union which is made in my Blood, being a Matter that most properly belongeth to me to speake of, as the Head wherein that great Body is united. And first, if we were to looke no higher then to naturall and physicall Reasons, wee may easily bee perswaded of the great Benefites that by that Union doe redound to the whole Island: for if twentie thousand Men be a strong Armie, is not the double thereof, fortie thousand, a double the stronger Armie? If a Baron enricheth himselfe with double as many Lands as hee had before, is

* From King *Edgar* the Greate and from King *Edgar Ethelin.*

hee not double the greater? Nature teacheth us, that Mountaines are made of Motes, and that at the first, Kingdomes being divided, and every particular Towne or little Countie, as Tyrants or Usurpers could obtaine the Possession, a Seigniorie apart, many of these little Kingdomes are now in Proceffe of Time, by the Ordinance of God, joyned into great Monarchies, whereby they are become powerfull within themselves to defend themselves from all outward Invasions, and their Head and Governour thereby enabled to redeeme them from forreine Assaults, and punish private Transgressions within. Doe wee not yet remember, that this Kingdome was divided into seven little Kingdomes, besides *Wales*? And is it not now the stronger by their Union? And hath not the Union of *Wales* to *England* added a greater Strength thereto? Which though it was a great Principality, was nothing comparable in Greatnes and Power to the ancient and famous Kingdome of *Scotland*. But what should wee sticke upon any naturall Appearance, when it is manifest that God by his Almighty Providence hath preordained it so to be? Hath not God first united these two Kingdomes both in Language, Religion, and Similitude of Manners? Yea, hath hee not made us all in one Iland, compassed with one Sea, and of it selfe by Nature so indivisible, as almost those that were Borderers themselves on the late Borders, cannot distinguish, nor know, or discern their owne Limits? These two Countries being separated neither by Sea, nor great River, Mountaine, nor other Strength of Nature, but onely by little small Brookes, or demolished little Walles, so as rather they were divided in Apprehension, then in Effect. And now in the End and Fulnesse of Time united, the Right and Title of both in my Person, alike lineally descended of both the Crownes, whereby it is now become like a litle World within it selfe, being intrenched and fortified round about with a naturall, and yet admirable strong Pond or Ditch, whereby all the former Feares of this Nation are now quite cut off: The other Part of the Iland being ever before now not only the Place of Landing to all Strangers that was to make Invasion here, but likewise moved by the Enemies of this State by untimely Incursions, to make inforced Diversion from their Conquests, for defending themselves at home, and keeping sure their Backe-doore as then it was called, which was the greatest Hinderance and Lett that ever my Predecessors of this Nation gat in disturbing them from their many famous and glorious Conquests abroad. What God hath conjoynd then, let no Man separate. I am the Husband, and all the whole Isle is my lawfull Wife; I am the Head, and it is my Body; I am the Shepherd, and it is my Flocke: I hope therefore no Man wil be so unreasonable as to thinke that I that am a Christian King under the Gospel, should be a Polygamist and Husband to two Wives; that I being the Head, should have a divided and monstrous Body; or that being the Shepheard to so faire a Flocke (whose Fold hath no Wall to hedge it but the foure Seas) should have my Flocke parted in two. But as I am assured, that no honest Subject of whatsoever Degree within my whole Dominion, is lesse glad of this joyfull Union then I am; So may the frivolous Objection of any that would be Hinderers of this Worke, which God hath in my Person already established, bee easily answered, which
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can be none, except such as are either blinded with Ignorance, or els transported with Malice, being unable to live in a well governed Commonwealth, and onely delighting to fish in troubled Waters. For if they would stand upon their Reputation and Priviledges of any of the Kingdomes, I pray you was not both the Kingdomes Monarchies from the Beginning, and consequently could ever the Bodie bee counted without the Head, which was ever unseparably joyned thereunto? So that as Honour and Priviledges of any of the Kingdomes could not be divided from their Sovereigne, So are they nowe confounded and joyned in my Person, who am equall and alike kindly Head to you both. When this Kingdome of *England* was divided into so many little Kingdoms as I told you before, one of them behooved to eate up another, till they were all united in one. And yet can *Wiltshire* or *Devonshire*, which were of the *West Saxons*, although their Kingdome was of longest Durance, and did by Conquest overcome divers of the rest of the little Kingdoms, make Claime to Prioritie of Place or Honour before *Suffex*, *Essex*, or other Shires, which were conquered by them? And have wee not the like Experience in the Kingdome of *France*, being composed of divers Dutchies, and one after another conquered by the Sword? For even as little Brookes lose their Names by their Running and Fall into great Rivers, and the very Name and Memorie of the great Rivers swallowed up in the Ocean: so by the Conjunction of divers little Kingdomes in one, are all these private Differences and Questions swallowed up. And since the Successe was happie of the *Saxons* Kingdomes being conquered by the Speare of *Bellona*; Mars.
How much greater Reason have wee to expect a happie Issue of this greater Union, which is only fastened and bound up by the Wedding Ring of *Astrea*? And as God hath made *Scotland* the Love and Peace.
one halfe of this Isle to enjoy my Birth, and the first and most unperfect halfe of my Life, and you heere to enjoy the perfect and the last halfe thereof; so can I not think that any would be so injurious to me, no not in their Thoughts and Wishes, as to cut asunder the one halfe of me from the other. But in this Matter I have farre enough insisted, resting assured that in your Hearts and Mindes you all applaud this my Discourse.

3. Now although these Blessings before rehearsed of inward and outward Peace, be great: yet seeing that in all good Things, a great Part of their Goodnesse and Estimation is lost, if they have not Appearance of Perpetuity or long Continuance; so hath it pleased Almighty God to accompany my Person also with that Favour, having healthfull and hopefull Issue of my Bodie, whereof some are here present, for Continuance and Propagation of that undoubted Right which is in my Person; under whom I doubt not but it will please God to prosper and continue for many Yeeres this Union, and all other Blessings of inward and outward Peace which I have brought with me.

4. But neither Peace outward nor Peace inward, nor any other Blessings that can follow thereupon, nor Appearance of the Perpetuity thereof, by Propagation in the Posterity, is but a weake Pillar and a rotten Reede to leane unto, if God doe not strengthen and by the Staffe of his Blessing make them durable:

durable: for in vaine doth the Watchman watch the City, if the Lord be not the principall Defence thereof: in vaine doeth the Builder build the House, if God give not the Successe: And in vaine (as *Paul* saith) doeth *Paul* plant and *Apollo* water, if God give not the Increase. For all worldly Blessings are but like swift passing Shadowes, fading Flowers, or Chaffe blowne before the Wind, if by the Profession of true Religion, and Workes according thereunto, God be not mooved to maintaine and settle the Thrones of Princes. And although that since mine Entry into this Kingdome, I have both by meeting with divers of the Ecclesiasticall Estate, and likewise by divers Proclamations clearely declared my Mind in Points of Religion, yet doe I not thinke it amisse in this so solemne an Audience, I should now take Occasion to discover somewhat of the Secrets of my Heart in that Matter: For I shall never (with Gods Grace) be ashamed to make publike Profession therof at all Occasions, least God should be ashamed to professe and allow me before Men and Angels, especially least that at this Time Men might presume further upon the Misknowledge of my Meaning to trouble this Parliament of ours then were convenient. At my first comming, although I found but one Religion, and that which by my selfe is professed, publicquely allowed, and by the Law maintained: Yet found I another sort of Religion, besides a private Secte, lurking within the Bowels of this Nation. The first is the true Religion, which by me is professed and by the Law is established: The second is the falsly called Catholikes, but truely Papistes. The third, which I call a Secte rather then Religion, is the Puritanes and Novelists, who doe not so farre differ from us in Points of Religion, as in their confused Forme of Politie and Parity, being ever discontented with the present Governement, and impatient to suffer any Superioritie, which maketh their Sect unable to be suffered in any well governed Commonwealth. But as for my Course toward them, I remit it to my Proclamations made upon that Subject. And now for the Papists, I must put a Difference betwixt mine owne private Profession of mine owne Salvation, and my Politique Government of the Realme for the Weale and Quietnesse thereof. As for mine owne Profession, you have me your Head now amongst you of the same Religion that the Body is of. As I am no Stranger to you in Blood, no more am I a Stranger to you in Faith, or in the Matters concerning the House of God. And although this my Profession be according to mine Education, wherein (I thanke God) I sucked the Milke of Gods Trueth, with the Milke of my Nurse: yet doe I here protest unto you, that I would never for such a Conceite of Constancy or other Prejudicate Opinion, have so firmly kept my first Profession, if I had not found it agreeable to all Reason, and to the Rule of my Conscience. But I was never violent nor unreasonable in my Profession: I acknowledge the Romane Church to be our Mother Church, although defiled with some Infirmities and Corruptions, as the *Jewes* were when they crucified Christ. And as I am none Enemie to the Life of a Sicke Man, because I would have his Bodie purged of ill Humours, no more am I Enemie to their Church, because I would have them reform their Errors, not wishing the downe-throwing of the Temple, but that it might be purged and cleansed from Corruption: otherwise

wise how can they wish us to enter, if their House be not first made cleane? But as I would be loather to dispense in the least Point of mine owne Conscience for any worldly Respect, then the foolishhest Precisian of them all; so would I be as fory to straight the Politique Governement of the Bodies and Mindes of all my Subjectes to my private Opinions: Nay, my Minde was ever so free from Persecution, -or Thralling of my Subjects in Matters of Conscience, as I hope that those of that Profession within this Kingdome have a Proove since my Comming, that I was so farre from encreasing their Burdens with *Rehoboam*, as I have so much as either Time, Occasion, or Law could permit, lightened them. And even now at this Time have I bene carefull to revise and consider deeply upon the Lawes made against them, that some Overture may be proponed to the present Parliament for clearing these Lawes by Reason (which is the Soule of the Law) in case they have bene in Times past further, or more rigorously extended by Judges, then the Meaning of the Lawe was, or might tend to the Hurt as well of the Innocent as of guiltie Persons. And as to the Persons of my Subjects which are of that Profession, I must divide them into two Rankes, Clerickes and Layickes; for the Part of the Layicks, certainly I ever thought them farre more excusable then the other Sort, because that Sort of Religion containeth such an ignorant, doubtfull, and implicit Kinde of Faith in the Layickes grounded upon their Church, as except they doe generally beleve whatsoever their Teachers please to affirme, they cannot bee thought guilty of these particular Points of Heresies and Corruptions, which their Teachers do so wilfully professe. And againe, I must subdivide the same Layickes into two Rankes, that is, either quiet and well minded Men, peaceable Subjects, who either being old, have retayned their first drunken-in Liquor upon a certaine Shamefastnesse to be thought curious or changeable: Or being young Men, through evill Education have never bene nursed or brought up, but upon such Venim in Place of wholesome Nutriment. And that Sort of People I would be sorry to punish their Bodies for the Errour of their Minds, the Reformation whereof must onely come of God and the true Spirit. But the other Ranke of Layicks, who either through Curiositie, Affectation of Noveltie, or Discontentment in their privat Humours have changed their Coates, onely to bee factious Stirrers of Sedition, and Perturbers of the Commonwealth, their Backwardnesse in their Religion giveth a Ground to me the Magistrate, to take the better Heede to their Proceeding, and to correct their Obstinacie. But for the Part of the Clerickes, I must directly say and affirme, that as long as they maintaine one speciall Point of their Doctrine, and another Point of their Practise, they are no Way sufferable to remaine in this Kingdome. Their Point of Doctrine is that arrogant and ambitious Supremacie of their Head the Pope, whereby he not onely claimes to be spirituall Head of all Christians, but also to have an imperiall civill Power over all Kings and Emperors, de-throning and decrowning Princes with his Foot as pleaseth him, and dispensing and disposing of all Kingdomes and Empires at his Appetite. The other Point which they observe in continuall Practise, is the Assassimates and Murderers of Kings, thinking it no Sinne, but rather a Matter of Salvation, to doe
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all Actions of Rebellion and Hostilitie against their naturall Sovereigne Lord, if he be once cursed, his Subjects discharged of their Fidelitie, and his Kingdom given a Praye by that three crowned Monarch, or rather Monster their Head. And in this Point, I have no Occasion to speake further here, saving that I could wish from my Heart, that it would please God to make me one of the Members of such a generall Christian Union in Religion, as laying Willfulnesse aside on both Hands, we might meete in the middest, which is the Center and Perfection of all Things. For if they would leave, and be ashamed of such new and grosse Corruptions of theirs, as themselves cannot maintaine, nor denie to be worthy of Reformation, I would for mine own Part be content to meete them in the Mid-Way, so that all Novelties might be renounced on either Side. For as my Faith is the True, Ancient, Catholike and Apostolike Faith, grounded upon the Scriptures and expresse Word of God: so will I ever yeeld all Reverence to Antiquitie in the Points of Ecclesiasticall Pollicy; and by that Meanes shall I ever with God's Grace keepe my selfe from either being an Hereticke in Faith, or Schismaticke in Matters of Policie. But of one Thing would I have the Papists of this Land to bee admonished, That they presume not so much upon my Lenitie (because I would bee loth to be thought a Persecuter) as thereupon to thinke it lawfull for them dayly to encrease their Number and Strength in this Kingdome, whereby if not in my Time, at least in the Time of my Posteritie, they might be in Hope to erect their Religion againe. No, let them assure themselves, that as I am a Friend to their Persons if they be good Subjects: so am I a vowed Enemy, and doe denounce mortall Warre to their Errors: And that as I would be sory to be driven by their ill Behaviour from the Protection and Conservation of their Bodies and Lives; So will I never cease as farre as I can, to tread downe their Errors and wrong Opinions. For I could not permit the Encrease and Growing of their Religion, without first betraying of my selfe, and mine owne Conscience: Secondly, this whole Isle, aswel the Part I am come from, as the Part I remaine in, in betraying their Liberties, and reducing them to their former slavish Yoke, which both had casten off, before I came amongst them: And thirdly, the Libertie of the Crowne in my Posteritie, which I should leave againe under a new Slavery, having found it left free to mee by my Predecessors. And therefore would I wish all good Subjects that are deceived with that Corruption, first if they find any Beginning of Instinction in themselves of Knowledge and Love to the Trueth, to foster the same by all lawfull Meanes, and to beware of quenching the Spirit that worketh within them; And if they can finde as yet no Motion tending that Way, to be Studious to reade and conferre with learned Men, and to use all such Meanes as may further their Resolution, assuring themselves, that as long as they are disconformable in Religion from us, they cannot be but halfe my Subjects, bee able to doe but halfe Service, and I to want the best halfe of them, which is their Soules. And here have I Occasion to speake to you my Lords the Bishops. For as you, my Lord of *Durham*, said very learnedly to Day in your Sermon, Correction without Instruction, is but a Tyrannie: So ought you, and all the Clergie under you, to be more carefull, vigilant,
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and diligent then you have bene, to winne Soules to God, aswell by your exemplary Life, as Doctrine. And since you see how carefull they are, sparing neither Labour, Paines, nor extreme Peril of their Persons to divert, (the Devill is so busie a Bishop) ye should be the more carefull and wakefull in your Charges. Follow the Rule prescribed you by S. Paul, *Bee carefull to exhort and to instruct in Season, and out of Season:* and where you have bene any Way sluggish before, now waken your selves up againe with a new Diligence in this Point, remitting the Successe to God, who calling them either at the second, third, tenth or twelfth Houre, as they are alike welcome to him, so shall they be to me his Lieutenant here.

The third Reason of my convening of you at this Time, which containeth such Actions of my Thankfulness toward you, as I may either doe, or leave undone, yet shall with Gods Grace ever presse to perfourme all the Dayes of my Life. It consists in these two Points: In making of Lawes at certaine Times, which is onely at such Times as this in Parliament; or in the carefull Execution thereof at all other Times. As for the making of them, I will thus farre faithfully promise unto you, That I will ever preferre the Weale of the Body and of the whole Commonwealth, in making of good Lawes and Constitutions, to any particular or private Ends of mine, thinking ever the Wealth and Weale of the Commonwealth to be my greatest Weale and worldly Felicitie: A Point wherein a lawfull King doeth directly differ from a Tyrant. But at this Time I am onely thus farre to forewarne you in that Point, That you beware to seeke the making of too many Lawes, for two especiall Reasons: First, because *In corruptissima Republica plurimæ leges*; and the Execution of good Lawes is farre more profitable in a Commonwealth, then to burden Mens Memories with the making of too many of them. And next, because the making of too many Lawes in one Parliament will bring in Confusion, for lacke of Leisure wisely to deliberate before you conclude. For the Bishop said wel to Day, That to Deliberation would a large Time bee given, but to Execution a greater Promptnesse was required. As for the Execution of good Lawes, it hath beene very wisely and honourably foreseene and ordered by my Predecessours in this Kingdome, in planting such a Number of Judges and all sorts of Magistrates in convenient Places for the Execution of the same: And therefore must I now turne mee to you that are Judges and Magistrates under me, as mine Eyes and Eares in this Case. I can say none otherwise to you, then as *Ezekias* the good King of *Juda* sayd to their Judges, *Remember that the Thrones you sit on are Gods, and neither yours nor mine.* And that as you must be answerable to me, so must both you and I be answerable to God for the due Execution of our Offices. That Place is no Place for you to utter your Affections in, you must not there hate your Foe nor love your Friend, feare the Offence of the greater Party, or pity the Misery of Meaner; ye must be Blind and not see Distinctions of Persons, Handleffe, not to receive Bribes; but keepe that just Temper and Mid-Course in all your Proceedings, that like a just Ballance yee may neither sway to the right nor left Hand. Three principall Qualities are required in you; Knowledge,

The third Reason of assembling the Parliament.

Courage, and Sincerity: that you may discern with Knowledge, execute with Courage, and doe both in upright Sinceritie. And as for my Part, I doe vowe and protest here in the Presence of God, and of this honourable Audience, I never shall be wearie, nor omit no Occasion, wherein I may shewe my Carefulnesse of the Execution of good Lawes. And as I wish you that are Judges not to bee wearie in your Office in doing of it; so shall I never be wearie, with Gods Grace, to take Account of you, which is properly my Calling.

And thus having tolde you the three Causes of my convening of this Parliament, all three tending onely to utter my Thankfulnesse, but in divers Formes, the first by Word, the other two by Action; I doe confesse that when I have done and performed all that in this Speech I have promised, *Inutilis servus sum*. Inutile, because the Meaning of the Word *Inutilis* in that Place of Scripture is understoode, that in doing all that Service which wee can to God, it is but our due, and wee doe nothing to God but that which wee are bound to doe: And in like Maner, when I have done all that I can for you, I doe nothing but that which I am bound to doe, and am accomptable to God upon the contrarie. For I doe acknowledge, that the speciall and greatest Point of Difference that is betwixt a rightfull King and an usurping Tyrant is in this: That wheras the proude and ambitious Tyrant doeth thinke his Kingdome and People are onely ordeined for Satisfaction of his Desires and unreasonable Appetites; The righteous and just King doth by the contrarie acknowledge himselfe to be ordeined for the procuring of the Wealth and Prosperitie of his People, and that his greatest and principall worldly Felicitie must consist in their Prosperitie. If you be rich I cannot be poore, if you be happie I cannot but bee fortunate, and I protest that your Welfare shall ever bee my greatest Care and Contentment: And that I am a Servant it is most true, that as I am Head and Governour of all the People in my Dominion who are my naturall Vassals and Subjects, considering them in Numbers and distinct Rankes; So if wee will take the whole People as one Bodie and Masse, then as the Head is ordeined for the Bodie and not the Body for the Head; so must a righteous King know himselfe to bee ordeined for his People, and not his People for him. For although a King and People be *Relata*: yet can hee be no King if he want People and Subjects. But there be many People in the World that lacke a Head, wherefore I will never be ashamed to confesse it my principall Honour to be the great Servant of the Commonwealth, and ever thinke the Prosperitie thereof to be my greatest Felicity, as I have already said.

But as it was the whole Body of this Kingdome; with an uniforme Assent and Harmonie, as I tolde you in the Beginning of my Speech, which did so farre oblige mee in good Will and Thankfulnesse of Requital by their Alacritie and Readinesse in declaring and receiving mee to that Place which God had provided for mee, and not any particular Persons: (for then it had not bene the Body) So is my Thankfulnes due to the whole State. For even as in Matter of Faults, *Quod à multis peccatur, impunè peccatur*: Even so in the Matter of vertuous and good Deedes, what is done by the willing Consent
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and Harmonie of the whole Body, no particular Person can justly claime Thankes as proper to him for the same. And therefore I must here make a little Apologie for my selfe, in that I could not satisfie the particular Humours of every Person, that looked for some Advancement or Reward at my Hand since my Entrie into this Kingdome. Three kinde of Things were craved of me: Advancement to Honour, Preferment to Place of Credit about my Person, and Reward in Matters of Land or Profit. If I had bestowed Honour upon all, no Man could have beene advanced to Honour: for the Degrees of Honour doe consist in preferring some above their Fellowes. If every Man had the like Accessse to my Privy or Bedchamber, then no Man could have it, because it cannot containe all. And if I had bestowed Lands and Rewardes upon every Man, the Fountaine of my Liberalitie would be so exhausted and dried, as I would lacke Meanes to bee liberall to any Man. And yet was I not so sparing, but I may without vaunting affirme that I have enlarged my Favour in all the three Degrees, towards as many and more then ever King of *England* did in so short a Space: No, I rather crave your Pardon that I have beene so bountifull; for if the Meanes of the Crowne bee wasted, I behoved then to have Recourse to you my Subjects, and bee burdensome to you, which I would be lothest to be of any King alive. For as it is true, that as I have already said, it was a whole Bodie which did deserve so well at my Hand, and not every particular Person of the People: yet were there some who by Reason of their Office, Credit with the People or otherwise, tooke Occasion both before, and at the Time of my comming amongst you, to give Proove of their Love and Affection towards me. Not that I am any Way in doubt, that if other of my Subjects had beene in their Places, and had had the like Occasion, but they would have uttered the like good Effects, (so generall and so great were the Love and Affection of you all towards me:) But yet this having beene performed by some speciall Persons, I could not without Unthankfulnesse but requite them accordingly. And therefore had I just Occasion to advance some in Honour, some to Places of Service about mee, and by rewarding, to enable some who had deserved well of me, and were not otherwise able to maintaine the Rankes I thought them capable of, and others who although they had not particularly deserved before, yet I found them capable and worthy of Place of Preferment and Credit, and not able to sustaine those Places for which I thought them fit, without my Helpe, Two especiall Causes moved me to be so open handed: whereof the one was reasonable and honourable; but the other I will not bee ashamed to confesse unto you proceeded of mine owne Infirmitie. That which was just and honourable, was: That being so farre beholding to the Body of the whole State, I thought I could not refuse to let runne some small Brookes out of the Fountaine of my Thankfulnessse to the whole, for refreshing of particular Persons that were Members of that Multitude. The other which proceeded out of mine owne Infirmitie, was the Multitude and Importunitie of Sutors. But although Reason come by Infusion in a Maner, yet Experience groweth with Time and Labour: And therefore doe I not doubt, but Experience in Time comming will both teach the particular Subjects of this Kingdome, not

to be so importune and undiscreeet in craving: And mee not to be so easily and lightly mooved, in graunting that which may be harmefull to my Estate, and consequently to the whole Kingdome.

And thus having declared unto you my Minde in all the Points, for the which I called this Parliament: My Conclusion shall onely now be to excuse my selfe, in Case you have not found such Eloquence in my Speech, as peradventure you might have looked for at my Hands. I might, if I list, alledge the great Weight of my Affaires and my continuall Businesse and Distraction, that I could never have Leasure to thinke upon what I was to speake, before I came to the Place where I was to speake: And I might also alledge that my first Sight of this so famous and honourable an Assembly, might likewise breede some Impedient. But leaving these Excuses, I will plainly and freely in my Maner tell you the true Cause of it, which is: That it becommeth a King, in my Opinion, to use no other Eloquence then Plainnesse and Sincerity. By Plainnesse I meane, that his Speeches should bee so cleare and voyde of all Ambiguitie, that they may not be throwne, nor rent a sunder in contrarie Sences like the olde Oracles of the *Pagan* Gods. And by Sinceritie, I understand that Uprightnesse and Honestie which ought to bee in a Kings whole Speeches and Actions: That as farre as a King is in Honour erected above any of his Subjects, so far should he strive in Sinceritie to be above them all, and that his Tongue should be ever the true Messenger of his Heart: and this sort of Eloquence may you ever assuredly looke for at my Hands.

His MAJESTIES Speech to both the Houses of Parliament, in his Highnesse great Chamber at *Whitehall*, the Day of the Adjournement of the last Session, which was the last Day of *March* 1607.

Imprinted by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty.

To the R E A D E R.

*H*AVING received (gentle Reader) divers and different Copies of his Majesties Speech to this last Session of Parliament in *Whitehall*, at their Recession in the *Passion Weeke*; my Labour hath bene to conferre all these Copies together, and with the Helpe of some Gentlemen that were Auditors thereof, to make such an Extraction as I here present unto thee. Which though I dare not maintaine to bee a true and full Relation of all his Majestie spake, as being farre short both of the Life of his Majesties eloquent Phrases, and Fulnesse of the Matter: yet seeing (as I hope) it conteines most of the substantiall Reasons and Arguments that therein were uttered, and that it is a Thing desired by so many, though not rightly related by any, I have taken the Boldnesse to present it unto thee, such as it is, being the rather at mine owne Suite permitted to print it,
for

for eschewing the Wrong that might be done unto thee, by the publishing of so many false Copies that begin already to be spread thereof. And thus hoping of thy kinde Acceptance of this my well meant Labour, I bid thee farewell.

His MAJESTIES Speech to both Houses of Parliament.

MY Lords of the Higher House, and you Knights and Burgeffes of the Lower House, all Men at the Beginning of a Feast bring forth good Wine first, and after, worse. This was the Saying of the Governour of the Feast at *Cana in Galile*, where CHRIST wrought his first Miracle by changing Water into Wine. But in this Case now whereof I am to speake unto you, I must follow that Governours Rule, and not CHRISTs Example, in giving you the worst and sowrest Wine last. For all the Time of this Long Session of the Parliament you have bin so fed and cloy'd, (specially you of the Lower House) with such Banquets, and choise of delicate Speeches, and your Eares so seasoned with the Sweetnesse of long precogitate Orations; as this my Speech now in the Breaking up of this Assembly, cannot but appeare unto your Taste as the worst Wine proposed in the End of the Banquet, since I am onely to deliver nowe unto you Matter without curious Forme, Substance without Ceremonie, Trueth in all Sinceritie. Yet considering the Person that speaketh, the Parties to whom I speake, the Matter whereof I meane to speake: it fits better to utter Matter, rather then Words, in Regard of the Greatnesse of my Place who am to speake to you, the Gravitie of you the Auditorie, which is the High Court of Parliament; the Weight of the Matter, which concernes the Securitie and Establishment of this whole Empire, and little World. Studied Orations and much Eloquence upon little Matter is fit for the Universities, where not the Subject which is spoken of, but the Triall of his Wit that speaketh, is most commendable: but on the contrary, in all great Councils of Parliaments fewest Words with most Matter doeth become best, where the Dispatch of the great Errands in Hand, and not the Prayse of the Person is most to be looked unto: like the Garment of a chaste Woman, who is onely set forth by her naturall Beautie, which is properly her owne: other Deckings are but Ensignes of an Harlot that flies with borrowed Feathers. And besides the Conveniencie, I am forced hereunto by Necessitie, my Place calling mee to Action, and not leaving mee to the Libertie of Contemplation, having alwayes my Thoughts busied with the publique Care of you all, where every one of you having but himselfe and his owne private to thinke of, are at more Leisure to make studied Speeches. And therefore the Matter which I deliver you confusedly as in a Sacke, I leave it to you when you are in your Chambers, and have better Leysure then I can have, to ranke them in Order, every one in their owne Place.

Thus much by Way of Preface. But I proceed to the Matter. Whereof I might say with *S. Paul*, I could speake in as many Tongues as you all, but I had rather speake three Wordes to Edification, then talke all Day without Understanding. In vaine (sayth the *Psalmist*) doeth the Builder build the House,

House, or the Watchman watch the Citie, unlesse the Lord give his Blessing thereunto. And in the New Testament S. Paul saith, that he may plant, *Apollo* may water, but it is God onely that must give the Increase. This I speake, because of the long Time which hath bene spent about the Treatie of the Union. For my selfe, I protest unto you all, when I first propounded the Union, I then thought there could have bene no more Question of it, then of your Declaration and Acknowledgement of my Right unto this Crowne, and that, as two Twinnes, they would have growen up together. The Error was my mistaking; I knew mine owne Ende, but not others Feares. But now finding many Crossings, long Disputations, strange Questions, and nothing done; I must needs thinke it proceedes either of mistaking of the Errand, or else from some Jealousie of me the Propounder, that you so adde Delay unto Delay, searching out as it were the very Bowels of Curiositie, and conclude nothing. Neither can I condemne you for being yet in some Jealousie of my Intention in this Matter, having not yet had so great Experience of my Behaviour and Inclination in these fewe Yeeres past, as you may peradventure have in a longer Time hereafter, and not having Occasion to consult daily with my selfe, and heare mine owne Opinion in all those Particulars which are debated among you.

But here I pray you now mistake me not at the first, when as I seeme to find Fault with your Delayes and Curiositie, as if I would have you to resolve in an Houres Time, that which will take a Moneths Advertisement: for you all know, that *Rex est lex loquens*, and you have oft heard me say, that the Kings Will and Intention being the speaking Law, ought to be *Luce clarius*: and I hope you of the Lower House have the Proove of this my Cleerenesse by a Bill sent you down from the Upper-House within these fewe Dayes, or rather few Houres: wherein may very well appeare unto you the Care I have to put my Subjects in a good Security of their Possessions for all Posterities to come. And therefore that you may cleerely understand my Meaning in that Point, I doe freely confesse, you had Reason to advise at Leasure upon so great a Cause: for great Matters doe ever require great Deliberation before they be well concluded. *Deliberandum est diu quod statuendum est semel*. Consultations must proceed *lento pede*, but the Execution of a Sentence upon the Resolution would bee speedie. If you will go on, it Matters not though you goe with leaden Feete, so you make still some Progresse, and that there be no Let or needlesse Delay, and doe not *Nodum in scirpo querere*. I am ever for the *Medium* in every Thing. Betweene foolish Rashnesse and extreame Length, there is a middle Way. Search all that is reasonable, but omit that which is idle, curious, and unnecessarie; otherwise there can never be a Resolution or End in any good Worke.

And now from the generall I will descend to Particulars, and will onely for the Ease of your Memories divide the Matter that I am to speake of, into foure Heads, by opening unto you, First, what I crave: Secondly, in what Manner I desire it: Thirdly, what Commodities will ensue to both the Kingdomes by it: Fourthly, what the supposed Inconveniencie may be that gives Impediments thereunto,

For

For the first, what I crave ; I protest before God who knowes my Heart, and to you my People before whom it were a Shame to lie, that I claime nothing but with Acknowledgment of my Bond to you ; that as yee owe to me Subjection and Obedience : So my Sovereigntie obligeth me to yeeld to you Love, Government, and Protection : Neither did I ever wish any Happinesse to my selfe, which was not conjoynd with the Happinesse of my People. I desire a perfect Union of Lawes and Persons, and such a Naturalizing as may make one Body of both Kingdomes under mee your King. That I and my Posteritie (if it so please God) may rule over you to the Worlds End ; such an Union as was of the *Scots* and *Pittes* in *Scotland*, and of the Heptarchie heere in *England*. And for *Scotland* I avow such an Union as if you had got it by Conquest, but such a Conquest as may be cemented by Love, the onely sure Bond of Subjection or Friendship : that as there is over both but *unus Rex*, so there may bee in both but *unus Grex & una Lex* : For no more possible is it for one King to governe two Countreys *contiguous*, the one a great, the other a lesse, a richer and a poorer, the greater drawing like an Adamant the lesse to the Commodities therof, then for one Head to governe two Bodies, or one Man to bee Husband of two Wives, whereof Christ himselfe said, *Ab initio non fuit sic*.

But in the generall Union you must observe two Things : for I will discover my Thoughts plainly unto you ; I study Clearenes, not Eloquence, and therefore with the olde Philosophers, I would heartily wish my Brest were a transparent Glasse for you all to see through, that you might looke into my Heart, and then would you be satisfied of my Meaning. For when I speake of a perfect Union, I meane not Confusion of all Things : you must not take from *Scotland* those particular Priviledges that may stand as well with this Union, as in *England* many particular Customes in particular Shires, (as the Customes of *Kent*, and the Royalties of the Countie Palatine of *Chester*) do with the Common Law of the Kingdome : for every particular Shire almost, and much more every Countie, have some particular Customes that are as it were naturally most fit for that People. But I meane of such a generall Union of Lawes as may reduce the whole Iland, that as they live already under one Monarch, so they may all be governed by one Law. For I must needs confesse by that little Experience I have had since my comming hither, and I thinke I am able to proove it, that the Grounds of the Common Law of *England*, are the best of any Law in the World, either Civill or Municipall, and the fittest for this People. But as every Law would be cleare and full, so the Obscuritie in some Points of this our written Law, and want of Fulnesse in others, the Variation of Cases and Mens Curiositie, breeding every Day new Questions, hath enforced the Judges to judge in many Cases here, by Cases and Presidents, wherein I hope Lawyers themselves will not denie but that there must be a great Uncertaintie, and I am sure all the rest of you that are Gentlemen of other Professions were long agoe wearie of it, if you could have had it amended. For where there is Varietie and Uncertaintie, although a just Judge may doe rightly, yet an ill Judge may take Advantage to doe Wrong, and then are all honest Men that succede him, tied in a

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Maner to his unjust and partiall Conclusions. Wherefore, leave not the Lawe to the Pleasure of the Judge, but let your Lawes bee looked into: for I desire not the abolishing of the Lawes, but onely the clearing and the sweeping off the Rust of them, and that by Parliament our Lawes might bee cleared and made knowne to all the Subjects. Yea rather it were lesse Hurt, that all the approved Cases were set down and allowed by Parliament for standing Lawes in all Time to come. For although some of them peradventure may be unjust as set downe by corrupt Judges; yet better it is to have a certaine Lawe with some Spots in it, nor live under such an uncertaine and arbitrarie Law, since as the Proverbe is, it is lesse Harme to suffer an Inconveniencie then a Mischiefe. And now may you have faire Occasion of amending and polishing your Lawes, when *Scotland* is to be united with you under them: for who can blame *Scotland* to say, If you will take away our owne Lawes, I pray you give us a better and cleerer in Place thereof.

But this is not possible to be done without a fit Preparation. Hee that buildeth a Ship, must first provide the Timber; and as Christ himselfe said, No Man will build an House, but he wil first provide the Materials: nor a wise King will not make Warre against another, without he first make Provision of Money: and all great Workes must have their Preparation: and that was my End in causing the Instrument of the Union to be made. Union is a Mariage: would hee not be thought absurd that for furthering of a Mariage betweene two Friends of his, would make his first Motion to have the two Parties be laid in Bedde together, and performe the other Turnes of Mariage? must there not precede the mutuall Sight and Acquaintance of the Parties one with another, the Conditions of the Contract, and Joincture to be talked of and agreed upon by their Friends, and such other Things as in order ought to goe before the Ending of such a Worke? The Union is an eternall Agreement and Reconciliation of many long bloody Warres that have bene betweene these two ancient Kingdomes. It is the readiest Way to agree a private Quarrell betweene two, to bring them at the first to shake Hands, and as it were kisse other, and lie under one Roofe or rather in one Bedde together, before that first the Ground of their Quarell be communed upon, their Mindes mitigated, their Affections prepared, and all other Circumstances first used, that ought to be used to proceed to such a finall Agreement? Every honest Man desireth a perfect Union, but they that say so, and admit no Preparation thereto, have *Mel in Ore, Fel in Corde*. If after your so long Talke of Union in all this long Session of Parliament, yee rise without agreeing upon any Particular; what will the neighbour Princes judge, whose Eyes are all fixed upon the Conclusion of this Action, but that the King is refused in his Desire, whereby the Nation should be taxed, and the King disgraced? And what an ill Preparation is it for the Mindes of *Scotland* toward the Union, when they shall heare that Ill is spoken of their whole Nation, but nothing is done nor advanced in the Matter of the Union it selfe? But this I am glad was but the Fault of one, and one is no Number: yet have your Neighbours of *Scotland* this Advantage of you, that none of them hath spoken Ill of you (nor shall as long as I am King) in Parliament,
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or any such publique Place of Judicature. Consider therefore well, if the Mindes of *Scotland* had not neede to be well prepared to perswade their mutuall Consent, seeing you here have all the great Advantage by the Union. Is not here the personall Residence of the King, his whole Court and Family? Is not here the Seate of Justice, and the Fountaine of Government? must they not be subjected to the Lawes of *England*, and so with Time become but as *Cumberland* and *Northumberland*, and those other Remote and Northerne Shires? you are to be the Husband, they the Wife: you Conquerours, they as conquered, though not by the Sword, but by the sweet and sure Bond of Love. Besides that, they as other Northerne Countreys will be feldome seene and saluted by their King, and that as it were but in a posting or hunting Journey.

How little Cause then they may have of such a Change of so ancient a Monarchie into the Case of private Shires, judge rightly herein. And that you may bee the more upright Judges, suppose your selves the Patients of whom such Sentence should bee given. But what Preparation is it that I crave? onely such as by the Entrance may shew something is done, yet more is intended. There is a Concept intertained, and a double Jealousie possesseth many, wherein I am misjudged.

First, that this Union wil be the *Crisis* to the Overthrow of *England* and setting up of *Scotland*: *England* will then bee overwhelmed by the Swarming of the *Scots*, who if the Union were effected, would raigne and rule all.

The second is, my profuse Liberalitie to the *Scottish* Men more then the *English*, and that with this Union all Things shalbe given to them, and you turned out of all: To you shall be left the Sweat and Labour, to them shall bee given the Fruite and Sweet; and that my Forbearance is but till this Union may be gained. How agreeable this is to the Trueth, judge you; and that not by my Wordes, but by my Actions. Doe I crave the Union without Exceptions; doe I not offer to binde my selfe and to reserve to you, as in the Instrument, all Places of Judicature? Doe I intend any Thing which standeth not with the equall Good of both Nations? I could then have done it, and not spoken of it: For all Men of Understanding must agree, that I might dispose without Assent of Parliament, Offices of Judicature, and others, both Ecclesiasticall and Temporall. But herein I did voluntarily offer by my Letters from *Royston* to the Commissioners, to binde my Prerogative.

Some thinke that I will draw the *Scottish* Nation hither, talking idly of transporting of Trees out of a barren Ground into a better, and of leane Cattell out of bad Pasture into a more fertile Soile. Can any Man displant you, unlesse you will? or can any Man thinke that *Scotland* is so strong to pull you out of your Houses? or doe you not thinke I know *England* hath more People, *Scotland* more wast Ground? So that there is Routh in *Scotland* rather to plant your idle People that swarme in *London* Streets, and other Townes, and Disburthen you of them, then to bring more unto you; and in Cases of Justice, if I be partiall to either Side, let my owne Mouth condemne me, as unworthy to be your King.

I appeale to your selves, if in Favour or Justice I have bene partiall. Nay, my Intention was ever, you should then have most cause to praise my Discretion, when you saw I had most Power. If hitherto I have done nothing to your Prejudice, much lesse meane I hereafter. If when I might have done it without any Breach of Promise; Thinke so of me, that much lesse I will doe it, when a Law is to restraine me. I owe no more to the *Scottish* Men then to the *English*. I was borne there, and sworne here, and now raigne over both. Such particular Persons of the *Scottish* Nation, as might claim any extraordinary Merit at my Handes, I have already reasonably rewarded, and I can assure you that there is none left, whom for I meane extraordinary to straine my selfe further, then in such ordinary Benefit as I may equally bestow without mine owne great Hurt, upon any Subject of either Nation; In which Case no Kings Handes can ever be fully closed. To both I owe Justice and Protection, which with God's Grace I shall ever equally ballance.

For my Liberalitie, I have told you of it heretofore: my three first Yeeres were to me as a Christmas, I could not then bee miserable: should I have bene oversparing to them? they might have thought *Joseph* had forgotten his Brethren, or that the King had bene drunke with his new Kingdome. But Suites goe not now so cheape as they were wont, neither are there so many Fees taken in the Hamper and Petibagge for the Great Seale as hath bene. And if I did respect the *English* when I came first, of whom I was received with Joy, and came as in a Hunting Journey, what might the *Scottish* have justly said, if I had not in some Measure dealt bountifully with them, that so long had served me, so farre adventured themselves with me, and beene so faithfull to mee. I have given you now foure Yeeres Proofoe since my Comming, and what I might have done more to have raised the *Scottish* Nation you all know, and the longer I live, the lesse Cause have I to be acquainted with them, and so the lesse Hope of extraordinary Favour towards them: For since my comming from them I doe not alreadie know the one halfe of them by Face, most of the Youth being now risen up to be Men, who were but Children when I was there, and more are borne since my comming thence.

Now for my Lands and Revenues of my Crowne which you may thinke I have diminished, they are not yet so farre diminished, but that I thinke no Prince of Christendome hath fairer Possessions to his Crowne then yet I have, and in Token of my Care to preserve the same to my Posteritie for ever, the Intaile of my Lands to the Crowne hath bene long agoe offered unto you: and that it is not yet done, is not my Fault as you know. My Treasurer here knoweth my Care, and hath already in Part declared it, and if I did not hope to treble my Revenue more then I have empaiied it, I should never rest quietly in my Bed. But notwithstanding my comming to the Crowne, with that extraordinarie Applause which you all know, and that I had two Nations to be the Objects of my Liberalitie, which never any Prince had here before; will you compare my Gifts out of mine Inheritance with some Princes here that had onely this Nation to respect, and whose whole Time of Reigne was
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little longer then mine hath bene already? It will be found that their Gifts have farre surpassed mine, albeit as I have already said, they had nothing so great Cause of using their Liberalitie.

Secondly, For the Maner of the Union presently desired, it standeth in 3. Parts: The first, taking away of hostile Lawes: for since there can be now no Warres betwixt you, is not Reason hostile Lawes should cease? For, *deficiente causa deficit effectus*. The King of *England* now cannot have Warres with the King of *Scotland*, therefore this failes of it selfe. The second is Communitie of Commerce. I am no Stranger unto you: for you all knowe I came from the Loines of your ancient Kings. They of *Scotland* be my Subjects as you are. But how can I bee naturall Liege Lord to you both, and you Strangers one to the other? Shall they which be of one Alleagance with you, be no better respected of you, nor freer amongst you, then *Frenchmen* and *Spaniards*? Since I am Sovereigne over both, you as Subjects to one King, it must needs follow that you Converse and have Commerce together. There is a Rumour of some ill Dealings that should bee used by the Commissioners, Merchants of *Scotland*. They be heere in *England*, and shall remaine till your next Meeting, and abide Triall, to proove themselves either honest Men or Knaves.

Thirdly, For the third Point, of Naturalization, All you agree that they are no Aliens, and yet will not allow them to bee naturall. What Kind of Prerogative will you make? But for the *post nati*, your owne Lawyers and Judges at my first Comming to this Crowne, informed me, there was a Difference between the *antè* and the *post nati* of each Kingdome, which caused me to publish a Proclamation, that the *post nati* were naturalized (*ipso facto*) by my Accession to this Crowne. I do not denie but Judges may erre as Men, and therefore I doe not presse you here to sweare to all their Reasons. I onely urge at this Time the Conveniencie for both Kingdomes, neither pressing you to judge nor to bee judged. But remember also it is as possible and likely your owne Lawyers may erre as the Judges. Therefore as I wish you to proceede herein so farre as may tend to the Weale of both Nations: So would I have you on the other Part to beware to disgrace either my Proclamations or the Judges, who when the Parliament is done, have Power to trie your Lands and Lives, for so you may disgrace both your King and your Lawes. For the doing of any Act that may procure lesse Reverence to the Judges, cannot but breede a Loosenesse in the Government, and a Disgrace to the whole Nation. The Reason that most mooves mee for ought I have yet heard, that there cannot but bee a Difference betweene the *antè nati* and the *post nati*, and that in the Favour of the last, is that they must bee neerer unto you being borne under the present Government and common Alleagance: but in Point of Conveniencie, there is no Question but the *post nati* are more to bee respected. For if you would have a perfect and perpetuall Union, that cannot bee in the *antè nati*, who are but few in Comparison of those that shall be in all Ages succeeding, and cannot live long. But in the *post nati* shall the Union be continued and live ever Age after Age, which wanting a Difference cannot but leave a perpetual Marke of Separation

in the Worke of the Union: as also that Argument of Jealousie will be so farre remooved in the Case of the *post nati* which are to reape the Benefit in all succeeding Ages, as by the contrarie there will then rise *Pharaos* which never knew *Joseph*, the Kings my Successours, who being borne and bred here, can never have more Occasion of Acquaintance with the *Scottish* Nation in generall, then any other *English* King that was before my Time. Be not therefore abused with the flattering Speeches of such as would have the *antè nati* preferred, alleadging their Merit in my Service, and such other Reasons which indeed are but Sophismes. For, my rewarding out of my Liberalitie of any particular Men, hath nothing adoe with the generall Acte of the Union, which must not regard the Deserts of private Persons, but the generall Weale and Conjoyning of the Nations. Besides that, the actuall Naturalizing, which is the onely Point that is in your Handes, is already granted to by your selves to the most Part of such particular Persons as can have any Use of it heere: and if any other well deserving Men were to sue for it hereafter, I doubt not but there would never be Question mooved among you for the granting of it. And therefore it is most evident, that such Discourfers have *Mel in Ore*, *Fel in Corde*, as I said before; carrying an outward Appearance of Love to the Union, but indeed a contrary Resolution in their Hearts, and as for Limitations and Restrictions, such as shall by me be agreed upon to be reasonable and necessarie after you have fully debated upon them, you may assure your selves I will with Indifferencie grant what is requisite without partiall Respect of *Scotland*. I am, as I have often said, borne and sworne King over both Kingdomes; onely this farre let me entreat you, in debating the Point at your next Meeting, That ye be as ready to resolve Doubts as to moove them, and to be satisfied when Doubts are cleered.

Third, And as for Commodities that come by the Union of these Kingdomes, they are great and evident; Peace, Plentie, Love, free Intercourse and common Societie of two great Nations. All foreigne Kings that have sent their Ambassadors to congratulate with me since my Comming, have saluted me as Monarch of the whole Isle, and with much more Respect of my Greatnesse, then if I were King alone of one of these Realmes: and with what Comfort doe your selves behold *Irish*, *Scottish*, *Welsh*, and *English*, divers in Nation, yet all walking as Subjects and Servants within my Court, and all living under the Allegiance of your King, besides the Honour and Lustre that the Encrease of gallant Men in the Court of divers Nations caries in the Eyes of all Strangers that repaire hither? Those confining Places which were the Borders of the two Kingdomes, where heretofore much Blood was shed, and many of your Ancestours lost their Lives, yea, that lay waste and desolate, and were Habitations but for Runnagates, are now become the Navell or Umbilicke of both Kingdomes, planted and peopled with Civilitie and Riches: their Churches begin to be planted, their Doores stand now open, they feare neither robbing nor spoiling: and where there was nothing before heard nor seene in those Parts but Bloodshed, Oppressions, Complaints and Outcries, they now live every Man peaceably under his own Figgetree, and all their former Cryes and Complaints turned onely into Prayers to God
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for their King, under whome they enjoy such Ease and happie Quietnesse. The Marches beyond and on this side *Twede*, are as fruitfull and as peaceable as most Parts of *England*: If after all this there shall be a Sciffure, what Inconvenience will follow, judge you.

And as for the Inconveniences that are feared on *Englands* Part, It is alleadged, that the *Scots* are a populous Nation, they shall be harboured in our Nests, they shall be planted and flourish in our good Soile, they shall eate our Commons bare, and make us leane: These are foolish and idle Surmises. That which you possesse, they are not to enjoy; by Law they cannot, nor by my Partialitie they shall not: for set apart Conscience and Honour, (which if I should set apart indeed, I had rather wish my selfe to be set apart and out of all Being) can any Man conclude either out of common Reason or good Policie, that I will preferre those which perhaps I shall never see, or but by Poste for a Moneth, before those with whome I must alwayes dwell? Can they conquer or overcome you with Swarmes of People, as the *Goths* and the *Vandals* did *Italy*? Surely the World knowes they are nothing so populous as you are: and although they have had the Honour and good Fortune never to be conquered, yet were they ever but upon the defensive Part, and may in a Part thanke their Hilles and inaccessible Passages that preserved them from an utter Overthrow at the Hands of all that pretended to conquer them. Or are they so very poore and miserable in their owne Habitations, that Necessitie should force them all to make Incurfions among you?

And for my Part, when I have two Nations under my Government, can you imagine I wil respect the Lesser, and neglect the Greater? Would I not thinke it a lesse Evill and Hazard to me that the Plague were at *Northampton* or *Barwicke*, then at *London*, so neere *Westminster*, the Seate of my Habitation, and of my Wife and Children? Will not a Man be more carefull to quench the Fire taken in his neereft Neighbours House, then if a whole Towne were a Fire farre from him? You know that I am carefull to preserve the Woods and Game through all *England*, nay, through all the Isle: yet none of you doubts, but that I would bee more offended with any Disorder in the Forrest of *Waltham*, for stealing of a Stagge there, which lieth as it were under my Nose, and in a Maner joyneth with my Garden, then with cutting of Timber, or stealing of a Deare in any Forrest of the North Parts of *Yorkefbire* or the Bishopricke. Thinke you that I will preferre them that be absent, lesse powerfull, and farther off to doe me Good or Hurt, before you, with whome my Securitie and Living must be, and where I desire to plant my Posteritie? If I might by any such Favours raise my selfe to a Greatnesse, it might bee probable: All I cannot draw, and to lose a whole State here to please a few there, were Madnesse. I need speake no more of this with Protestations. Speake but of Wit, it is not likely: and to doubt of my Intention in this, were more then devilish.

For mine owne Part, I offer more then I receive, and Conveniencie I preferre before Law, in this Poynt. For three Parts, wherein I might hurt this Nation, by Partialitie to the *Scots*, you know do absolutely lie in my Hands and Power: for either in Disposition of Rents, or whatsoever Benefit,
or

or in the preferring of them to any Dignitie or Office, Civill or Ecclesiasticall, or in Calling them to the Parliament, it doeth all fully and onely lie within the Compasse of my Prerogative, which are the Parts wherein the *Scottish* Men can receive either Benefite or Preferment by the Union, and wherein for the Care I have of this People, I am content to binde my selfe with some reasonable Restrictions.

As for the fourth Part, the naturalizing, which onely lieth in your Hands; It is the Poynt wherein they receive least Benefit of any: for in that they can obtaine nothing, but what they buy by their Purse, or acquire by the selfe same Meanes that you do. And as for the Point of Naturalizing, which is the Poynt thought so fit, and so precisely belonging to Parliament: not to speake of the Common Lawe, wherein as yet I can professe no great Knowledge, but in the Civill Law wherein I am a litle beter versed, and which in the Point of Conjunction of Nations should beare a great Sway: it being the Law of Nations: I will mainteine two Principles in it, which no learned and grave Civilian wil deny, as being clearly to be proved, both out of the Text it selfe in many Places, and also out of the best approved Doctours and Interpreters of that Law, The one, that it is a speciall Poynt of the Kings owne Prerogative, to make Aliens and Citizens, and *donare Civitate*, The other, that in any Case wherein the Law is thought not to be cleare (as some of your selves do doubt, that in this Case of the *post nati*, the Law of *England* doth not clearely determine) then in such a Question wherein no positive Law is resolute, *Rex est Judex*, for he is *Lex loquens*, and is to supply the Law, where the Law wants, and if many famous Histories be to be beleaved, they give the Example for mainteining of this Law in the Persons of the Kings of *England* and *France* especially, whose speciall Prerogative they alledge it to be. But this I speake only as knowing what belongeth to a King, although in this Case I presse no further then that which may agree with your Loves, and stand with the Weale and Conveniencie of both Nations.

And whereas some may thinke this Union will bring prejudice to some Townes and Corporations within *England*: It may be, a Merchant or two of *Bristow*, or *Yarmouth*, may have an hundred Pounds lesse in his Packe. But if the Empire gaine, and become the greater, it is no Matter: You see one Corporation is ever against another, and no private Companie can be set up, but with some Losse to another.

Fourth, For the supposed Inconveniencies rising from *Scotland*, they are three. First, that there is an evill Affection in the *Scottish* Nation to the Union. Next, the Union is incompatible betweene two such Nations. Thirdly, that the Gaine is small or none. If this be so, to what End doe we talke of an Union? For Proove of the first Point, there is alledged an Averseness in the *Scottish* Nation expressed in the Instrument, both in the Preface and Body of their Act; In the Preface, where they declare, That they will remaine an absolute and free Monarchie; and in the Body of the Acte, where they make an Exception of the ancient fundamentall Lawes of that Kingdome. And first for the generall of their Averseness, All the maine
Current

Current in your Lower House ranne this whole Session of Parliament with that Opinion, That *Scotland* was so greedy of this Union, and apprehended that they should receive so much Benefit by it, as they cared not for the Strictnesse of any Conditions, so they might attaine to the Substance: And yet you now say, they are backwards and averse from the Union. This is a direct Contradiction *in adjecto*: For, how can they both bee Beggars and backwards, in one and the selfe same Thing, at the same Time?

But for Answer to the Particulars, it is an old Schoole Point, *Ejus est explicare, cujus est condere*. You cannot interpret their Lawes, nor they yours; I that made them with their Assent, can best expound them.

And first I confesse, that the *English* Parliaments are so long, and the *Scottish* so short, that a Meane betweene them would do well: For the Shortnesse of their continuing together, was the Cause of their hastie mistaking, by setting these Wordes of Exception of fundamentall Lawes in the Body of the Acte, which they onely did in pressing to imitate Word by Word the *English* Instrument, wherein the same Words be contained in your Preface. And as to their Meaning and Interpretation of that Word, I will not onely deliver it unto you out of mine owne Concept, but as it was delivered unto mee by the best Lawyers of *Scotland*, both Counsellours and other Lawyers, who were at the making thereof in *Scotland*, and were Commissioners here for Performance of the same.

Their Meaning in the Word of fundamentall Lawes, you shall perceive more fully hereafter, when I handle the Objection of the Difference of Lawes: For they intend thereby onely those Lawes whereby Confusion is avoyded, and their Kings Descent maintained, and the Heritage of the Succession and Monarchie, which hath bene a Kingdome, to which I am in Descent, 300 Yeeres before CHRIST: Not meaning it, as you doe, of their Common Law, for they have none, but that which is called *Jus Regis*: and their Desire of continuing a free Monarchie, was onely meant, that al such particular Priviledges (whereof I spake before) should not bee so confounded, as for Want either of Magistrate, Law, or Order, they might fall in such a Confusion, as to become like a naked Province, without Law or Libertie under this Kingdome. I hope you meane not I should set Garrisons over them, as the *Spaniards* doe over *Sicily* and *Naples*, or governe them by Commissioners, which are seldome found succeedingly all wise and honest Men.

This I must say for *Scotland*, and I may truely vaunt it: Here I sit and governe it with my Pen, I write and it is done, and by a Clarke of the Councell I governe *Scotland* now, which others could not doe by the Sword. And for their Averseness in their Heart against the Union, it is true indeede, I protest they did never crave this Union of mee, nor sought it either in private, or the State by Letters, nor ever once did any of that Nation presse me forward or with me to accelerate that Businesse. But on the other Part, they offered alwayes to obey mee when it should come to them, and all honest Men that desire my Greatnesse have beene thus minded, for the personall Reverence and Regard they beare unto my Person, and any of my reasonable and just Desires.

I know

I know there are many *Piggots* amongst them, I meane a Number of seditious and discontented particular Persons, as must be in all Common-wealths, that where they dare, may peradventure talke lewdly enough: but no *Scottish* Man ever spake dishonourably of *England* in Parliament. For here must I note unto you the Difference of the two Parliaments in these two Kingdomes; for there they must not speake without the Chauncellors Leave, and if any Man doe propound or utter any seditious or uncomely Speeches, he is straight interrupted and silenced by the Chauncellors Authoritie: where as here, the Libertie for any Man to speake what hee list, and as long as he list, was the onely Cause hee was not interrupted.

It hath bin objected, that there is a great Antipathy of the Lawes and Customes of these two Nations. It is much mistaken: for *Scotland* hath no Common Law as here, but the Law they have is of three Sorts.

All the Lawe of *Scotland* for Tenures, Wards and Liveries, Seigniories and Lands, are drawn out of the Chauncerie of *England*, and for Matters of Equitie and in many Things else, differs from you but in certaine Termes. *James* the First, bred here in *England*, brought the Lawes thither in a written Hand. The second is Statute Lawes, which be their Acts of Parliament, wherein they have Power as you, to make and alter Lawes: and those may be looked into by you, for I hope you shall be no more Strangers to that Nation. And the principall Worke of this Union will be, to reconcile the Statute Lawes of both Kingdomes. The third is the Civill Law. *James* the First brought it out of *France* by establishing the Session there, according to the Forme of the Court of Parliament of *Fraunce*, which he had seene in the Time of his being there: who occupie there the Place of Civil Judges in all Matters of Plee or Controversie, yet not to governe absolutely by the Civill Law as in *France*. For if a Man plead that the Law of the Nation is otherwise, it is a Barre to the Civill, and a good Chauncellor or President, will oftentimes repell and put to Silence an Argument that the Lawyers brings out of the Civill Lawe, where they have a cleare Solution in their owne Lawe. So as the Civill Law in *Scotland* is admitted in no other Cases, but to supply such Cases wherein the Municipall Law is defective. Then may you see it is not so hard a Matter as is thought, to reduce that Countrey to bee united with you under this Law, which neither are subject to the Civill Lawe, nor yet have any olde Common Law of their owne, but such as in Effect is borrowed from yours. And for their Statute Lawes in Parliament, you may alter and change them as oft as Occasion shall require, as you doe here. It hath likewise beene objected as an other Impediment, that in the Parliament of *Scotland* the King hath not a Negative Voice, but must passe all the Lawes agreed on by the Lords and Commons. Of this I can best resolve you: for I am the eldest Parliament Man in *Scotland*, and have sit in more Parliaments then any of my Predecessors. I can assure you, that the Forme of Parliament there, is nothing inclined to Popularitie. About a twentie Dayes or such a Time before the Parliament, Proclamation is made throughout the Kingdome, to deliver in to the Kings Clearke of Register (whome you heere call the Master of the Rolles) all Bills to bee exhibited that Session before

before a certaine Day. Then are they brought unto the King, and perused and considered by him, and onely such as I allow of are put into the Chancellors Hands to bee propounded to the Parliament, and none others; and if any Man in Parliament speake of any other Matter then is in this Forme first allowed by me, the Chancellor tells him there is no such Bill allowed by the King.

Besides, when they have passed them for Lawes, they are presented unto mee, and I with my Scepter put into my Hand by the Chancellor, must say, *I ratifie and approve all Things done in this present Parliament.* And if there bee any Thing that I dislike, they rase it out before. If this may bee called a Negative Voyce, then I have one I am sure in that Parliament.

The last Impediment is the *French* Liberties: which is thought so great, as except the *Scots* forsake *Fraunce*, *England* cannot bee united to them. If the *Scottish* Nation would bee so unwilling to leave them as is said, it would not lye in their Hands. For the League was never made betweene the People, as is mistaken, but betwixt the PRINCES onely and their Crownes. The Beginning was by a Message from a King of *Fraunce*, *Charlemaine* I take it (but I cannot certainly remember) unto a King of *Scotland*, for a League defensive and offensive betweene us and them against *England*, *Fraunce* being at that Time in Warres with *England*.

The like at that Time was then desired by *England* against *Fraunce*, who also sent their Embassadours to *Scotland*. At the first, the Disputation was long maintained in Favour of *England*, that they beeing our neereft Neighbours joyned in one Continent, and a strong and powerfull Nation, it was more fitte for the Weale and Securitie of the State of *Scotland*, to bee in League and Amitie with them, then with a Countrey, though never so strong, yet divided by Sea from us: especially *England* lying betwixt us and them, where we might be sure of a suddaine Mischiefe, but behooved to abide the Hazard of Wind and Weather, and other Accidents that might hinder our Reliefe.

But after, when the contrarie Part of the Argument was maintained: wherein Allegation was made, that *England* ever sought to conquer *Scotland*, and therefore in regarde of their pretended Interest in the Kingdome, would never keepe any sound Amitie with them longer, then they saw their Advantage; whereas *France* lying more remote and clayming no Interest in the Kingdome, would therefore bee found a more constant and faithfull Friend: It was unhappily concluded in Favour of the last Partie; through which Occasion *Scotland* gate many Mischiefes after. And it is by the very Tenour thereof ordered to be renewed and confirmed from King to King successively, which accordingly was ever performed by the Mediation of their Ambassadours, and therefore meerely personall, and so was it renewed in the QUEENE my Mothers Time, onely betweene the two Kings, and not by Assent of Parliament, or Convention of the three Estates, which it could never have wanted if it had beene a League between the People. And in my Time when it came to bee ratified, because it appeared to bee in *odium tertii*, it was by me left unrenewed or confirmed as a Thing incompatible to

my Person, in Consideration of my Title to this Crowne. Some Priviledges indeede in the Merchants Favour for Point of Commerce, were renewed and confirmed in my Time: wherein for my Part of it, there was scarce three Counsellours more then my Secretarie, to whose Place it belonged, that medled in that Matter.

It is true, that it behooved to be enterined, as they call it, in the Court of Parliament of *Paris*: but that onely serves for Publication, and not to give it Authoritie: That Parliament (as you know) being but a judicall Seate of Judges and Lawyers, and nothing agreeing with the Definition or Office of our Parliaments in this Isle. And therefore that any Fruites or Priviledges possessed by the League with *Fraunce* is able now to remaine in *Scotland*, is impossible. For yee may be sure, that the *French* King stayes onely upon the Sight of the ending of this Union, to cut it off himselfe. Otherwise when this great Worke were at an End, I would be forced for the generall Care I owe to all my Subjects, to crave of *France* like Priviledges to them all as *Scotland* alreadie enjoyes, seeing the personall Friendship remaines as great betweene us as between our Progenitors; and all my Subjects must be alike deare unto mee; which either he will never grant, and so all will fall to the Ground; or else it will turne to the Benefite of the whole Island: and so the *Scottish* Priviledges cannot hold longer then my League with *France* lasteth.

And for another Argument to proove that this League is only betwene the Kings, and not between the People: They which have Pensions, or are privie Intelligence Givers in *France* without my Leave, are in no better Case by the Law of *Scotland*, then if they were Pensioners to *Spaine*.

As for the *Scottish* Guard in *France*, the Beginning thereof was, when an Earle of *Boghan* was sent in Aide of the *French* with tenne thousand Men, and there being made Constable, and having obtained a Victorie, was murdered with the most of the *Scottish* Armie. In Recompence whereof, and for a future Securitie to the *Scottish* Nation, the *Scottish* Guard was ordeined to have the Priviledge and Prerogative before all other Guards in guarding the Kings Person.

And as for the last Point of this Subdivision concerning the Gaine that *England* may make by this Union, I thinke no wise nor honest Man will aske any such Question. For who is so ignorant, that doeth not know the Gaine will bee great? Doe you not gaine by the Union of *Wales*? And is not *Scotland* greater then *Wales*? Shall not your Dominions bee encreased of Landes, Seas, and Persons added to your Greatnesse? And are not your Landes and Seas adjoyning? For who can set downe the Limits of the Borders, but as a Mathematicall Line or *Idea*? Then will that Backe Doore bee shut, and those Portes of *Janus* bee for ever closed: you shall have them that were your Enemies to molest you, a sure Backe to defend you: their Bodies shall be your Aides, and they must be Partners in all your Quarels: Two Snow-Balls put together, make one the greater: Two Houses joyned, make one the larger: two Castle Walles made in one, makes one as thicke and strong as both. And doe you not see in the Low Countreys how availeable the *English* and the *Scottish* are being joyned together? This is a Point

plaine, as no Man that hath Wit or Honestie, but must acknowledge it feelingly.

And where it is objected that the *Scottish* Men are not tyed to the Service of the King in the Warres above forty Dayes; It is an ignorant mistaking. For the Trueth is, That in respect the Kings of *Scotland* did not so abound in Treasure and Money to take up an Armie under Pay, as the Kings of *England* did; Therefore was the *Scottish* Army wont to bee rayfed onely by Proclamation, upon the Penaltie of their Breach of Alleagance; So as they were all forced to come to the Warre like Snailes who carry their House about with them; Every Nobleman and Gentleman bringing with him their Tents, Money, Provision for their House, Victuals of all Sorts, and all other Necessaries, the King supplying them of nothing: Necessitie thereupon enforcing a Warning to be given by the Proclamation of the Space of their Attendance, without which they could not make their Provision accordingly, especially as long as they were within the Bounds of *Scotland*, where it was not lawfull for them to helpe themselves by the Spoile or Wasting of the Countrey. But neither is there any Law prescribing precisely such a certaine Number of Dayes, nor yet is it without the Limits of the King's Power to keepe them together, as many more Dayes as hee list, to renew his Proclamations from Time to Time some reasonable Number of Dayes, before the expiring of the former, they being ever bound to serve and waite upon him, though it were an hundredth Yeere if need were.

Now to conclude, I am glad of this Occasion, that I might *Liberare animam meam*; You are now to recede: when you meete againe, remember I pray you, the Trueth and Sincerity of my Meaning, which in seeking Union, is onely to advance the Greatnesse of your Empire seated here in *England*, And yet with such Caution I wish it, as may stand with the Weale of both States. What is now desired, hath oft before bene sought when it could not bee obtained: To refuse it now then, were double Iniquitie. Strengthen your owne Felicitie, LONDON must be the Seate of your King, and *Scotland* joyned to this Kingdome by a golden Conquest, but cymented with Love, (as I said before) which within will make you strong against all civill and intestine Rebellion, as without we will bee compassed and guarded with our Walles of Brasse. Judge mee charitably, since in this I seeke your equall Good, that so both of you might be made fearefull to your Enemies, powerfull in your selves, and availeable to your Friendes. Studie therefore hereafter to make a good Conclusion, avoyd all Delayes, cut off all vaine Questions, that your King may have his lawfull Desire, and be not disgraced in his just Endes. And for your Securitie in such reasonable Points of Restrictions, whereunto I am to agree, ye need never doubt of my Inclination: For I will not say any Thing which I will not promise, nor promise any Thing which I will not sweare; what I sweare I will signe, and what I signe, I shall with Gods Grace ever performe.

An Apology for Actors. Containing three briefe Treatises.

1. Their Antiquity. 2. Their ancient Dignity. 3. The true Use of their Quality.

Written by THOMAS HEYWOOD. 1612.

Et prodesse solent & delectare——

To the Right Honourable EDWARD, Earle of WORCESTER,
Lord of *Chepstoll*, *Ragland*, and *Gower*, Knight of the most Noble
Order of the Garter, Maister of the Horse, and one of the KINGS
most Honourable Privy Councel.

K Nowing all the Vertues and Endowments of Nobility, which florish
in their Height of Eminence in your Ancestors, now, as by a divine
Legacy, and lineall Inheritance, to survive in you; and so conse-
quently from you, to your truly ennobled Issue. (Right Honourable) I pre-
sumed to publish this unworthy Worke under your gracious Patronage: first,
as an Acknowledgment of that Duty I am bound to you in, as a Servant.
Next, assured that your most judicall Censure is as able to approve what
therein is authentike and good, as your noble and accustomed Modesty will
charitably connive: if there be any thing therein unworthy your learned Ap-
probaton. I have striv'd (my Lord) to make good a Subject, which many
through Envy, but most through Ignorance, have sought violently, and (be-
yond Merit) to oppugne: in which, if they have either wandred through
Spleene, or erred by Non-knowledge, I have (to my Power) plainly and
freely illustrated, propounding a true, direct, and faithfull Discourse, touch-
ing the Antiquity, the ancient Dignity, and the true Use of Actors, and their
Quality. If my Industry herein be by the common Adversary harshly re-
ceived, but by your Honour charitably censured, I have from the Injudicious
(whom I esteeme not) but what I expect: but from your Lordship (whom I
ever reverence) more then I can merit.

Your Honours humbly devoted,

THOMAS HEYWOOD.

To my good Friends and Fellowes, the *Citty-Actors*.

OUT of my busiest Houres, I have spared my selfe so much Time as to touch
some Particulars concerning us, to approve our Antiquity, ancient Dignity,
and the true Use of our Quality. That it hath beene ancient, we have derived
it from more then two thousand Yeeres agoe, successively to this Age. That it
hath

hath been esteemed by the best and greatest: to omit all the noble Patrons of the former World, I need alledge no more then the Royall and Princely Services, in which we now live. That the Use thereof is authentique, I have done my Endeavour to instance by History, and approve by Authority. To excuse my Ignorance in affecting no Florish of Eloquence, to set a Glosse upon my Treatise, I have nothing to say for my selfe but this: A good Face needs no Painting, and a good Cause no abetting. Some over-curious have too liberally taxed us: and bee (in my Thoughts) is held worthy Reproofe, whose Ignorance cannot answere for it selfe: I hold it more honest for the Guiltlesse to excuse, then the Envious to exclaime. And we may as freely (out of our Plainnesse) answere, as they (out of their Perversnesse object) instancing my selfe by famous Scalliger, learned Doctor Gager, Doctor Gentiles, and others, whose Opinions and approved Arguments on our Part, I have in my brieve Discourse altogether omitted; because I am loath to bee taxed in borrowing from others: and besides, their Workes being extant to the World, offer themselves freely to every Mans Perusall. I am profest Adversary to none, I rather covet Reconcilement, then Opposition, nor proceedes this my Labour from any Envy in me, but rather to shew them wherein they erre. So wishing you judicall Audiences, honest Poets, and true Gatherers, I commit you all to the Fulnesse of your best Wishes.

Yours ever,

T. H.

To the Judiciall READER.

I Have undertooke a Subject (curteous Reader) not of sufficient Countenance to bolster it selfe by his owne Strength; and therefore have charitably reached it my Hand to support it against any succeeding Adversary. I could willingly have committed this Worke to some more able then my selfe: for the Weaker the Combatant, he needeth the stronger Armes. But in Extremities, I hold it better to weare rusty Armour, then to goe naked; yet if these weake Habilliments of Warre, can but buckler it from Part of the rude Buffets of our Adversaries, I shall hold my Paines sufficiently guerdoned. My Pen hath seldome appeared in Presse till now, I have beene ever too jealous of mine owne Weaknesse, willingly to thrust into the Presse: nor had I at this Time, but that a Kinde of Necessity enjoyned me to so sadden a Businesse. I will neither shew my selfe over-presumptuous, in skorning thy Favour, nor too importunate a Beggar, by too servilly intreating it. What thou art content to bestow upon my Pains, I am content to accept: if good Thoughts, they are all I desire: if good Words, they are more then I deserve: if bad Opinion, I am sorry I have incurr'd it: if evil Language, I know not how I have merited it: if any Thing, I am pleased: if nothing, I am satisfied, contenting my selfe with this: I have done no more then (had I beene called to account) shewed what I could say in the Defence of my owne Quality.

Thine

T. HEYWOOD.

Firma valent per se, nullumq; Machaona querunt.

An

An Apology for Actors; and first touching their Antiquity.

MOoved by the sundry Exclamations of many seditious Sectists in this Age, who in the Fatnes and Ranknes of a peaceable Commonwealth, grow up like unsavory Tufts of Grasse, which though outwardly greene and fresh to the Eye, yet are they both unpleasant and unprofitable, beeing too sower for Food, and too ranke for Fodder: These Men like the antient *Germans*, affecting no Fashion but their owne, would draw other Nations to bee Slovens like them-selves, and undertaking to purifie and reforme the sacred Bodies of the Church and Common-weale (In the trew Use of both which they are altogether Ignorant) would but like artlesse Phisitions, for Experiment Sake, rather minister Pils to poyson the whole Body then Cordials to preserve any or the least Part. Amongst many other Thinges tollerated in this peaceable and flourishing State, it hath pleased the high and mighty Princes of this Land to limit the Use of certaine publicke Theaters, which since many of these over-curious Heads have lavishly and violently slandered, I hold it not a misse to lay open some few Antiquities to approve the true Use of them, with Arguments (not of the least Moment) which according to the Weaknes of my Spirit and Infancy of my Judgment I will (by God's Grace) commit to the Eyes of all favorable and judiciall Readers, as well to satisfie the Requests of some of our well qualified Favorers, as to stop the envious Acclamations of those who challenge to them-selves a priviledge Invective, and against all free Estates a railing Liberty: Loath am I (I protest) being the youngest and weakest of the Nest wherin I was hatcht, to soare this Pitch before others of the same Brood more fledge, and of better Winge then my selfe: but though they whome more especially this Taske concernes, both for their Ability in Writing and Sufficiency in Judgement (as their Workes generally witnesse to the World :) are content to over-slip so necessary a Subject, and have left it as to mee the most unworthy: I thought it better to stammer out my Mind, then not to speake at all; to scribe downe a Marke in the stead of writing a Name, and to stumble on the Way, rather then to stand still and not to proceede on so necessary a Journey. *Nox erat, & somnus lassos submitit ocellos.*

It was about that Time of the Night when Darknes had already overspread the World, and a Husht and generall Sylence posselt the Face of the Earth, and Mens Bodyes tyred with the Businesse of the Day, betaking themselves to their best Repose, their never-sleeping Soules labored in uncoth Dreames and Visions, when suddenly appeared to me the Tragicke Muse *Melpomene*

— *animosa Tragedia.*

— *& movit pictis imixa Coturnis*

Densum Cesarie, terque quaterque Caput.

Her Heyre rudely disheveled, her Chaplet withered, her Visage with Teares stayned, her Brow furrowed, her Eyes dejected, nay her whole Complexion quite faded and altered: and perusing her Habit, I might behold the Colour
of

of her fresh Roabe all Crimson, breathed, and with the invenomed Juice of some prophane spilt Inke in every Place stained: nay more, her Busken of all the wonted Jewels and Ornaments, utterly despoyled: about which, in Manner of a Garter, I might behold these Letters written in a playne and large Character.

*Behold my Tragick Buskin rent and torne,
Which Kings and Emperors in their Tymes have worne.*

This I no sooner had perus'd, but suddenly I might perceave the intraged Muse, cast up her skornfull Head: Her Eye-balls sparkle Fire, and a suddain Flash of Disdaine, intermixt with Rage, purple her Cheeke. When pacing with a majesticke Gate and rowling up her fresh Spirits with a lively and queint Action, shee began in these or the like Words.

*Grande sonant tragici, tragicos decet Ira Colburnos.
Am I Melpomene the buskend Muse,
That held in awe the Tyrants of the World,
And playde their Lives in publicke Theaters,
Making them feare to sinne, since fearelesse I
Prepar'd to wryte their Lives in Crimson Inke,
And act their Shames in Eye of all the World?
Have not I whipt Vice with a Scourge of Steele,
Unmaskt sterne Murther; sham'd lascivious Lust.
Pluckt off the Visar from grimme Treasons Face,
And made the Sunne point at their ugly Sinnes?
Hath not this powerfull Hand tam'd fiery Rage,
Kild poysonous Envy with her owne keene Darts,
Choak't up their covetous Mouth with moulten Gold,
Burst the vast Wombe of eating Gluttony,
And drown'd the Drunkards Gall in Juice of Grapes?
I have showed Pryde his Picture on a Stage,
Layde ope the ugly Shapes his Steele-Glasse bid,
And made him passe thence meekely: In those Daies
When Emperours with their Presence grac't my Sceanes,
And thought none worthy to present themselves
Save Emperours: to delight Embassadours.
Then did this Garland flourish, then my Roabe
Was of the deepest Crimson, the best Dye:
Cura Ducum fuerant olim regumque poetæ.
Premiaque Antiqui magna tulere Chori
Who lodge them in the Bosome of great Kings.
Save he that had a grave Cothurnate Muse.
A stately Verse in an Iambick Stile
Became a Kesar's Mouth. Ob these were Times
Fit for you Bards to vent your golden Rymes,
Then did I tread on Arras, Cloth of Tissue,
Hung round the Fore-front of my Stage: the Pillers*

That

*That did support the Roofe of my large Frame.
 Double apparrell'd in pure Ophir Gold:
 Whilst the round Circle of my spacious Orbe
 Was throng'd with Princes, Dukes and Senators.
 Nunc Hederæ sine Honore jacent.
 But now's the Iron Age, and black-mouth'd Currës,
 Barke at the Vertues of the former World.
 Such with thei'r Breath have blasted my fresh Roabe,
 Pluckt at my flowry Chaplet, tow'rd my Tresses.
 Nay some whom for their Basenesse hist and scorn'd
 The Stage, as loathsome, bath long-since spued out,
 Have watcht their Time to cast invenom'd Inke
 To stayne my Garments with: Oh Seneca
 Thou Tragicke Poet, badst thou liv'd to see
 This Outrage done to sad Melpomene,
 With such sharpe Lynes thou wouldst revenge my Blot,
 As Armed Ovid against Ibis wrot.*

With that in Rage shee left the Place, and I my Dreame, for at the Instant
 I awaked, when having perused this Vision over and over againe in my Re-
 membrance, I suddenly bethought mee, How many antient Poets, Tragicke
 and Comicke, dying many Ages agoe live still amongst us in their Works;
 as amongst the Greekes, *Euripides, Menander, Sophocles, Eupolis, Eschilus,*
Aristophanes, Apollodorus, Anaxandrides, Nichomachus, Alexis, Tereus, and
 others; so among the Latins: *Attilius, Aelius, Melithus, Plautus, Terens,*
 and others whome for Brevity Sake I omit.

*Hos Ediscit & hos arcto stipata Theatro
 Spectat Roma potens habet hos, numeratque Poetas.
 These potent Rome acquires and boldeth deare.
 And in their round Theaters flocks to heare.*

These or any of these had they lived in the Afternoone of the World, as they
 dyed even in the Morning, I assure my selfe wold have left more memorable
 Tropheys of that learned Muse, whome in their golden Numbers they so
 richly adorned. And amongst our moderne Poets, who have bene industrious
 in many an elaborate and ingenious Poem, even they whose Pennes have had
 the greatest Trafficke with the Stage, have bene in the Excuse of these Muses
 most forgetfull. But leaving these, lest I make too large a Head to a small
 Body, and so mishape my Subject, I will begin with the Antiquity of acting
 Comedies, Tragedies, and Hystories. And first in the golden World.

In the first of the *Olimpiads*, amongst many other active Exercises in which
Hercules ever triumph'd as Victor, there was in his Nonage presented unto
 him by his Tutor in the Fashion of a History, acted by the Choyse of the
 Nobility of *Greece*, the worthy and memorable Acts of his Father *Jupiter*.
 Which being personated with lively and well-spirited Action, wrought such
 Impression in his noble Thoughts, that in meere Emulation of his Fathers
 Valor

Valor (not at the Behest of his Stepdame *Juno*) he performed his twelve Labours: Him valiant *Theseus* followed, and *Achilles*, *Theseus*. Which bred in them such hawty and magnanimous Attempts, that every succeeding Age hath recorded their Worths, unto fresh Admiration. *Aristotle* that Prince of Philosophers, whose Bookes carry such Credit, even in these our Universities, that to say *Ipse dixit* is a sufficient *Axioma*, hee having the Tuition of young *Alexander*, caused the Destruction of *Troy* to be acted before his Pupill, in which the Valor of *Achilles* was so naturally exprest, that it imprest the Hart of *Alexander*, in so much that all his succeeding Actions were meerly shaped after that Patterne, and it may be imagined had *Achilles* never lived, *Alexander* had never conquered the whole World. The like Assertion may be made of that ever-renowned Roman *Julius Caesar*; who, after the like Representation of *Alexander* in the Temple of *Hercules* standing in *Gades*, was never in any Peace of Thoughts, till by his memorable Exploits, hee had purchas'd to himselfe the Name of *Alexander*: as *Alexander* till hee thought himselfe of Desert to be called *Achilles*: *Achilles* *Theseus*, *Theseus* till he had sufficiently imitated the Acts of *Hercules*, and *Hercules* till hee held himselfe worthy to be called the Son of *Jupiter*. Why should not the Lives of these Worthies, presented in these our Dayes, effect the like Wonders in the Princes of our Times, which can no Way bee so exquisitely demonstrated, nor so lively portrayed as by Action: Oratory is a Kind of a speaking Picture, therefore may some say, is it not sufficient to discourse to the Eares of Princes the Fame of these Conquerors: Painting likewise, is a dumbe Oratory, therefore may we not as well by some curious *Pigmalion*, drawe their Conquests to worke the like Love in Princes towards these Worthies by shewing them their Pictures drawne to the Life, as it wrought on the poore Painter to bee inamored of his owne Shadow? I answer this.

*Non magis expressi vultus per ahenia signa
Quam per vatis opus, mores animique virorum
Clarorum apparent. ———*

*The Visage is no better cut in Brasse,
Nor can the Carver so expresse the Face
As doth the Poets Penne whose Arts surpasse,
To give Mens Lives and Vertues their due Grace.*

A Description is only a Shadow received by the Eare but not perceived by the Eye: so lively Portrature is meerely a Forme seene by the Eye, but can neither shew Action, Passion, Motion, or any other Gesture, to moove the Spirits of the Beholder to Admiration: but to see a Souldier shap'd like a Souldier, walke, speake, act like a Souldier: to see a *Hector* all besmured in Blood, trampling upon the Bulkes of Kinges. A *Troilus* returning from the Field in the Sight of his Father *Priam* as if Man and Horse even from the Steeds rough Fetlockes to the Plume in the Champions Helmet had bene together plunged into a purple Ocean: To see a *Pompey* ride in Triumph, then a *Caesar* conquer that *Pompey*: labouring *Hanniball* alive, hewing his Passage

through the *Alpes*. To see as I have seene, *Hercules* in his owne Shape hunting the Boare, knocking downe the Bull, taming the Hart, fighting with *Hydra*, murdering *Gerion*, slaughtering *Diomed*, wounding the *Stimphalides*, killing the Centaurs, pashing the Lyon, squeezing the Dragon, dragging *Cerberus* in Chaynes, and lastly, on his high Pyramides writing *Nil ultra*, oh these were Sights to make an *Alexander*.

To turne to our domesticke Hystories, what *English* Blood seeing the Person of any bold *English* Man presented and doth not hugge his Fame, and hunnye at his Valor, pursuing him in his Enterprise with his best Wishe, and as beeing wrapt in Contemplation, offers to him in his Hart all prosperous Performance, as if the Personater were the Man personated, so bewitching a Thing is lively and well spirited Action, that it hath Power to new Mold the Harts of the Spectators and fashion them to the Shape of any noble and notable Attempt. What Coward to see his Countryman valiant would not bee ashamed of his owne Cowardise? What *English* Prince should hee behold the true Portrature of that famous King *Edward* the Third, foraging *France*, taking so great a King Captive in his owne Country, quartering the *English* Lyons with the *French* Flower-delyce, and would not bee suddenly inflam'd with so royall a Spectacle, being made apt and fit for the like Atchievement. So of *Henry* the Fifth: but not to be tedious in any Thing. *Ovid* in one of his Poems holds this Opinion, that *Romulus* was the first that broght Plaies into *Italy*, which he thus sets downe.

De Arte A-
mandi, I.

*Primum sollicitos fecisti Romule Ludos.
Cum jurit viduos rapta Sabina viros
Tunc neque marmorea pendebant vela Theatro, &c.*

Which we *English* thus:

*Thou noble Romulus first Playes contrives,
To get thy widdowed Souldiers Sabine Wyves.
In those Dayes from the Marble House did wave
No Saile, no silken Flagge, or Ensigne brave.
Then was the Tragicke Stage not painted red,
Or any mixed Staines on Pillers spread.
Then did the Sceane want Art, th' unready Stage
Was made of Grasse and Earth in that rude Age:
About the which were thicke-leav'd Branches placed,
Nor did the Audients hold themselves disgraced
Of Turfe and heathy Sods to make their Seates,
Fram'd in Degrees of Earth, and mossy Peates.
Thus plac'd in Order, every Roman pry'd
Into her Face that sate next by his Side;
And closing with her severally gan move,
The innocent Sabine Woman to their Love:
And whil'st the Piper Thuscus rudely plaid,
And by thrice stamping with his Foote had made*

*A Signe unto the rest, there was a Shout,
Whose shrill Report pierst all the Aire about.
Now at a Signe of Rape given from the King,
Round through the House the lusty Romans fling,
Leaving no Corner of the same unsought,
Till every one a frightened Virgin caught.
Looke as the trembling Dove the Eagle flies,
Or a young Lambe when he the Wolfe espyes;
So ran the poore Girles, filling th' Aire with Skreekes,
Emptying of all the Colour their pale Cheekes.
One Feare possesst them all, but not one Looke,
This teares her Haire, she; bath her Wits forsooke.
Some sadly sit, some on their Mothers call,
Some chafe, some flye, some stay, but frightened all.
Thus were the ravish'd Sabines blushing led
(Becoming Shame) unto each Romans Bed.
If any striv'd against it, streight her Man
Would take her on his Knee (whom Feare made wan)
And say; why weep'st thou sweet? what ailes my deere?
Dry up these Drops, these Clouds of Sorrow cleere.
I'll be to thee, if thou thy Griefe will smother,
Such as thy Father was unto thy Mother.
Full well could Romulus his Souldiers please,
To give them such faire Mistresses as these.
If such rich Wages thou wilt give to me,
Great Romulus, thy Souldier I will be.*

Romulus having erected the Walles of *Rome*, and leading under him a warlike Nation, being in continuall Warre with the *Sabines*, after the choyce selecting of a Place, fit for so famous a Citty, and not knowing how to people the same, his Traine wholly consisting of Souldiers, who without the Company of Women (they not having any in their Army) could not multiply; but so were likely that their immortall Fames should dye issueleffe with their mortall Bodies. Thus therefore *Romulus* devised; After a Parle and Attonement made with the neighbour Nations, hee built a Theater, plaine, according to the Time; yet large, fit for the Entertainement of so great an Assembly, and these were they whose famous Issue peopled the Cittie of *Rome*, which in after Ages grew to such Height, that not *Troy*, founded by *Dardanus*, *Carthage* layed by *Dido*, *Tyrus* built by *Agenor*, *Memphis* made by *Ogdous*, *Thebes* feated by *Cadmus*, nor *Babylon* reared by *Semiramis*, were any way equal to this Situation grounded by *Romulus*: to which all the discovered Kingdomes of the Earth after became Tributaries. And in the Noone-tide of their Glory, and Height of all their Honor, they edified Theaters, and Amphi-theaters: for in their flourishing Common-weale, their publike Comedians and Tragedians most florished, insomuch that the Tragicke and Comicke Poets, were all generally admired of the People, and particularly every Man of his private *Mecenas*.

Imperante
Augusto,
natus est
Christus.
Imperante
Tiberio
crucifixus.

In the Reigne of *Augustus* Christ was borne, and as well in his Dayes as before his Birth, these Solemnities were held in the greatest Estimation. In *Julius Cæsars* Time, Predecessor to *Augustus*, the famous hony-tong'd Orator *Cicero* florished; who amongst many other his eloquent Orations, writ certaine yet excellent, for the Comedian *Roscus* (*pro Roscio Comædo*) of whom we shall speake more large hereafter. These continued in their Honour till the Reigne of *Tiberius Cæsar*, and under *Tiberius* Christ was crucified. To this End do I use this Assertion, because in the full and perfect Time our Saviour sojourned on the Earth, even in those happy and peacefull Dayes the spacious Theaters were in the greatest Opinion amongst the *Romans*; yet, neither Christ himselfe, nor any of his sanctified Apostles, in any of their Sermons, Acts, or Documents, so much as named them, or upon any abusive Occasion, touched them. Therefore hence (me thinkes) a very probable and important Argument may be grounded, that since they, in their Divine Wisdomes, knew all the Sinnes abounding in the World before that Time, taxt and reprov'd all the Abuses reigning in that Time, and foresaw all the Actions and Inconveniencies (to the Church prejudiciall) in the Time to come; since they (I say) in all their holy Doctrines, Bookes, and Principles of Divinity, were content to passe them over, as Things tollerated, and indifferent, why should any nice and over-scrupulous Heads, since they cannot ground their Curiousnesse either upon the Old or New Testament, take upon them to correct, controule, and carpe at that, against which they cannot finde any Text in the sacred Scriptures?

In the Time of *Nero Cæsar*, the Apostle *Paul* was persecuted and suffered, *Nero* was then Emperour, *Paul* writ his Epistle to the *Romans*, and at the same Time did the Theaters most flourish amongst the *Romans*; yet where can we quote any Place in his Epistles, which forbids the Church of God, then Resident in *Rome*, to absent themselves from any such Assemblies.

To speake my Opinion with all Indifferency, God hath not enjoyned us to weare all our Apparrell solely to defend the Cold. Some Garments we weare for Warmth, others for Ornament. So did the Children of *Israel* hang Eare-rings in their Eares, nor was it by the Law forbidden them. That Purity is not look't for at our Hands, being mortall and humane, that is required of the Angels, being celestiall and divine. God made us of Earth, Men; knowes our Natures, Dispositions and Imperfections, and therefore hath limited us a Time to rejoyce, as hee hath enjoyned us a Time to mourne for our Transgressions. And I hold them more scrupulous then well advised, that goe about to take from us the Use of all moderate Recreations. Why hath God ordained for Man, Varietie of Meates, Dainties and Delicates, if not to taste thereon? why doth the World yeeld Choyce of honest Pastimes, if not decently to use them? Was not the Hare made to be hunted: the Stagge to be chaced; and so of all other Beasts of Game in their severall Kindes? since God hath provided us of these Pastimes, why may wee not use them to his Glory? Now if you aske me why were not the Theaters as gorgeously built in all other Cities of *Italy* as *Rome*? And why

why are not Play-houses maintained as well in other Cities of *England*, as *London*? my Answer is: It is not meet every meane Esquire should carry the Part belonging to one of the Nobility, or for a Noble-man to usurpe the Estate of a Prince. *Rome* was a Metropolis, a Place whither all the Nations knowne under the Sunne, resorted: so is *London*, and being to receive all Estates, all Princes, all Nations, therefore to afford them all Choyce of Pastimes, Sports, and Recreations: yet were there Theaters in all the greatest Cities of the World, as we will more largely particularize hereafter.

I never yet could read any History of any Common-weale, which did not thrive and prosper while these publike Solemnities were held in Adoration. Oh but (say some) *Marcus Aurelius* banisht all such triviall Exercises beyond the Confines of *Italy*. Indeed this Emperour was a Philosopher of the Sect of *Diogenes*, a Cinicke, and whether the Hand of *Diogenes* would become a Scepter, or a Root better, I leave to your Judgments. This *Aurelius* was a great and sharpe Reprover, who because the Matrons and Ladies of *Rome*, in Scorne of his Person made a Play of him; in his Time, interdicted the Use of their Theaters. So, because his Wife *Faustine* plaid false with him, he generally exclaimed against all Women: because himselfe could not touch an Instrument, he banisht all the Musicians in *Rome*, and being a meere Coward, put all the Gladiators and Sword-Players into Exile. And lest his owne suspected Life should be again acted by the Comedians, as it before had beene by the noble Matrons, he profest himselfe Adversary to all of that Quality, so severe a Reformation of the Weale publike hee used, restraining the Citizens of their free Liberties, which till his Daies was not seene in *Rome*; but what profited this the Weale publicke? Do but peruse the ancient Roman Chronicles, and you shall undoubtedly finde, that from the Time of this precise Emperour, that stately City, whose lofty Buildings crowned seven high Hills at once, and over-peered them all, streight way began to hang the Head, by degrees the forreigne Kingdomes revolted, and the Homage done them by strange Nations, was in a little Space quite abrogated: for they governed all the World, some under Consuls, some under Pro-consuls, Presidents and Pretors, they divided their Dominions and Countreys into Principalities, some into Provinces, some into Toparchyes, some into Tetrarchyes, some into Tribes, others into Ethnarchyes: but now their Homage ceast, *Marcus Aurelius* ended their Mirth, which presaged that shortly after should begin their Sorrow; he banisht their Liberty, and immediatly followed their Bondage. For *Rome*, which till then kept all the Nations of the World in subjective Awe, was in a little Space awd even by the basest Nations of the World. To leave *Italy*, and looke backe into *Greece*, the Sages and Princes of *Grecia*, who for the Refinednesse of their Language, were in such Reputation through the World, that all other Tongues were esteemed barbarous; These that were the first Understanders, trained up their youthfull Nobility to bee Actors, debarring the base Mechanickes so worthy Employment: for none but the yong Heroes were admitted that Practise, so to embolden them in the Delivery of any forraine Embassy. These wise Men of *Greece* (so called by the Oracle) could by their Industry, finde out no neerer or directer Course to plant Hu-

manity

manity and Manners in the Hearts of the Multitude then to instruct them by moralized Myſteries, what Vices to avoyd, what Vertues to embrace; what Enormities to abandon, what Ordinances to obſerve: whoſe Lives (being for ſome ſpeciall Endowments in former Times honoured) they ſhould admire and follow: whoſe vicious Actions (perſonated in ſome licentious Liver) they ſhould deſpiſe and ſhunne: which borne out as well by the Wiſedome of the Poet, as ſupported by the Worth of the Actors, wrought ſuch Impreſſion in the Hearts of the Plebe, that in ſhort Space they excelled in Civility and Government, inſomuch that from them all the neighbour Nations drew their Patternes of Humanity, as well in the eſtabliſhing of their Lawes, as the Reformation of their Manners. Theſe *Magi* and *Gymnoſophiſtæ*, that liv'd (as I may ſay) in the Childhood and Infancy of the World, before it knew how to ſpeake perfectly, thought even in thoſe Dayes, that Action was the neereſt Way to plant Underſtanding in the Hearts of the Ignorant. Yea (but ſay ſome) you ought not to confound the Habits of either Sex, as to let your Boyes weare the Attires of Virgins, &c. To which I anſwere: The Scriptures are not alwayes to be expounded meerely, according to the Letter: (for in ſuch Eſtate ſtands our mayne Sacramentall Controverſie) but they ought exactly to bee conferred with the Purpoſe they handle. To do as the *Sodomites* did, uſe prepoſterous Luſts in prepoſterous Habits, is in that Text flatly and ſeverely forbidden: nor can I imagine any Man, that hath in him any Taſte or Reliſh of Chriſtianity, to be guilty of ſo abhorred a Sinne. Beſides, it is not probable, that Playes were meant in that Text, becauſe we read not of any Playes knowne in that Time that *Deuteronomie* was writ, among the Children of *Iſrael*; nor do I hold it lawfull to beguile the Eyes of the World in confounding the Shapes of either Sex, as to keepe any Youth in the Habit of a Virgin, or any Virgin in the Shape of a Lad, to ſhroud them from the Eyes of their Fathers, Tutors, or Protectors, or to any other ſiniſter Intent whatſoever. But to ſee our Youths attired in the Habit of Women, who knowes not what their Intents be? who cannot diſtinguiſh them by their Names, aſſuredly knowing, they are but to repreſent ſuch a Lady, at ſuch a Time appoynted?

Do not the Universities, the Fountaines and Well-ſprings of all good Arts, Learning and Documents, admit the like in their Colledges? And they (I aſſure my ſelfe) are not ignorant of their true Uſe. In the Time of my Reſidence in *Cambridge*, I have ſeene Tragedyes, Comedyes, Hiſtoryes, Paſtorals and Shewes, publickly acted, in which Graduates of good Place and Reputations have bene ſpecially parted, this is held neceſſary for the emboldening of their junior Schollers, to arme them with Audacity, againſt they come to bee employed in any publicke Exerciſe, as in the reading of the *Dialecticke*, *Rhetoricke*, *Ethicke*, *Mathematicke*, the *Phyſicke*, or *Metaphyſick* Lectures. It teacheth Audacity to the baſhfull Grammarian, beeing newly admitted into the private Colledge, and after matriculated and entred as a Member of the University, and makes him a bold Sophiſter, to argue *pro & contra*, to compoſe his Sillogiſmes, Cathegoricke, or Hypotheticke (ſimple or compound) to reaſon and frame a ſufficient Argument to prove his Queſtions, or to defend

send any *Axioma*, to distinguish of any Dilemma, and be able to moderate in any Argumentation whatsoever.

To come to Rhetoricke, it not onely emboldens a Scholer to speake, but instructs him to speake well, and with Judgement, to observe his Comma's, Colons, and full Poynts, his Parentheses, his breathing Spaces, and Distinctions, to keepe a Decorum in his Countenance, neither to frowne when he should smile, nor to make unseemely and disguised Faces in the Delivery of his Words, not to stare with his Eyes, draw awry his Mouth, confound his Voice in the Hollow of his Throat, or teare his Words hastily betwixt his Teeth, neither to buffet his Deske like a Mad-man, nor stand in his Place like a livelesse Image, demurely plodding, and without any smooth and formal Motion. It instructs him to fit his Phrases to his Action, and his Action to his Phrase, and his Pronuntiation to them both.

Tully in his Booke *ad Caium Herennium*, requires five Things in an Orator, *Invention, Disposition, Eloquention, Memory, and Pronuntiation*, yet all are imperfect without the sixt, which is *Action*: for be his Invention never so fluent and exquisite, his Disposition and Order never so composed and formall, his Eloquention, and elaborate Phrases never so materiall and pithy, his Memory never so ferme and retentive, his Pronuntiation never so muscally and plausive, yet without a comely and elegant Gesture, a gracious and a bewitching Kinde of Action, a naturall and a familiar Motion of the Head, the Hand, the Body, and a moderate and fit Countenance sutable to all the rest, I hold all the rest as nothing. A Delivery and sweet Action is the Glosse and Beauty of any Discourse that belongs to a Scholler. And this is the Action be-hoovefull in any that professe this Quality, not to use any impudent or forced Motion in any Part of the Body, no rough, or other violent Gesture, nor on the contrary, to stand like a stiffe starcht Man, but to qualifie every Thing according to the Nature of the Person personated: for in overacting Trickes, and toying too much in the anticke Habit of Humors, Men of the ripest Desert, greatest Opinions, and best Reputations, may breake into the most violent Absurdities. I take not upon me to teach, but to advise: for it becomes my Juniority rather to be pupild my selfe, then to instruct others.

To proceed, and to looke into those Men that professe themselves Adversaries to this Quality, they are none of the gravest, and most ancient Doctors of the Academy, but onely a sort of finde-faults, such as interest their prodigall Tongues in all Mens Affaires without Respect. These I have heard as liberally in their superficiall Censures, taxe the Exercises performed in their Colledges, as these acted on our publicke Stages, not looking into the true and direct Use of either, but ambitiously preferring their owne presumptuous Humors, before the profound and authenticall Judgements of all the learned Doctors of the Universitie. Thus you see, that touching the Antiquity of Actors and Acting, they have not beene new lately begot by any upstart Invention, but I have derived them from the first *Olimpiads*, and I shall continue the Use of them even till this present Age. And so much touching their Antiquity.

Pars superest capti: pars est exhausta laboris.

Of Actors, and their ancient Dignity.

The SECOND BOOKE.

JULIUS CÆSAR, the famous Conqueror, discoursing with *Marcus Cicero*, the as famous Orator, amongst many other Matters debated, It pleased the Emperour to aske his Opinion of the *Histriones*, the Players of *Rome*, pretending some Cavell against them, as Men whose Imployment in the Common-weale was unnecessary. To whom *Cicero* answered thus: Content thee *Cæsar*, there bee many Heads busied and bewitched with these Pastimes now in *Rome*, which otherwise would be inquisitive after thee and thy Greatnesse. Which Answer, how sufficiently the Emperour approved, may bee conjectured by the many Guifts bestowed, and Priviledges and Charters after granted to Men of that Quality. Such was likewise the Opinion of a great Statesman of this Land, about the Time that certaine Bookes were called in Question. Doubtlesse there be many Men of that Temper, who were they not carried away, and weaned from their owne corrupt and bad Disposition, and by accidentall Meanes removed and altered from their dangerous and fullen Intendments, would be found apt and prone to many notorious and trayterous Practises. Kings and Monarches are by God placed and inthroned *supra nos*, above us, and we are to regard them as the Sun from whom we receive the Light to live under, whose Beauty and Brightnesse we may onely admire, not meddle with: *Ne ludamus cum Diis*, they that shoot at the Starres over their Heads, their Arrowes fall directly downe and wound themselves. But this Allusion may bee better referred to the Use of Action promised in our third Treatise. Then to their Dignity, which next and immediately (by Gods Grace) our Purpose is to handle.

The Word *Tragedy*, is derived from the Greeke Word *τραγωιδία*, *Caper* a Goat, because the Goat being a Beast most injurious to the Vines, was sacrificed to *Bacchus*: Heereupon *Diodorus* writes, that Tragedies had their first Names from the Oblations due to *Bacchus*; or else of *τροχός*, a Kinde of Painting, which the Tragedians of the old Time used to stayne their Faces with. By the Censure of *Horace*, *Thespis* was the first Tragicke Writer.

Horace, Arte Poetica. *Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ
Dicitur, & plaustriis vexisse poemata Thespis.*

*The unknowne Tragicke Muse Thespis first sought,
And her high Poems in her Chariot brought.*

This *Thespis* was an *Athenian* Poet, borne in *Thespina*, a free Towne in *Bætia* by *Helicon*, of him the nine Muses were called *Thespiades*. But by the Censure of *Quintilian*, *Æschiles* was before him, but after them *Sophocles* and *Euripides* clothed their Tragedies in better Ornament. *Livius Andronicus* was the first that writ any *Roman* Tragedy, in which Kinde of Poesie *Accius*, *Pacuvius*, *Seneca*, and *Ovidius* excelled.

A Second Collection of TRACTS.

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*Sceptra tamen sumpsi curâq; Tragedia nostra
Crevit, at huic operi quamlibet aptus eram.*

Ovid. Amorum.
lib. 2. Eleg. 18.

*The scepter'd Tragedy then prov'd our Wit,
And to that Worke we found us apt and fit.*

Againe, in his fift Booke *de Tristibus*, Eleg. 8.

*Carmen quod vestro saltari nostra Theatro
Versibus & plaudi scribis (amice) meis.*

*Deere Friend thou writ'st our Muse is 'mongst you song,
And in your Theaters with Plaudits rong.*

Likewise in his Epistle to *Augustus*, writ from the Ponticke Island, whither he was banisht.

*Et dedimus tragicis scriptum regale Cotburnis,
Quæq; gravis debet verba Cotburnus habet.*

*With royall Style speakes our Cotburnate Muse,
A buskind Phrase in buskin'd Playes we use.*

The Word *Comedy* is derived from the Greeke Word Κομῶν, a Street, and ὤδῃ, *Cantus*, a Song, a Street Song, as signifying there was ever Mirth in those Streets where Comedies most florisht.

Hæc paces habuere bonæ ventiq; secundi.

In this Kinde *Aristophanes*, *Eupolis*, *Cratinus* were famous, after them *Menander* and *Philemon*: succeeding them *Cicilius*, *Nevius*, *Plautus* and *Terentius*.

*Musaq; Turani tragicis innixa Cotburnis
Et tua cum socco, Musa, Melisse levis.*

*Turanus tragicke Buskin grac'd the Play,
Melissa'es comicke Schooe made lighter Way.*

The ancient Histriographers write, that among the Greekes there were divers Places of Exercises, appointed for Poets, some at the Grave of *Theseus*, others at *Helicon*, where they in Comedies and Tragedies contended for severall Prises, where *Sophocles* was adjudged Victor over *Æschilus*: There were others in the City of *Elis*, where *Menander* was foyled by *Philomene*. In the same Kinde *Hesiod* is sayd to have triumpht over *Homer*. So *Corinna* for her Excellencies in these Inventions, (called *Muscalyrica*) excelled *Pindarus* the Theban Poet, for which she was five Times crowned with Garlands.

The first publicke Theater was by *Dionysius* built in *Athens*, it was fashioned in the Manner of a Semi-circle, or Halfe-moone, whose Galleries and Degrees were reared from the Ground, their Staires high, in the midst of which did arise the Stage, beside, such a convenient Distance from the Earth, that the Audience assembled might easily behold the whole Project without Impediment. From this the Romanes had their first Pat-

terne, which at the first not being roof't, but lying open to all Weathers; *Quintus Catulus* was the first that caused the Out-side to bee covered with Linnen Cloth, and the In-side to bee hung round with Curtens of Silke. But when *Marcus Scaurus* was *Ædilis*, hee repaired it, and supported it round with Pillers of Marble.

Caius Curio, at the solempne Obsequies of his Father, erected a famous Theater of Timber, in so strange a Forme, that on two severall Stages, two sundry Playes might bee acted at once, and yet the one bee no Hinderance or Impediment to the other; and when hee so pleased the whole Frame was artificially compos'd to meet in the midst, which made an Amphitheater.

Pompey the Great, after his Victories against *Metbridates*, King of *Pontus*, saw in the City *Mitelenē* a Theater of another Forme, and after his Triumphes and Returne to *Rome*, he raised one after the same Patterne, of Free Stone, of that Vastnesse and Receipt, that within his Spacioussnesse it was able at once to receive fourscore thousand People, every one to sit, see and heare.

In Emulation of this sumptuous and gorgious Building, *Julius Cæsar*, successor to *Pompey's* Greatnesse, exceeded him in his famous Architecture, hee raised an Amphitheater, *Campo Martio*, in the Field of *Mars*, which as farre excelled *Pompey's*, as *Pompey's* did exceed *Caius Curio's*, *Curio's* that of *Marcus Scaurus*, *Scaurus* that of *Quintus Catulus*, or *Catulus* that which was first made in *Athens* by *Dionysius*: for the Basses, Columnes, Pillars, and Pyramides were all of hewed Marble, the Coverings of the Stage, which wee call the Heavens (where upon any Occasion their Gods descended) were geometrically supported by a Giant like *Atlas*, whom the Poets for his Astrology, feigne to beare Heaven on his Shoulders, in which an artificiall Sunne and Moone of extraordinary Aspect and Brightnesse had their diurnall, and nocturnall Motions; so had the Starres their true and cœlestiall Course; so had the Spheares, which in their continuall Motion made a most sweet and ravishing Harmony: Here were the Elements and Planets in their Degrees, the Sky of the Moone, the Sky of *Mercury*, *Venus*, *Sol*, *Mars*, *Jupiter*, and *Saturne*; the Starres, both fixed and wandering: and above all these, the first Mover, or *primum mobile*; there were the 12 Signes? the Lines Equinoctiall and Zodiacall, the Meridian Circle, or Zenith, the Orizon Circle, or Emisphere, the Zones torrid and frozen, the Poles articke and antarticke, with all other Tropickes, Orbs, Lines, Circles, the *Solstitium* and all other Motions of the Stars, Signes and Planets. In Briefe, in that little Compasse were comprehended the perfect Modell of the Firmament, the whole Frame of the Heavens, with all Grounds of Astronomical Conjecture. From the Roofe grew a Looover, or Turret, of an exceeding Altitude, from which an Ensigne of Silke waved continually, *Pendebant vela Theatro*. But lest I waste too much of that Compendiousnesse I have promised in my Discourse, in idle Descriptions, I leave you to judge the Proportion of the Body by the making of this one Limbe, every Piller, Seat, Foot-post, Staire, Gallery, and whatsoever else belongs to the furnishing of such a Place, being in Cost, Substance, Forme, and artificiall Workmanship, most sutable. The Floore, Stage, Roofe,

Roofe, Out-side, and In-side, as costly as the *Pantheon* or *Capitals*. In the principall Galleries were speciall, remote, selected and chosen Seats for the Emperour, *patres conscripti*, Dictators, Consuls, Pretors, Tribunes, Triumviri, Decemviri, Ediles, Curules, and other noble Officers among the Senators: all other Roomes were free for the Plebe, or Multitude. To this Purpose I introduce these famous Edifices, as wondring at their Cost and State, thus intimating, that if the Quality of Acting, were (as some propose) altogether unworthy, why for the speciall Practice, and memorable Imployment of the same, were founded so many rare and admirable Monuments: and by whom were they erected? But by the greatest Princes of their Times, and the most famous and worthiest of them all, builded by him that was the greatest Prince of the World, *Julius Caesar*, at what Time in his Hand he grip't the universal Empire of the Earth. So of *Augustus Caesar*.

*Inspice ludorum sumptus Auguste tuorum
Empta tibi magno ———*

*Behold Augustus the great Pompe and State
Of these thy Playes payd deere for, at bye Rate*

Hæc tu spectasti spectandaq; sepe dedisti.

And could any inferiour Quality bee more worthily esteemed or noblier graced, then to have Princes of such Magnificence and State to bestow on them Places of such Port and Countenance, had they been never well regarded, they had been never so sufficiently provided for, nor would such worthy Princes have strived who should (by their greatest Expence and Provision) have done them the amplest Dignity, had they not with incredible Favour regarded the Quality. I will not traverse this too farre, least I incurre some Suspition of Selfe-love, I rather leave it to the favourable Consideration of the Wise, though to the Perverseness of the Ignorant, who had they any Taste either of Poesie, Philosophy, or Historicall Antiquity, would rather stand mated at their owne impudent Ignorance, then against such noble, and notable Examples stand in publicke Defiance.

I read of a Theater built in the midst of the River *Tyber*, standing on Pillars and Arches, the Foundation wrought under Water like *London-bridge*, the Nobles and Ladyes in their Barges and Gondelayes, landed at the very Stayres of the Galleries. After these, they composed others, but differing in forme from the Theater, or Amphitheatre, and every such was called *Circus*, the Frame globe-like, and merely round.

Circus in hanc exit clamataq; palma Theatris.

And the Yeare from the first Building of *Rome*, five Hundred threescore and seven, what Time *Spurius Posthumus Albinus*, and *Quintus Martius Philippus*, were Consuls, *Nero* made one, and the noble *Flaminius* another; but the greatest was founded by *Tarquinius Priscus*, and was called *Circus maximus*: In this the Gladiators practised, the Widenesse and Spaciousnesse was such, that in it they fought at Barriers, and many times ran at Tilt. *Dion*

records eightene Elephants slain at once in one Theater. More particularly to survey the rarer Monuments of Rome, neere to the *Panttheon* (the Temple of the Roman Gods, at the Discent from the *Hil Capitolinus*, lies the great *Forum*, by which is scituate the great *Amphi-theater* of *Tytus*, first erected by *Vespasian*, but after (almost ruined by Fire) by the Roman *Tytus* rarely re-edified. It is called *Colliseus*, also a *Cavea*, which signifies

Ammianus, a Scaffold, also *Arena*, a Place of Combate, by *Silvianus* and lib. 29.

Prudentius, which Name *Tertullian*, *Pliny*, *Ovid*, *Firmicus*, and *Apuleius* likewise give it. It had the Title of *Circus*, *Caula* and *Stadium*, by *Suetonius*, *Capitolinus* and *Arcadius*. *Cassianus* affirms these Theaters consecrated to *Diana Taurica*, *Tertullian*, to *Mars* and *Diana*, *Martiall* to *Jupiter Latiaris*, and to *Stigian Pluto*, whose Opinion *Minutius* and *Prudentius* approve. The first Structures were by the Tribune *Curio*, which

Pliny, l. 36. *Dio*, lib. 37. affirms. *Vitruvius*, lib. 5. saith, *Multa Theatra, Romæ structa quotannis*. Of *Julius Cæsars* *Amphi-theater* *Campo*

Dio Cassius, *Martio*, *Dio Cassius* records, which *Augustus* after patronized, as lib. 43. *Victor* remembers of them, whose Charge *Statilius Taurus* as-

Dio, lib. 51. sisted, of whom *Dio* speaketh thus: Ο ταυρεῖς σταλίδος θεατρον, &c. *Anno Urbis* DCCXXV. *Pub. Victor* forgets not *Circus*

Suetonius, *Flaminii*, and *Suetonius* remembers one builded by *Caligula*, at cap. 21. *Septia*, whose Building *Claudius* at first interdicted. *Nero* erect-

Tacitus, lib. 13. *Annal*. ed a magnificent Theater in the Field of *Mars*. *Suetonius*, lib. *Ner*. 12.

Publius Victor speakes further of a *Castrense Theatrum*, a Theater belonging to the Campe in the Country of the *Æsquiles*, built by *Tiberius Cæsar*, and of *Pompies* Theatre *Pliny* witneseth. The Plin. lib. 36. cap. 15. great Theater of *Statilius* being in greatest Use, was burnt in the

Time of *Nero*, which *Xiphilinus* thus speakes of, το τεκαλατιον τὸ ἐν τῷ συμπαρὲς τοῦ θεατρον τε ταυρεῖς ἐχάυθη. This was built in the midst of the old City, and after the Combustion repaired by *Vespasian*, *Consulatu suo* 8. whose Coyne of one Side, beares the expresse Figure of his Theater, yet was it onely begun by him, but perfected by his Sonne *Tytus*. *Eutropius* and *Cassiodorus*, attribute this Place soly to *Titus*, but *Aurelius Victor* gives him onely the Honour of the perfecting a Place so exquisitely begun: this after was repaired by *Marcus Anthonius Pius*, by whose Cost, sayth *Capitolinus*, the Temple of *Hadrianus* was repaired, and the great Theater reedified, which *Heliogabalus*, by the Testimony of *Lampridius*, patronized, and after the Senate of Rome, tooke to their Protection, under the *Gordians*.

Touching Theaters without Rome, *Lipsius* records *Theatra circa Romani, extructa passim*, even in *Jerusalem*, *Herodes magnificus* & illustris Rex non uno loco *Judeæ* *Amphi-theatra* ædificavit, extruxit in ipsa urbe sacra, ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ (as *Josephus* saith) Ἀμφιθεατρον μέγιστον. *Herod*, a magnificent and illustrious King, not in one Place of *Judea*, erected Amphitheatres, but even in the holy City hee built one of greatest Receit. Also in *Greece*, *Asia*, *Affricke*, *Spaine*, *France*: nor is there any Province in which their antient Structures do not yet remaine, or their perishing Ruines are not still remembred. In

Italy,

Italy, ad Lyrim campania Fluvium juxta Minturnas, remaines part of an ample Amphitheater.

At Puteolis, a City by the Sea-side in Campania, 8 Miles from Naples, one.

At Capua, a magnificent one of solid Marble.

At Alba in Italy one.

At Otricoli in Umbria one.

At Verona, one most beautifull.

At Florens, one whose Compasse yet remaines.

At Athens in Greece, one of Marble.

At Pola in Istria, by the Hadriaticke Sea, one described by Sebastian Serlius.

At Hyspalis in Spaine, one built without the Walles of the City.

In Turamace at Vesuna one of squared Stone, the Length 30 Perches, or Poles, the Breadth 20.

At Arelate one.

At Burdegall one.

At Nemaus one, remembred by Euseb. in Ecclesiastica Historia.

At Lygeris one.

Another among the Helvetians.

The Veronense Theatrum Marmoreum, erected before the Time of Augustus as Torellus Serayna in his Description of Verona, records: but Cynicus Anconitanus reports it built in the nine and thirtieth Yeare of Octavian. Carolus Sigonius referres it to the Reigne of Maximinian, who saith, Maximinian built Theaters in Mediolanum, Aquilea, and Brixium. The like Cornelius Tacitus 2. Hist. remembers in Placentia, but the Description of the Verona Theater Levinus Kersmakerus sets downe. This the great King Francis Anno 1539. gave to certaine Actors, who thirty Dayes Space together, represented in the same the Acts of the Apostles, nor was it lawfull by the Edict of the King for any Man to remove any Stone within thirty Poles of his Scituation, lest they should endanger the Foundation of the Theater.

Sicon. lib.
Hist. Occi-
dent.

The like have been in Venice, Millan, Padua. In Paris there are divers now in Use by the French Kings Comedians, as the Burgonian, and others. Others in Massilia, in Trevers, in Magontia, in Agripina, and infinite Cities of Greece, Thebes, Carthage, Delphos, Creet, Paphos, Epyrus, also in the Citie Tydena, so at Civil in Spaine, and at Madrill, with others.

At the Entertainment of the Cardinall Alphonsus, and the Infant of Spaine into the Low-Countryes, they were presented at Antwerpe, with sundry Pageants and Playes: the King of Denmarke, Father to him that now reigneth, entertained into his Service, a Company of English Comedians, commended unto him by the Honourable the Earle of Leicester: the Duke of Brounswicke, and the Landgrave of Hessen retaine in their Courts certaine of ours, of the same Quality. But among the Romans they were in highest Reputation: for in Comparison of their Playes they never regarded any of their Solemnities, there ludi funebres, there Floralia, Cerealia, Fugalia, Bachinalia, or Lupercalia.

Archduke
Alphonfus.

And

Stowe

And amongst us, one of our best *English* Chroniclers records, that when *Edward* the Fourth would shew himselfe in publicke State to the View of the People, hee repaired to his Palace at *S. Jobnes*, where he accustomed to see the Citty Actors. And since then, that House by the Princes Free Gift, hath belonged to the Office of the Revels, where our Court Playes have beene in late Daies yearly reherfed, perfected, and corrected before they come to the publicke View of the Prince and the Nobility, *Ovid* speaking of the Tragicke Muse, thus writes.

*Venit & ingenti violenta tragedia passu,
Fronte comæ torva palla jacebat humi
Læva manus sceptrum late regale tenebat,
Lydius apta pedum vincta coturnus habet.*

*Then came the Tragicke Muse with a proud Pace
Measuring her slow Strides with Majesticke Grace.
Her long Train sweepes the Earth, and she doth stand,
With buskin'd Legge, rough Brow, and sceptred Hand.*

Well knew the Poet what Estimation she was in with *Augustus*, when he describes her holding in her left Hand a Scepter. Now to recite some famous

<i>Actors</i> that lived in the preceding Ages: the first Comedians were	<i>Cincius</i> and <i>Faliscus</i> ; the first Tragedians were <i>Minutius</i> and
<i>Cincius.</i>	<i>Prothonius.</i> <i>Elius Donatus</i> in his Preface to <i>Terence</i> his <i>Andrea</i> ,
<i>Faliscus.</i>	saith, that in that Comedy <i>Lucius Attilius</i> , <i>Latinus Prenestinus</i> ,
<i>Minutius.</i>	and <i>Lucius Ambivius Turpio</i> were Actors: this Comedy was de-
<i>Prothonius.</i>	dedicated to <i>Cibil</i> , and such were called <i>ludi Megalenses</i> , acted in
<i>L. Attilius.</i>	the Yeare that <i>M. Fulvius</i> was <i>Edilis</i> , and <i>Quintus Minutius Va-</i>
<i>Latinus.</i>	<i>lerius</i> , and <i>M. Glabrio</i> were <i>Curules</i> , which were Counsellors and
<i>Prenestinus.</i>	chiefe Officers in <i>Rome</i> , so called because they customably sate in
<i>Lucius.</i>	<i>Chayres</i> of Ivory. The Songs that were sung in this Comedy
<i>Ambivius</i>	were set by <i>Flaccus</i> , the Sonne of <i>Clodius</i> . <i>Terence</i> his <i>Eunuchus</i> ,
<i>Turpio.</i>	or second Comedy, was acted in the Yeare <i>L. Posthumus</i> , and
<i>Flaccus.</i>	<i>L. Cornelius</i> were <i>Edil. Curules</i> , <i>Marcus Valerius</i> , and <i>Caius</i>
	<i>Fannius</i> <i>Consuls</i> . The Yeare from the Building of <i>Rome</i> 291.
<i>Protinus.</i>	in his <i>Adelpbi</i> one <i>Protinus</i> acted, and was highly applauded, in
<i>J. Servius.</i>	his <i>Hecyra</i> , <i>Julius Servius</i> . <i>Cicero</i> commends one <i>Rupilius</i> , a
<i>Offic. 1.</i>	rare Tragedian. I read of another called <i>Aroffus</i> , another called
<i>Rupilius.</i>	<i>Theocrines</i> , who purchased him a great Applause in the Playes
<i>Aroffus.</i>	called <i>Terentini</i> . There were other Playes in <i>Rome</i> , called <i>Aetia</i>
<i>Theocrines.</i>	and <i>Pythia</i> , made in the Honour of <i>Apollo</i> , for killing the Dra-
<i>Æsopus.</i>	gon <i>Python</i> . In those one <i>Æsopus</i> bare the Praise, a Man gene-
	rally esteemed, who left behind him much Substance, which
	<i>Clodius</i> his Sonne after posselt.

Quæ gravis Æsopus, quæ doctus Roscius egit.

Labericus.

Labericus was an excellent Poet, and a rare Actor, who writ a Booke of the Gesture and Action to be used by the Tragedians and

and Comedians in Performance of every Part in his native Humor. *Plautus* himselfe was so inamored of the Actors in his Dayes, that hee published many excellent and exquisite Comedies, yet extant. *Aristotle* commendes one *Theodoretes* to be the best Tragedian in his Time. This in the Presence of *Alexander* personated *Achilles*, which so delighted the Emperour, that hee bestowed on him a Pension of *quinque mille Drachmae*, five thousand Drachmaes, and every thousand Drachmaes are twenty nine Pounds, three Shillings, four Pence Sterling.

Rossius, whom the eloquent Orator, and excellent Statesman of *Rome*, *Marcus Cicero*, for his elegant Pronuntiation and formall Gesture called his Jewell, had from the common Tresury of the *Roman* Exchequer, a daily Pension allowed him of so many Sestertii as in our Coine amount to 16 Pound and a Marke, or thereabouts, which yearely did arise to any noble Mans Revenues. So great was the Fame of this *Rossius*, and so good his Estimation, that learned *Cato* made a Question whether *Cicero* could write better then *Rossius* could speake and act, or *Rossius* speake and act better then *Cicero* write. Many Times when they had any important Orations, to be with an audible and loud Voyce delivered to the People, they imployed the Tongue and Memory of this excellent Actor, to whom for his Worth, the Senate granted such large Exhibition.

— que pervincere voces,
Evalueret sonum referunt quem nostra Theatra,
Gorganum mugire putes nemus aut mare Thuscum,
Tanto cum strepitu ludi spectantur & artes.
What Voyce can be compared with the Sound,
Our Theaters from their deepe Concaves send,
For their reverberate Murmures seeme to drownd
The Gorgan Wood when the proud Windes contend,
Or when rough Stormes the Thuscan Billowes raise,
With such loud Joy they ring our Arts and Playes.

To omit all the Doctors, Zawnyes, Pantaloones, Harlakeenes, in which the *French*, but especially the *Italians*, have beene excellent; and according to the Occasion offered to do some Right to our *English* Actors, as *Knell*, *Bentley*, *Mils*, *Wilson*, *Crosse*, *Lanam*, and others: these, since I never saw them, as being before my Time, I cannot (as an Eye-witnesse of their Desert) give them that Applause, which no doubt, they worthily merit, yet by the Report of many juditiall Auditors, their Performance of many Parts have been so absolute, that it were a Kinde of Sinne to drowne their Worths in *Lethe*, and not commit their (almost forgotten) Names to Eternity. Heere I must needs remember *Tarleton*, in his Time gracious with the Queene his Sovereigne, and in the Peoples generall Applause, whom succeeded *Will. Kemp*, as wel in the Favour of her Majesty, as in the Opinion and good Thoughts of the generall Audience. *Gabriel*, *Singer*, *Pope*, *Phillips*, *Sly*, all the Right I can do them, is but this, that though they be dead, their Deserts yet live in the Remembrance of many. Among so many dead let me not forget one
yet

yet alive in his Time the most worthy famous, Maister *Edward Allen*. To omit these, as also such as for divers Imperfections, may be thought insufficient for the Quality. Actors should be Men pick'd out personable, according to the Parts they present, they should be rather Schollers, that though they cannot speake well, know how to speake, or else to have that Volubility, that they can speake well, though they understand not what, and so both Imperfections may by Instructions be helped and amended: but where a good Tongue and a good Conceit both faile, there can never be good Actor. I also could wish, that such as are condemned for their Licentiousnesse, might by a generall Consent bee quite excluded our Society: for as we are Men that stand in the broad Eye of the World, so should our Manners, Gestures, and Behaviours, favour of such Government and Modesty, to deserve the good Thoughts and Reports of all Men, and to abide the sharpest Censures even of those that are the greatest Opposites to the Quality. Many amongst us, I know, to be of Substance, of Government, of sober Lives, and temperate Carriages, House-keepers, and contributory to all Duties enjoyned them, equally with them that are rank't with the most bountifull; and if amongst so many of sort, they be any few degenerate from the rest in that good Demeanor, which is both requisite and expected at their Hands, let me entreat you not to censure hardly of all for the Misdeeds of some, but rather to excuse us, as *Ovid* doth the Generality of Women.

*Parcite paucarum diffundere crimen in omnes,
Spectetur meritis quæq; puella suis.*

*For some Offenders (that perhaps are few)
Spare in your Thoughts to censure all the Crew,
Since every Breast containes a sundry Spirit,
Let every one be censur'd as they merit.*

Others there are of whom should you aske my Opinion, I must refer you to this, *Consule Theatrum*. Here I might take fit Opportunity to reckon up all our *English* Writers, and compare them with the *Greeke*, *French*, *Italian*, and *Latine* Poets, not onely in their *Pastorall*, *Historicall*, *Elegeicall*, and *Heroicall* Poems, but in their *Tragicall* and *Comical* Subjects, but it was my Chance to happen on the like learnedly done by an approved good Scholler, in a Booke called *Wits Common-wealth*, to which Treatise I wholly referre you, returning to our present Subject. *Julius Cæsar* himselfe for his Pleasure became an Actor, being in Shape, State, Voyce, Judgement, and all other Occurrences, exterior and interior excellent. Amongst many other Parts acted by him in Person, it is recorded of him, that with generall Applause in his owne Theater he played *Hercules Furens*, and amongst many other Arguments of his Compleatnesse, Excellence, and extraordinary Care in his Action, it is thus reported of him: Being in the Depth of a Passion, one of his Servants (as his Part then fell out) presenting *Lychas*, who before had from *Dejaneira* brought him the poysoned Shirt, dipt in the Bloud of the Centaure *Nessus*: he in the midst of his Torture and Fury, finding this *Lychas* hid in a remote Corner (appoynted him to creep into of Purpose) although he was, as
our

our Tragedians use, but seemingly to kill him by some false imagined Wound, yet was *Cæsar* so extremely carryed away with the Violence of his practised Fury, and by the perfect Shape of the Madnesse of *Hercules*, to which he had fashioned all his active Spirits, that he slew him dead at his Foot, and after swoong him *terq; quaterq;* as the Poet sayes, about his Head. It was the Manner of their Emperours, in those Dayes, in their publicke Tragedies to choose out the fittest amongst such, as for capital Offences were condemned to dye, and imploy them in such Parts as were to be kil'd in the Tragedy, who of themselves would make Suit rather so to dye with Resolution, and by the Hands of such Princely *Actors*, then otherwise to suffer a shamefull and most detestable End. And these were Tragedies naturally performed. And such *Caius Caligula*, *Claudius Nero*, *Vitellius*, *Domitianus*, *Commodus*, and other Emperours of *Rome*, upon their Festivals and Holy Daies of greatest Consecration, used to act. Therefore M. *Kid* in the *Spanish* Tragedy, upon Occasion presenting it selfe thus writes.

*Why Nero thought it no Disparagement,
And Kings and Emperours have tane Delight,
To make Experience of their Wits in Playes.*

These Exercises, as Traditions, have beene since (though in better Manner) continued through all Ages, amongst all the noblest Nations of the Earth. But I have promised to be altogether Compendious, presuming that what before is discoursed, may for the Practise of Playes, their *Antiquity*, and *Dignity* be altogether sufficient. I omit the Shewes and Ceremonies even in these Times generally used amongst the Catholikes, in which by the Churchmen and most religious, divers Pageants, as of the Nativity, Passion, and Ascension, with other Historicall Places of the Bible, are at divers Times and Seasons of the Yeare usually celebrated; *sed hæc præter me*. In the Yeare of the World 4207. of Christ 246. *Origin* writ certaine godly Epistles to *Philip*, then Emperour of *Rome*, who was the first Christian Emperour, and in his Life I reade, that in the fourth Yeare of his Reigne, which was the 1000. Yeare after the Building of *Rome*, he solemnized that Yeare, as a Jubilee with sumptuous Pageants and Playes. *Homer*, the most excellent of all Poets, composed his *Illiads* in the Shape of a Tragedy, his *Odisseas* like a Comedy. *Virgil* in the first of his *Æneids*, in his Description of *Didoes Carthage*.

— *bic altra Theatris
Fundamenta locant alii immanesq; Columnas,
Rupibus excidunt scenis decora alta futuris.*

Which proves, that in those Dayes immediatly after the Ruine of *Troy*, when *Carthage* had her first Foundation, they built Theaters with stately Columnes of Stone, as in his Description may appeare. I have sufficiently discoursed of the first Theaters, and in whose Times they were erected, even till the Reigne of *Julius Cæsar*, the first Emperour, and how they continued in their Glory from him till the Reigne of *Marcus Aurelius* the 23. Emperour, and from him even to these Times. Now to prove they were in as high

Estimation at *Lacedemon*, and *Athens*, two the most famous Citties of Greece. *Cicero* in his Booke *Cato major, seu de senectute. Cum Athenis ludis quidam grandis natu in Theatrum venisset, &c.* An ancient Citizen comming into one of the *Athenian* Theaters to see the Pastimes there solemnized (which shewes that the most antient and grave frequented them) by Reason of the Throng, no Man gave him Place or Reverence: but the same Citizen being imploy'd in an Embassy to *Lacedemon*, and comming like a private Man into the Theater, the generall Multitude arose at once, and with great ceremonious Reverence gave his Age place. This *Cicero* alledges due to Age, and this I may fitly introduce to the Approbation of my present Subject. Moreover, this great Statesman of *Rome*, at whose Exile twenty thousand of the chiefeft *Roman* Citizens wore mourning Apparrel, oftentimes commends *Plautus*, calling him *Plautus noster*, and *Atticorum antiqua Comedia*, where he proceeds further to extoll *Æsopus*, for personating *Ajax*, and the famous Actor *Rupilius*, in *Epigonus*, *Medæa*, *Menalip*, *Clytemnestra* and *Antiopa*, proceeding in the same Place, with this worthy and grave Sentence, *Ergo Histrion hoc videbit in scena, quod non videbit sapiens in vita?* Shall a Tragedian see that in his Scene which a wise Man cannot see in the Course of his Life? So in another of his Workes, amongst many Instructions to his Sonne *Marcus*, he applauds *Turpio Ambinius* for his Action, *Statius*, *Nevius*, and *Plautus* for their writing. *Ovid* in *Augustum*.

*Luminibusq; tuis totus quibus utitur orbis,
Scenica vidisti lusus adulteria.*

*Those Eyes with which you all the World survey,
See in your Theaters our Actors play.*

Augustus Cæsar, because he would have some Memory of his Love to those Places of Pastime, reared in *Rome* two stately Obelisci, or Pyramides, one in *Julius Cæsars* Temple in the Field of *Mars*, another in the great Theater, called *Circus Maximus*, built by *Flaminius*: these were in Height an hundred Cubits a Peece, in Breadth foure Cubits, they were first raised by King *Pheron* in the Temple of the Sunne, and after removed to *Rome* by *Augustus*: the Occasion of their first Composure was this: *Pheron* for some great Crime, committed by him in his Youth against the Gods, was by them strooke Blinde, and so continued the Space of ten Yeares: but after by a Revelation in the City *Bucis*, it was told, that if he washt his Eyes in the Water of a Woman that was Chaste, and never adulterately touch't with any save her Husband, he should againe recover his Sight: the King first tride his Wife, then many other of the most grave and best reputed Matrons, but continued still in Despaire, till at length he met with one vertuous Lady, by whose Chastity his Sight was restored: whom (having first commanded his Queene and the rest to be consumed with Fire) he after married. *Pheron* in Memory of this, buildeth his two Pyramides, after removed to *Rome* by *AUGUSTUS*.

*Sanctaq; majestas & erat venerabile nomen,
Vatibus*—

Of Actors, and the true Use of their Quality.

The THIRD BOOKE.

TRagedies and Comedies, saith *Donatus*, had their Beginning à rebus divinis, from divine Sacrifices, they differ thus: In Comedies, *turbulenta prima, tranquilla ultima*, In Tragedyes, *tranquilla prima, turbulenta ultima*, Comedies begin in Trouble, and end in Peace; Tragedies begin in Calmes, and end in Tempest. Of Comedies there be three Kindes, moving Comedies, called *Motoriæ*, standing Comedies, call'd *Statarie*, or mixt betwixt both, called *Mistæ*: they are distributed into foure Parts, the *Prologue*, that is, the Preface; the *Protasis*, that is, the Proposition, which includes the first Act, and presents the Actors; the *Epitasis*, which is the Businesse and Body of the Comedy; the last the *Catastrophe*, and Conclusion: the Definition of the Comedy, according to the *Latins*: a Discourse consisting of divers Institutions, comprehending civill and domesticke Things, in which is taught, what in our Lives and Manners is to be followed, what to bee avoyded, the *Greekes* define it thus: *Κομედία ἐστὶν ἰδιωτικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀχρὶ δόξης ποιοῦσθαι*. *Cicero* saith, a Comedy is the Imitation of Life, the Glasse of Custome, and the Image of Truth, in *Athens* they had their first Originall. The ancient Comedians used to attire their Actors thus: the old Men in White, as the most ancient of all, the yong Men in Party coloured Garments, to note their Diversity of Thoughts, their Slaves and Servants in thin and bare Vesture, either to note their Poverty, or that they might run the more lighter about their Affaires: their Parasites wore Robes that were turned in, and intricately wrapped about them: the fortunate in White, the discontented in decayed Vesture, or Garments, growne out of Fashion; the Rich in Purple, the Poore in Crimson, Souldiers wore Purple-jackets, Hand-maids the Habits of strange Virgins, Bawds, Pide Coates, and Curtezans, Garments of the Colour of Mud, to denote their Covetousnesse: the Stages were hung with rich Arras, which was first brought from King *Attalus* into *Rome*: his State-hangings were so costly, that from him all Tapestries, and rich Arras were called *Attalia*. This being a Thing ancient as I have proved it, next of Dignity, as many Arguments have confirmed it, and now even in these Dayes by the best, without Exception, favourably tollerated, why should I yeeld my Censure, grounded on such firme and establisht Sufficiency, to any Tower, founded on Sand, any Castle built in the Aire, or any triviall Upstart, and meere imaginary Opinion.

Oderunt Hilarem tristes tristemq; jocos.

I hope there is no Man of so unsensible a Spirit, that can inveigh against the true and direct Use of this Quality: Oh but say they, the *Romanes* in their Time, and some in these Dayes have abused it, and therefore we volly out our Exclamations against the Use. Oh shallow? Because such a Man had his House burnt, we shall quite condemne the Use of Fire, because one Man

quast Poyson, we must forbear to drinke, because some have beene Sihp-wrak't, no Man shall hereafter trafficke by Sea. Then I may as well argue thus: he cut his Finger, therefore must I weare no Knife, this Man fell from his Horse, therefore must I travell a Foot: that Man surfeited, therefore dare not I eate. What can appeare more absurd then such a grosse and sencelesse Assertion? I could turne this unpoynted Weapon against his Breast that aimes it at mine, and reason thus: *Roscius* had a large Pension allowed him by the Senate of *Rome*, why should not an Actor of the like Desert, have the like Allowance now? or this, the most famous City and Nation in the World held Playes in great Admiracion: *Ergo*, but it is a Rule in *Logicke*, *Ex particularibus nihil fit*. These are not the Bases we must build upon, nor the Columnes that must support our Architecture.

Et latro, & cautus, precingitur ense viator.

Ille sed insidias, hic sibi portat opem.

Both Thieves and true-Men, Weapons weare alike:

Th'one to defend, the other comes to strike.

Let us use Fire to warme us, not to scorch us, to make ready our Necessaries, not to burne our Houses. let us drinke to quench our Thirst, not to surfet; and eate to satisfie Nature, not to gormondize.

—— *Comedia recta si mente legatur,*

Constabit nulli posse nocere ——

Playes are in Use as they are understood,

Spectators Eyes may make them bad or good.

Shall we condemne a Generallity for any one particular Misconstruction? give me then Leave to argue thus: Amongst Kings have there not beene some Tyrants? yet the Office of a King is the Image of the Majesty of God. Amongst true Subjects have there not crept in some false Traitors? even amongst the twelve there was one *Judas*, but shall we for his Fault, censure worse of the eleven? God forbid: Art thou Prince or Peasant? Art thou of the Nobility, or Commonalty? Art thou Merchant or Souldier? Of the Citty or Countrey? Art thou Preacher or Auditor? Art thou Tutor or Pupill? There have beene of thy Function bad and good, prophane and holy. I induce these Instances to confirme this common Argument, that the Use of any generall Thing is not for any one particular Abuse to be condemned: for if that Assertion stood firme, wee should run into many notable Inconveniences.

Qui locus est templis angustior hanc quoq; vitet,

In culpam si qua est ingeniosa suam.

To proceed to the Matter: First, playing is an Ornament to the Citty, which Strangers of all Nations, repairing hither, report of in their Countries, beholding them here with some Admiracion: for what Variety of Entertainment can there be in any Citty of Christendome, more then in *London*? But
some

some will say, this Dish might be very well spared out of the Banquet: to him I answere, *Diogenes*, that used to feede on Rootes, cannot relish a March-pane. Secondly, our *English* Tongue, which hath ben the most harsh, uneven, and broken Language of the World, part *Dutch*, part *Irish*, *Saxon*, *Scotch*, *Welsh*, and indeed a Gallimaffry of many, but perfect in none, is now by this secondary Meanes of playing, continually refined, every Writer striving in himselfe to adde a new flourish unto it; so that in Proesse, from the most rude and unpolisht Tongue, it is growne to a most perfect and composed Language, and many excellent Workes, and elaborate Poems writ in the same, that many Nations grow inamored of our Tongue (before despised.) Neither Saphicke, Ionicke, Iambicke, Phaleuticke, Adonicke, Gli-conicke, Hexamiter, Tetramiter, Pentamiter, Asclepediacke, Choriambicke, nor any other measured Verse used amongst the *Greekes*, *Latins*, *Italians*, *French*, *Dutch*, or *Spanish* Writers, but may be exprest in *English*, be it in Blanke Verse, or Meeter, in Distichon, or Hexastichon, or in what Forme or Feet, or what Number you can desire. Thus you see to what Excellency our refined *English* is brought, that in these Daies we are ashamed of that *Euphony* and Eloquence which within these 60 Yeares, the best Tongues in the Land were proud to pronounce. Thirdly, Playes have made the Ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the Knowledge of many famous Histories, instructed such as cannot reade in the Discovery of all our *English* Chronicles: and what Man have you now of that weake Capacity, that cannot discourse of any notable Thing recorded even from *William* the Conquerour, nay from the Landing of *Brute*, untill this Day, beeing possesse of their true Use, for, or because Playes are writ with this Ayme, and carryed with this Methode, to teach the Subjects Obedience to their King, to shew the People the untimely Ends of such as have moved Tumults, Commotions, and Insurrections, to present them with the flourishing Estate of such as live in Obedience, exhorting them to Allegiance, dehorting them from all trayterous and felonious Stratagems.

Use of Tragedies.

Omne genus scripti gravitate Tragedia vincit.

If we present a Tragedy, we include the fatall and abortive Ends of such as commit notorious Murders, which is aggravated and acted with all the Art that may be, to terrifie Men from the like abhorred Practices. If wee present a forreigne History, the Subject is so intended, that in the Lives of *Romans*, *Grecians*, and others, either the Vertues of our Country-men are extolled, or their Vices reprov'd, as thus, by the Example of *Cæsar* to stir Souldiers to Valour, and Magnanimity: by the Fall of *Pompey*, that no Man trust in his owne Strength: we present *Alexander*, killing his Friend in his Rage, to reprove Rashnesse: *Mydas*, choked with his Gold, to taxe Covetousnesse: *Nero* against Tyranny? *Sardanapalus*, against Luxury: *Nynus*, against Ambition, with infinite others by sundry Instances, either animating Men to noble Attempts, or attaching the Consciences of the Spectators, finding themselves toucht in presenting the Vices of others. If a Morall, it is to perswade

Use of Histori-
cally Playes.

Use of Mo-
rals.

Use of Co-
medyes.

perswade Men to humanity and good Life, to instruct them in Civility and good Manners, shewing them the Fruits of Honesty, and the End of Villany.

Verfibus exponi Tragicis res Comica non vult.

Againé, Horace, *Arte Poetica*.

*Et nostri proavi Plautinos & numeros et
Laudavere sales ———*

If a Comedy, it is pleasantly contrived with merry Accidents, and intermixt with apt and witty Jest, to present before the Prince at certain Times of Solemnity, or else merily fitted to the Stage. And what is then the Subject of this harmelesse Mirth? Either in the Shape of a Clowne, to shew others their slovenly and unhanfome Behaviour, that they may reforme that Simplicity in themselves, which others make their Sport, lest they happen to become the like Subject of generall Scorne to an Auditory, else it entreates of Love, deriding foolish Inamorates, who spend their Ages, their Spirits, nay themselves, in the servile and ridiculous Employments of their Mistresses: and these are mingled with sportfull Accidents, to recreate such as of themselves are wholly devoted to melancholly, which corrupts the Bloud: or to refresh such weary Spirits as are tired with Labour or Study, to moderate the Eares and Heaviness of the Minde, that they may returne to their Trades and Faculties with more Zeale and Earnestnesse, after some small and pleasant Retirement. Sometimes they discourse of Pantaloones, Usurers that have unthrifty Sonnes, which both the Fathers and the Sonnes may behold to their Instructions; sometimes of Curtesans, to divulge their Subtelties and Snares,

Use of
Pastorals.

in which yong Men may be intangled, shewing them the Meanes to avoyd them. If we present a Pastorall, we shew the harmelesse Love of Shepheards diversly moralized, distinguishing betwixt the Craft of the Citty, and the Innocency of the Sheep-coat. Briefly, there is neither Tragedy, History, Comedy, Morrell or Pastorall, from which an infinite Use cannot be gathered. I speake not in the Defence of any lascivious Shewes, scurrelous Jeasts, or scandalous Invectives: If there be any such, I banish them quite from my Patronage; yet Horace, *Sermon 1. Satyr 4.* thus writes.

*Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesq; Poetae,
Atque alii quorum Comædia prisca virorum est:
Si quis erat dignus describi, quod malus, aut fur,
Quod Mæchus foret, aut sicarius, aut alioqui,
Famosus, multa cum libertate notabunt.*

Eupolis, Cratinus, Aristophanes, and other Comike Poets in the Time of Horace, with large Scope, and unbridled Liberty boldly and plainly scourged all such Abuses as in their Ages were generally practised, to the staining and blemishing of a faire and beautifull Common-weale. Likewise, a learned Gentleman in his Apology for Poetry, speakes thus: Tragedies well handled be a most worthy Kinde of Poesie. Comedies make Men see and shame at their

their Faults, and proceeding further amongst other University-Playes, he remembers the Tragedy of *Richard* the Third, acted in *Saint Johns* in *Cambridge*, so essentially, that had the Tyrant *Phaleris* beheld his bloody Proceedings, it had mollified his Heart, and made him relent at Sight of his inhumane Massacres. Further, he commends of Comedies, the *Cambridge Pedantius*, and the *Oxford Bellum Grammaticale*; and leaving them passes on to our publicke Playes, speaking liberally in their Praise, and what commendable Use may bee gathered of them. If you peruse *Margarita Poetica*, you may see what excellent Uses and Sentences he hath gathered out of *Terence* his *Andrea*, *Eunuchus*, and the rest. Likewise out of *Plautus* his *Amphitrio*, *Asinaria*, and moreover, *Ex Comædiis Philodoxis*, *Caroli Acretini*: *De falsa Hipocrita*, & *tristi Mercurii*, *Ronsii versellensis*: *Ex Comædia Philonira Ugolini parmensis*, all reverend Schollers, and Comicke Poets, read elce the 4 Tragedies, *Philunica*, *Petrus*, *Aman*, *Katherina*, *Claudii*, *Roiletti Beluensis*: But I should tire my selfe to reckon the Names of all *French*, *Roman*, *German*, *Spanish*, *Italian*, and *English* Poets, being in Number infinite, and their Labours extant to prove their Worthinesse.

Is thy Minde noble? And wouldst thou be further stir'd up to Magnanimity? Behold, upon the Stage thou maist see *Hercules*, *Achilles*, *Alexander*, *Cæsar*, *Alcibiades*, *Lysander*, *Sertorius*, *Haniball*, *Antigonus*, *Phillip* of *Macedon*, *Metbridates* of *Pontus*, *Pyrrbus* of *Epire*, *Agésilas*, among the *Lacedemonians*, *Epaminondas*, amongst the *Thebans*: *Scevola* alone entring the armed Tents of *Porfenna*: *Horatius Coclès* alone withstanding the whole Army of the *Hetrurians*: *Leonides* of *Sparta*, choosing a Lyon to leade a Band of Deere, rather then one Deere to conduct an Army of Lyons, with infinite others in their owne Persons, Qualities, and Shapes, animating thee with Courage, deterring thee from Cowardise. Hast thou of thy Country well deserved? And art thou of thy Labour evill requited? To associate thee thou mayest see the valiant *Roman Marcellus* pursue *Hannibal* at *Nola*, conquering *Syracusa*, vanquishing the *Gauls*, all *Padua*, and presently (for his Reward) banisht his Country into *Greece*. There thou mayest see *Scipio Affricanus*, now triumphing for the Conquest of all *Affrica*, and immediatly exil'd the Confines of *Romania*. Art thou inclined to lust? Behold the Falles of the *Tarquins*, in the Rape of *Lucrece*: the Guerdon of Luxury in the Death of *Sardanapalus*: *Appius* destroyed in the ravishing of *Virginia*, and the Destruction of *Troy* in the Lust of *Helena*. Art thou proud? Our Scene presents thee with the Fall of *Phaeton*, *Narcissus* pining in the Love of his Shadow, ambitious *Hamon*, now calling himselfe a God, and by and by thrust headlong among the Divels. We present Men with the Uglineffe of their Vices, to make them the more to abhorre them, as the *Persians* use, who above all Sinnes, loathing Drunkenesse, accustomed in their solemne Feasts, to make their Servants and Captives extremely overcome with Wine, and then call their Children to view their nasty and lothsome Behaviour, making them hate that Sin in themselves, which shewed so grosse and abominable in others. The like Use may be gathered of the Drunkards so naturally imitated in our Playes, to the Applause of the Actor, Content of the Auditory, and reproving of the Vice. Art thou

thou Covetous? Go no further then *Plautus* his Comedy called *Euclio*.

*Dum fallax servus, durus pater, improba lena
Vixerit, & meretrix blanda, Menandros erit.*

*Whilst ther's false Servant, or obdurate Sire,
Sly Baud, smooth Whore, Menandros wee'l admire.*

To end in a Word. Art thou addicted to Prodigality? Envy, Cruelty? Perjury? Flattery? or Rage? Our Scenes affoord thee Store of Men to shape your Lives by, who be frugall, loving, gentle, trusty, without soothing, and in all Things temperate. Wouldst thou be honourable? just, friendly, moderate, devout, mercifull, and loving Concord? thou mayest see many of their Fates and Ruines, who have beene dishonourable, unjust, false, gluttonous, sacrilegious, bloody-minded, and Brochers of Dissention. Women likewise that are Chaste, are by us extolled, and encouraged in their Vertues, being instanced by *Diana, Belphebe, Matilda, Lucrece*, and the Countesse of *Salisbury*. The Unchaste are by us shewed their Errors, in the Persons of *Phrine, Lais, Thais, Flora*: and amongst us, *Rosamond*, and Mistresse *Shore*. What can sooner print Modesty in the Soules of the Wanton, then by discovering unto them the Monstrousnesse of their Sinne? It followes that we prove these Exercises to have beene the Discoverers of many notorious Murders, long concealed from the Eyes of the World. To omit all farre fetcht Instances,

A strange
Accident
happening
at a Play.

we wil prove it by a Domestike, and home-borne Truth, which within these few Yeares happened. At *Lin* in *Norfolke*, the then Earle of *Suffex* Players acting the old History of Fryer *Francis*, and presenting a Woman, who insatiately doting on a yong Gentleman, had (the more securely to enjoy his Affection) mischievously and secretly murdered her Husband, whose Ghost haunted her, and at divers Times in her most solitary and private Contemplations, in most horrid and fearefull Shapes, appeared, and stood before her. As this was acted, a Townes-Woman (till then of good Estimation and Report) finding her Conscience (at this presentment) extremely troubled, suddenly skritch'd and cryed out, Oh my Husband, my Husband! I see the Ghost of my Husband fiercely threatning and menacing me. At which shrill and unexpected Outcry, the People about her, moov'd to a strange Amazement, inquired the Reason of her Clamour, when presently un-urged, she told them, that seven Yeares ago, she, to be possesst of such a Gentleman (meaning him) had poysoned her Husband, whose fearefull Image personated it selfe in the Shape of that Ghost: whereupon the Murtheresse was apprehended, before the Justices further examined, and by her voluntary Confession after condemned. That this is true, as well by the Report of the Actors as the Records of the Towne, there are many Eye-witnesses of this Accident yet living, vocally to confirme it.

A strange
Accident
happening
at a Play.

As strange an Accident happened to a Company of the same Quality some 12 Yeares ago, or not so much, who playing late in the Night at a Place called *Perin* in *Cornwall*, certaine Spaniards were landed the same Night unsuspected, and undiscovered, with

with Intent to take in the Towne, spoyle and burne it, when suddenly; even upon their Entrance, the Players (Ignorant as the Townes-Men of any such Attempt) presenting a Battle on the Stage with their Drum and Trumpets strooke up a lowd Alarme: which the Enemy hearing, and fearing they were discovered, amazedly retired, made some few idle Shot in a Bravado, and so in a hurly-burly fled disorderly to their Boats. At the Report of this Tumult, the Townes-Men were immediatly armed, and pursued them to the Sea, praying God for their happy Deliverance from so great a Danger, who by his Providence, made these Strangers the Instrument and secondary Meanes of their Escape from such imminent Mischife, and the Tyranny of so remorselesse an Enemy.

Another of the like Wonder happened at *Amsterdam* in *Holland*, a Company of our *English* Comedians (well knowne) travelling those Countreyes, as they were before the Burghers and other the chiefe Inhabitants, acting the last Part of the 4 Sons of *Aymon*, towards the last Act of the History, where penitent *Renaldo*, like a common Labourer, lived in Disguise, vowing as his last Pennance, to labour and carry Burdens to the Structure of a goodly Church there to be erected: whose Diligence the Labourers envying, since by reason of his Stature and Strength, hee did usually perfect more worke in a Day, then a Dozen of the best, (hee working for his Conscience, they for their Lucres.) Whereupon by reason his Industry had so much disparaged their living, conspired amongst themselves to kill him, waiting some Opportunity to finde him asleepe, which they might easily doe, since the forest Labourers are the soundest Sleepers, and Industry is the best Preparative to Rest. Having spy'd their Opportunity, they drave a Naile into his Temples, of which Wound immediatly he dyed. As the Actors handled this, the Audience might on a sodaine understand an Out-cry, and loud shriek in a remote Gallery, and pressing about the Place, they might perceive a Woman of great Gravity, strangely amazed, who with a distracted and troubled Braine oft sighed out these Words: Oh my Husband, my Husband! The Play without further Interruption proceeded; the Woman was to her owne House conducted, without any apparant Suspition, every one conjecturing as their Fancies led them. In this Agony she some few Daies languished, and on a Time, as certaine of her well disposed Neighbours came to comfort her, one amongst the rest being Church-Warden, to him the Sexton posts, to tell him of a strange Thing happening him in the ripping up of a Grave: see here (quoth he) what I have found, and shewes them a faire Skull, with a great Naile pierst quite through the Braine-Pan, but we cannot conjecture to whom it should belong, nor how long it hath laine in the Earth, the Grave being confused, and the Flesh consumed. At the Report of this Accident, the Woman, out of the Trouble of her afflicted Conscience, discovered a former Murder. For 12 Yeares ago, by driving that Naile into that Skull, being the Head of her Husband, she had treacherously flaine him. This being publicly confest, she was arraigned, condemned, adjudged, and burned. But I draw my Subject to greater Length

A strange
Accident
happening
at a Play.

then I purposed; these therefore out of other Infinites, I have collected, both for their Familiarnesse and Lateness of Memory.

Thus our Antiquity we have brought from the *Grecians* in the Time of *Hercules*: from the *Macedonians* in the Age of *Alexander*: from the *Romans* long before *Julius Caesar*, and since him, through the Reigns of 23 Emperours succeeding, even to *Marcus Aurelius*: after him they were supported by the *Mantuanians*, *Venetians*, *Velencians*, *Neapolitans*, the *Florentines* and others, since, by the *German* Princes, the *Palsgrave*, the *Landgrave*, the *Dukes of Saxony*, of *Brounswicke*, &c. The Cardinall *Alfonfus*. at *Bruxels*, hath at this Time in Pay, a Company of our *English* Comedians. The *French* King allowes certaine Companies in *Paris*, *Orleans*, besides other Cities: so doth the King of *Spaine*, in *Civill*, *Madrill*, and other Provinces. But in no Country they are of that Eminence that ours are: so our most royall, and ever renowned Sovereigne, hath licenced us in *London*: so did his Predecessor, the thrice vertuous Virgin, Queene *Elizabeth*, and before her, her Sister, Queene *Mary*, *Edward* the Sixth, and their Father, *Henry* the Eighth: and before these in the tenth Yeare of the Reigne of *Edward* the Fourth, Anno, 1490. *John Stowe*, an ancient and grave Chronicler, records (amongst other Varieties tending to the like Effect) that a Play was acted at a Place called *Skinner's-well*, fast by *Clerken-well*, which continued eight Dayes, and was of Matter from *Adam* and *Eve*, (the first Creation of the World.) The Spectators were no worse then the Royalty of *England*. And amongst other commendable Exercises in this Place, the Company of the *Skinner's* of *London* held certaine yearely solemne Playes. In Place wherof, now in these latter Daies, the *Wrestling*, and such other Pastimes Times kept Tide. have been kept, and is still held about *Bartholmew-tide*. Also in the Yeare 1390. the 14. Yeare of the Reigne of *Richard* the Second, the 18. of *July*, were the like *Interludes* recorded at the same Place, which continued 3 Dayes together, the King and Queene, and Nobility being there present. Moreover, to this Day, in divers Places of *England*, there be Townes that hold the Priviledge of their Faires, and other Charters by yearely Stage-Playes, as at *Manningtree* in *Suffolke*, *Kendall* in the *North*, and others. To let these passe, as Things familiarly knowne to all Men. Now to speake of some Abuse lately crept into the Quality, as an inveighing against the State, the Court, the Law, the City, and their Governements, with the particularizing of private Mens Humors (yet alive) Noble-men, and others. I know it distastes many; neither do I any Way approve it, nor dare I by any Meanes excuse it. The Liberty which some arrogate to themselves, committing their Bitternesse, and liberall Invectives against all Estates, to the Mouthes of Children, supposing their Juniority to be a Priviledge for any rayling, be it never so violent, I could advise all such, to curbe and limit this presumed Liberty within the Bounds of Discretion and Government. But wise and juditiall Censurers, before whom such Complaints shall at any Time hereafter come, wil not (I hope) impute these Abuses to any Transgression in us, who have ever been carefull and provident to shun the like. I surcease to prosecute this any further, lest my good Meaning be (by some) misconstrued:

strued: and fearing likewise, lest with Tediouſnesſe I tire the Patience of the favourable Reader, heere (though abruptly) I conclude my third and laſt TREATISE.

Saltitiam patiuntur opes, mibi parvula res eſt.

The Order and Solemnitie of the Creation of the high and mightie Prince HENRIE, eldeſt Sonne to our ſacred Soveraigne, Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornewall*, Earle of *Cheſter*, &c. As it was celebrated in the Parliament Houſe, on *Munday* the fourth of *Junne* laſt paſt.

Together with the Ceremonies of the Knights of the Bath, and other Matters of ſpeciall Regard, incident to the ſame.

Whereunto is annexed the Royall Maſke, preſented by the Queene and her Ladies, on *Wednesday* at Night following.

Printed at Britains Burſſe for John Budge. 1610.

HIS Maſtie aſwell to ſhew the Bounty of his Affection towards his deereſt Sonne the Prince, as to ſettle in the Hearts of his loving Subjects a lively Impreſſion of his royall Care for Continuance of the happy, and peacefull Governement of this Land, in his Iſſue and Poſterity; having determined to inveſt his Princely Highneſſe, with thoſe Titles and Dignities which the former Princes of this Realme have uſually beene adorned: It ſeemed fitteſt, both in Regard of his Highneſſe Yeeres, now arriving at Mans Eſtate, and ſhewing rare Prooſes of heroicall Vertue, and alſo for that it would be a Matter moſt gratefull and acceptable to that honourable Aſſembly, to have the Solemnities thereof performed in this preſent Parliament.

Wherefore the Time approaching, his Maſties Pleaſure ſignified, and Preparation made accordingly, on *Wednesday*, the thirtieth of *May* laſt, his Highneſſe accompanied (beſides the ordinary Traine of his Houſehold) with divers young Lords and Gentlemen of ſpeciall Marke, departed from his Houſe of *St. James*, towards *Richmond*, where being come towards Evening, he ſupped and reposed himſelfe for that Night.

Next Morning, being *Thursday* about nine of the Clocke, he tooke Water to returne againe to *London*, attended only with ſome few Barges of his owne Followers, and ſuch Noblemen and others, as accompanied him thither the Day before.

Passing softly downe the Streame, he was severally encountered by divers Lords, which came to meete him on the Way: the Thames began soone to flote with Botes and Barges, halting from all Parts to meete him, and the Shores on eyther Side, where Conveniency of Place would give Way to their Desires, swarmed with Multitudes of People, which stood wayting with greedy Eyes to beholde his triumphant Passage.

About Eleven of the Clocke, understanding that the Tide was faine to low, as there would not be convenient Roome for all the Barges in his Traine to go orderly downe, notwithstanding his first Appointment was to have come to *London* about Noone, and Dinner prepared for him accordingly at *Whitehall*, hee made stay at *Barne Elmes*, and there Landing, refreshed himselfe in an Arbour by the Water Side, and tooke a short Repast of such Sweet-Meats and other Things, as could there be provided on the sudden.

By this Time the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, with the severall Companies of the Citie, honorably furnish't and appointed, and disposed in faire Order, were ready attending with a great Traine and sumptuous Showe, to receive his Highnesse at *Chelsey*: their Barges deck't with Banners, Streamers and Ensignes, and sundry Sortes of loud-sounding Instruments, aptly placed amongst them.

There were also two artificiall Sea-Monsters, one in Fashion of a Whale, the other like a Dolphin, with Persons richly apparrelled, sitting upon them, who at the meeting and parting of the Lord Mayor and his Company, with the Prince, were to deliver certaine Speeches unto him.

In this goodly Manner this well furnish't Fleet of the City received his Highnesse somewhat beyond *Chelsey* about two of the Clock in the Afternoone: and after the Lord Mayor and Aldermens Salutation, humbly presented and graciously accepted by his Highnesse, they turned their Stemmes, and so proceeded towards *London*: observing this Course, that whereas at their Approach the Lord Mayors Barge, came foremost, and the Companies every one in their Degrees followed after; now that Order being chaunged, the Companies went before, the meanest in Place first, the rest according to their severall Rankes successively ensuing, and lastly the Lord Mayor attended with his two Sea-monsters on eyther Side, going immediately before the Prince and conducting his joyfull Passage to the Citie.

Next after the Princes Barge followed his Servants, and the Barges of sundry Noble-men, and others which had met him on the Way; and on every Side, such a confused Company of Botes of all Sortes fraught with Beholders, as it seemed the River (though then enlarged to her utmost Limits by the Tides friendly Advantage) was too little to containe them: as likewise the Land on eyther Shore, which never felt the Weight of such an Infinity of People upon any former Occasion.

Approaching neere to *White-hall*, the King and Queene with the young Duke of *Yorke* and Lady *Elizabeth* stood in the privie Gallerie Window, to see the Order of their Comming, and that his Majestie might take the better Viewe of the Lord Mayor and Citizens Show, they were appointed to passe along on *London* Side, whilst the Prince in the meane while fetched a Com-
passe

passed about by *Lambeth*; and so coming to *White-hal* Bridge (where the Lord Maior and Aldermen tooke Leave of his Highnesse) there landed, his Landing being congratulated with a loude peale of Chambers from the other Side of the Water: which in their thundring Voyces carried up to the Skie, the Joy of the Peoples Hearts conveyed in the Issue of these happy Triumphs.

At his Highnesse coming on Shore his Servants attended upon the Bridge to receive him, making a Guard for him to passe thorow to the Hall, where he was entertained by the Lord *Knols*, and the Lord *Wotton* Treasurer and Controller of the Household: likewise in the great Chamber by Vicount *Fenton* Capitaine of the Guard, in the Prefence by the Earle of *Suffolke*, Lord Chamberlaine, and lastly by the King and Queene in the Privy Chamber. After which his Highnesse reposed himselfe, and so ended that Dayes Solemnity.

On *Munday* following the Lords and Peeres of the Realme being all assembled in Parliament, his Majesty accompanied with the Prince, who was that Morning to be invested in his Principalltie, tooke Water at the Privy Staires at *White-hal*, and landing together at *Westminster* Bridge, his Majesty passed directly to the Parliament-house, and the Prince to the Court of Wardes, from whence, after a whiles tarryance for the disposing of Things in due Order, his Highnesse proceeded in this Manner to his Creation.

First went the Heralds and Officers of Armes in their rich Coates, next followed the Knights of the Bath, being five and twentie in Number, apparelled in long Roabes of purple Satin, lyned with white Taffata; then *Gar-ter* principall King of Armes, bearing the Letters Patents, the Earle of *Suffex* the purple Robes, the Train borne by the Earle of *Huntingdon*, the Earle of *Cumberland* the Sword, the Earle of *Rutland* the Ring, the Earle of *Derby* the Rod, and the Earle of *Shrewsbury* the Cap and Coronet. His princely Highnesse supported by the Earles of *Nottingham* and *Northampton* came bare headed, and so entring the Parliament Chamber, where the King was set in his Throne, and the whole State of the Realme in Order (divers Strangers and forraigne Ambassadors being present) he made low Obeysance to his Majestie three Times, and after the third Time, when he was come neere to the King, kneeled downe on a rich Pillow or Cushion, whilst the Earle of *Salisbury* read his Letters Patents. Then his Majestie at the reading of the Wordes of Investiture put the Robes upon him, and girded on the Sword, invested him with the Rod and Ring, and set the Cap and Coronet on his Head; with which Ceremony the Creation being accomplished, he arose, and was by the Earles of *Worcester* and *Suffolke* brought and seated in his Place of Parliament on the left Hand of his Majestie.

Having so remained a while, all Ceremonies finished, his Majestie with the whole Court of Parliament, rose up and descended into the Hall, passing forth towards the Bridge in solemne and stately Manner: the foremost as they proceeded in Order, were the Clerkes and Masters of the Chancerie, with the Kings Councell and other Ministers of the Law: next came the Officers of Armes, and then the Knights of the Bath as before: after them the Judges,

Judges, and so successively the Barons, Vicounts, Earles, Marquesses and Dukes, according to their Degrees in the Parliament House and Offices of State, all in their Parliament Roabes; and lastly, the King himselfe, with the Prince, who tooke Water together, the Trumpets sounding in the Row-barge all the Way as they went, and the Heralds going before them in the same. At *White-hal* Staires they landed, where the Knights of the Bath and Noble-men being landed before, stood ready on the Bridge in goodly and gallant Order to receive them, and going all before them, conducted them in this Manner up to the great Chamber.

The King that Day dined above, but the Prince dined in the Hall and was served with great State and Magnificence. He was accompanied at his Table with divers great Lords, as the Earles of *Nottingham*, *Salisbury*, *Worcester* and *Derby*, and namely all those that exercised any Place or Office about his Creation.

At another Table in the same Roome on the left Hand of the Prince sat the Knights of the Bath, all upon one Side, and had likewise great Service and Attendance.

About the midst of Dinner Garter principall King of Armes, with the rest of the Heralds, approached the Princes Table, and with a loud and audible Voyce, proclaimed the Kings Stile, in *Latine*, *French*, and *English*, thrise, and the Princes in like Manner twise, then the Trumpets sounding, the second Course came in, and Dinner done, that Daies Solemnitie ceased.

At Night, a stately Maske was presented before his Majestie, the Invention and Manner whereof I leave to the Author when he shall thinke good to publish.

The same Day the Devise of the Fireworks and Sea-fight upon the Thames should likewise have beene shewed, but for some Respects were put off till the *Wednesday* following, and then performed to the much Content and Admiration of the Beholders.

The Names of such Noblemen as were imployed in severall Places of Office or Attendance at the Creation of the PRINCE.

The Earle of Salisbury.
The Earle of Suffolke.
The Earle of Nottingham.
The Earle of Northampton.
The Earle of Worcester.
The Earle of Derby.

The Earle of Shrewsbury.
The Earle of Cumberland.
The Earle of Huntingdon.
The Earle of Suffex.
The Earle of Rutland.

Other

Other Noblemen that were present in the Parliament House at the Princes Creation, besides those which were employed in Attendance about him.

EARLES.

The Earle of Arundell.
The Earle of Bath.
The Earle of Southampton.
The Earle of Bedford.
The Earle of Penbroke.

The Earle of Hertford.
The Earle of Lincolne.
The Earle of Exceter.
The Earle of Montgomery.

VICOUNTS.

The Lord Vicount Mountague.
The Lord Vicount Bindon.

The Lord Vicount Lisle.

BARONS.

The Lord Aburgavenny.
The Lord Audley.
The Lord Zouche.
The Lord Willowby.
The Lord Barkley.
The Lord Morley.
The Lord Scroope.
The Lord Dudley.
The Lord Herbert.
The Lord Monteagle.
The Lord Mordant.
The Lord Ev're.
The Lord Rich.
The Lord Sheffield.
The Lord Paget.
The Lord Effingham.
The Lord North.
The Lord Chandos.
The Lord Hunsdon.
The Lord Saint John.

The Lord Bursleigh.
The Lord Compton.
The Lord Norreys.
The Lord Knolles.
The Lord Wotton.
The Lord Ellesmere.
The Lord Russell.
The Lord Grey.
The Lord Peter.
The Lord Harrington.
The Lord Gerrard.
The Lord Spenser.
The Lord Say.
The Lord Denny.
The Lord Stanhope.
The Lord Carew.
The Lord Cavendish.
The Lord Knivet.
The Lord Clifton.

Having thus briefly described the Manner of his Highnes Creation, I should here set a Period to my Discourse, but that the Knights of the Bath being a principall Part and Ornament of his princely Triumphes, and my selfe particularly bound to many of them, I could not passe them over without some Remembrance. Therefore thus much out of the Note of Directions from the Office of Armes, and some Observation of Credit, concerning the Order and Ceremonies of the Knighthood.

The

The Manner of the Creation of the Knights of the Bath, and the Ceremonies observed in solemnizing the same.

According to the Order given from the Commissioners appointed for the Oversight and Direction of these Ceremonies, the Lords and others that were to receive the honourable Order of the Bath, repaired on *Saturday* the second of *June* to *Durham* House in the *Strond*, and there in the Afternoone heard Evening Prayer, observing no other Ceremony at that Time but only passing through the Hall, the Heralds going before them with their Coates upon their Armes, into the Chappel, from whence after Service ended they returned into the Chamber they were to suppe in.

Their Supper was prepared all at one Table, and all sat upon one Side of the same, every Man having an Escutcheon of his Armes placed over his Head, and certaine of the Kings Officers beeing appointed to attend them. In this Manner having taken their Repast, the Tables were removed, and severall Beds made ready for their Lodging, in the same Place, after the same Manner, al on one Side, and each one as afore, right under the Scutcheon of his owne Armes. Their Beds were Pallets with Coverings, Testers or Canopies of red Say, but they used no Curtaines.

The Knights in the meane while were withdrawne into the bathing Chamber, which was the next Roome to that they supped in, where for each of them were provided a severall bathing Tub which was lined both within and without with white Linnen, and covered with red Say. After the Bath they betooke themselves to their Rest.

Early the next Morning they were wakened with Musicke, and at their upprising invested in their Hermits Habits, which was a Gowne of gray Cloth girded close, and a Hood of the same, with a Linnen Coyse underneath, and a Handkercher hanging at his Girdle, cloth Stockings soled with Leather, but no Shooes; and thus apparrelled, their Esquires Governours, with the Heralds wearing the Coats of Armes, and sundry Sorts of winde Instruments going before them, they proceeded from their Lodging downe through the Hall, the meanest in Order formost as the Night before, till they came to the Chappell. Where after Service ended their Oath was ministred unto them by the Earle of *Worcester* and the Earle of *Suffolke*, in a solemne and ceremonious Manner, all of them standing forth before their Stalles, and at their Comming out making low Reverence towards the Altar, by which the Commissioners fate; then were they brought up by the Heralds by two at once, the chiefeft first, and so the rest till all successively had received their Oath: which in Substance was this. That above al Things they should honour God and maintaine true Religion, love their Sovereigne, serve their Country, help Maidens, Widdowes, and Orphans, and to the utmost of their Power cause Equity and Justice to be observed.

This done whilest they were yet in the Chappell, Wine and sweet Meates were brought them, and then they departed to their Chamber to be disrobed of their Hermits Weeds, and new revested againe in Robes of Crimson Taffara lined

lined with white Sarcenet, having white Hats on their Heads with white Feathers, white Boots on their Legs, and white Gloves tyed to the Strings of their Mantles. Al which performed, they mount on Horsbacke, their Saddles being of blacke Leather, and Bridles of the same, with white Croffes upon their Brefts and Cruppers of their Horses; each Knight betweene his two Esquires well apparrelled, his Footeman attending, and his Page riding before him, carrying his Sword with the Hilt upward, and his Spurres hanging thereon.

In this Order rankte every Man according to his Degree, the best or chiefeft first, they rode faire and softly towards the Court, the Trumpets founding, and the Heralds all the Way riding before them. Beeing alighted at the Court Gate, they were conducted by the Heralds and others appointed for that Purpöse, into the Hall, where his Majestie sitting under his Cloth of Estate gave them their Knighthood in this Manner.

First the principall Lord that is to receive the Order comes led by his two Esquires, and his Page before him bearing his Sword and Spurres, and kneeleth downe before his Majestie. The Lord Chamberlaine takes the Sword of the Page and delivers it to the King, who puts the Belt over the Necke of the Knight aslope his Brest, placing the Sword under his left Arme. Then two Noble-men of the Chiefe about the King put on his Spurres, and so is the Ceremony performed. In this Sort the Earle of *Oxford* which was the principall of this Number, beeing first created, the rest were al consequently knighted alike: and when the Solemnity thereof was fully finished, they all returned againe in Order as they came, saving some smal Difference, in that the youngest and meanest Knight went now formost, and their Pages behinde them.

Comming backe to *Durham* House, their Dinner was ready prepared in the same Roome, and after the same Fashion as their Supper was the Night before, but being set, they were not to taste of any Thing that stood before them, but with a modest Carriage and gracefull Abstinence to refraine, divers Kindes of sweet Musicke being played the while, and after a convenient Time of sitting, to arise and withdraw themselves, leaving the Table furnished to their Esquires and Pages.

About foure of the Clocke in the Afternoone they rode againe to Court, to heare Service in the Kings Chappell, keeping the same Order they did at their Returne from thence in the Morning: every Knight riding betweene his two Esquires and his Page following him. At their Entrance into the Chappell, the Heralds conducting them, they make a solemne Reverence, the youngest Knight beginning, the rest orderly ensuing: and so one after another take their standing before their Stalles, where all being placed, the eldest Knight maketh a second Reverence, which is followed to the youngest; and then all ascend into their Stalles, and take their accustomed Places.

Service then beginneth, and is very solemnely celebrated, with singing of divers Anthemes, and playing on the Organes: And when the Time of their Offertory is come, the youngest Knights are summoned forth of the Stalles by the Heralds, doing Reverence first within the Stalles, and againe after they

are discended, which is likewise imitated by all the rest. And being al thus come forth, standing before their Stalles, as at first, the two eldest Knights with their Swords in their Handes, are brought up by the Heralds to the Altar, where they offer their Swords and the Deane receives them, of whom they presently redeem them with an Angell in Golde, and then come downe to their former Places, whilst two other are led up in like Manner: so doing successively till the whole Ceremony be performed: which done, and Service ended, they depart in such Order as they came, with accustomed Reverence.

At the Chappell Doore as they came forth, they were encountered by the Kings Master Cooke, who stood there with his white Apron and Sleeves, and a Chopping-Knife in his Hand, and challenged their Spurres, which were likewise redeemed with a Noble in Money, threatening them neverthelesse that if they proved not true and loyall to the King his Lord and Master, it must be his Office to hew them from their Heeles.

On *Monday* Morning they al met together again at the Court, where in a private Roome, appointed for them, they were cloathed in long Roabes of purple Sattin with Hoods of the same, all lined and edged about with white Taffata. And thus apparrelled they gave their Attendance upon the Prince at his Creation, and dined that Day in his Presence at a Side-bord, as is already declared.

The Names of such Lordes and Gentlemen as were made Knights of the BATH, in Honour of his Highnesse Creation, in Order as they were knighted on *Sunday* the third of *June*. 1610.

THE Earle of Oxford.

The Lord Gourdon, Sonne and Heire of the Marquesse Huntley.

The Lord Clifford, Sonne and Heire to the Earle of Cumberland.

The Lord Fitz-walter, Sonne and Heire to the Earle of Suffex.

The Lord Fitzwaren, Son and Heire to the Earle of Bath.

The Lord Hay, Sonne and Heire to the Earle of Arroll.

The Lord Erskin, Sonne and Heire to Vicount Fenton.

The Lord Windsor.

The Lord Wentworth.

Master Charles Somerset, third Sonne to the Earle of Worcester.

Master Edward Somerset, fourth Sonne to the Earle of Worcester.

Master Francis Stuard.

Master Ferdinando Dudley, Sonne and Heire to the Lord Dudley.

Master John Cary, Son and Heire to the Lord Hunsdon.

Master Oliver Saint John, Sonne and Heire to the Lord Saint-John.

Master Gilbert Gerrard, Sonne and Heire to the Lord Gerrard.

Master Charles Stanhope, Sonne and Heire to the Lord Stanhope.

Master William Stuard.

Master Edward Bruse, Sonne and Heire to the Lord Kinlosse.

Master Robert Sidney, second Sonne to Vicount Lisle.

Master William Touchet, second Sonne to the Lord Audley.

Master

Master Peregrine Bertie, second Brother to the Lord Willoughby.

Master Henry Rich, third Sonne to the Lord Rich.

Master Edward Sheffeld, second Sonne to the Lord Sheffeld.

Master William Cavendish, Sonne and Heire to Sir Charles Cavendish.

The Lords Commissioners for ordering the Ceremonies of the BATH, were,

The Earle of Worcester.

The Earle of Suffolke.

TEETHYS Festival: Or the QUEENES Wake.
Celebrated at *Whitehall*, the fifth Day of *June*. 1610.

Devised by SAMUEL DANIEL, one of the Groomes of her Majesties most honourable privie CHAMBER.

LONDON: Printed for John Budge. 1610.

The PREFACE to the Reader.

FOR so much as Shewes and Spectacles of this Nature, are usually registred, among the memorable Acts of the Time, beeing Complements of State, both to shew Magnificence and to celebrate the Feasts to our greatest Respects: it is expected (according now of the Custome) that I, beeing imployed in the Busines, should publish a Discription and Forme of the late Mask, wherewithall it pleased the Queenes most excellent Majestie to solemnize the Creation of the high and mightie Prince Henry, Prince of Wales, in regard to preserve the Memorie thereof, and to satisfie their Desires, who could have no other Notice, but by others Report of what was done. Which I doe not, out of a Desire, to be seene in Pamphlets, or of Forwardnes to shew my Invention therein: for I thank God, I labour not with that Disease of Ostentation, nor affect to be known to be the Man, digito monstrari; hic est, having my Name already wider in this Kind, then I desire, and more in the Winde then I would. Neither doe I seeke in the divulging hereof, to give it other Colours then those it wore, or to make an Apologie of what I have done: knowing, howsoever, it must passe the Way of Censure, whereunto I see all Publications (of what Nature soever) are liable. And my long Experience of the World, have taught me this, that never Remonstrances nor Apologies could ever get over the Streame of Opinion, to doe good on the other Side, where contrarie Affection, and Concept had to doe: but onely served to entertaine their owne Partialnesse, who were fore-perswaded, and so was a Labour in vaine. And it is oftentimes an Argument of Pusillanimitie, and may make ut judicium nostrum, metus videatur, and render a good Cause suspected by too much labouring to defend it, which might be the Reason that some of the late greatest Princes of Christendome would never have their Undertakings made

good by such Courses, but with Silence indured (and in a most wittie Age) the greatest Batterie of Paper that could possibly be made, and never once recharged the least Ordinance of a Pen against it, counting it their Glorie to do whilest other talked. And shall we who are the poore Ingeniers for Shadowes, and frame onely Images of no Result, thinke to oppresse the rough Censures of those, who notwithstanding all our Labour will like according to their Taste, or seeke to avoid them by flying to an Army of Authors as idle as our selves? Seeing there is nothing done or written, but incounters with Detraction and Opposition, which is an excellent Argument of all our Imbecillities and might allay our Presumption, when we shall see our greatest Knowledges not to be fixt, but rowle according to the uncertaine Motion of Opinion, and controwleable by any surly Shew of Reason, which we find is double edged and strikes every Way alike. And therefore I do not see why any Man should rate his owne at that Valew, and set so low Prises upon other Mens Abilities. L'homme vaut l'homme, a Man is worth a Man, and none hath gotten so high a Station of Understanding, but he shall find others that are built on an equall Floore with him, and have as far a Prospeet as he, which when al is done, is but in a Region subject to al Passions and Imperfections.

And for these Figures of mine, if they come not drawn in all Proportions to the Life of Antiquity (from whose Tyrannie, I see no Reason why we may not emancipate our Inventions, and be as free as they, to use our owne Images) yet I know them such as were proper to the Busines, and discharged those Parts for which they served, with as good Correspondencie, as our appointed Limitations would permit.

But in these Things wherein the onely Life consists in Shew: the Arte and Invention of the Architeet gives the greatest Grace, and is of most Importance: ours, the least Part and of least Note in the Time of the Performance thereof, and therefore have I interserted the Discription of the artificiall Part which only speakes M. Inigo Jones.

TETHYS Festivall. Wherein TETHYS * Queene of the Ocean, and Wife of NEPTUNE, attended with thirteene Nymphs of severall Rivers, is represented in this Manner.

FIRST the Queenes Majestie in the Figure of *Tethys*. The Ladies in the Shape of *Nymphes*, presiding severall Rivers, appropriate, either to their Dignitie, Signiories or Places of Birth.

Whereof the first was the Ladie Elizabeths Grace representing the Nymph of Thames.

The Ladie Arbella the Nymph of Trent.

The Countesse of Arundell the Nymph of Arun. †

The Countesse of Darbie the Nymph of Darwent. ‡

The Countesse of Essex the Nymph of Lee. ||

* Tethys Mater Nympharum & Fluviorum.

† Arun, a River that runs by Arundell Castle.

‡ Darwent, a River that runs through Darbie.

|| Lee, the River that bounds Essex.

The

*The Countesse of Dorcet the Nymph of Ayr.**

The Countesse of Mongommerie, the Nymph of Severn. †

The Vicountesse Haddington the Nymph of Rother. ‡

The Ladie Elizabeth Gray the Nymph of Medway. ||

These foure Rivers are in *Monmouthshire*.

The Ladie Elizabeth Guilford, the Nymph of Dulesse.

The Ladie Katherine Peeter, the Nymph of Olwy.

The Ladie Winter, the Nymph of Wy.

The Ladie Winsor, the Nymph of Uske.

The Discription of the first Scene.

ON the Travers which served as a Curtaine for the first Scene, was figured a darke Cloude, interspers'd with certaine sparkling Starres, which, at the sound of a loud Musick, being instantly drawne, the Scene was discovered with these Adornements: First on eyther Side stood a great Statue of twelve Foot high, representing *Neptune* and *Nereus*. *Neptune* holding a Trident, with an Anchor made to it, and this Mot. *His artibus*: that is, *Regendo*, & *retinendo*, alluding to this Verse of *Virgill*, *Hæ tibi erunt artes*, &c. *Nereus* holding out a golden Fish in a Net, with this Word *Industria*: the Reason whereof is delivered after, in the Speech uttered by *Triton*. These Sea-Gods stood on Pedestals, and were al of Gold. Behinde them were two Pillasters, on which hung Compartments with other Devises: and these bore up a rich Freeze, wherein were Figures of tenne Foote long, of Flouds and Nymphes, with a Number of naked Children, dallying with a Draperie, which they seemed to holde up, that the Scene might be seene, and the Ends thereof fell downe in Foldes by the Pillasters. In the midst was a Compartment, with this Inscription, *Tetbyos Epinicia*, ΤΕΤΗΥΣ Feasts of Triumph. This was supported with two winged Boyes, and all the Worke was done with that Force and Boldnesse on the Gold and Silver, as the Figures seemed round and not painted.

The Scene it selfe was a Port or Haven, with Bulworkes at the Entrance, and the Figure of a Castle commaunding a fortified Towne: within this Port were many Ships, small and great, seeming to lie at Anchor, some neerer, and some further off, according to Perspective: beyond all appeared the Horizon or Termination of the Sea, which seemed to moove with a gentle Gale, and many Sayles, lying some to come into the Port, and others passing out. From this Scene issued *Zephirus* with eight Naydes, Nymphs of Fountaines, and two Tritons sent from *Tetbys* to give Notice of her Intendement, which was the Ante-maske or first Shew. The Duke of *Yorke* pre-

* *Ayr, a River that runs near Skipton, where this Lady was born.*

† *Severne, rises in Montgomeryshire.*

‡ *Rother, a River in Suffex.*

|| *Medway, a River in Kent.*

sented * *Zephirus*, in a short Robe of greene Satin imbrodered with golden Flowers with a round Wing made of Lawnes on Wyers, and hung down in Labels. Behind his Shoulders two Silver Wings. On his Head a Garland of Flowers consisting of all Colours; and on one Arme, which was out bare, he wore a Bracelet of Gold set with rich Stones. Eight little Ladies neere of his Stature represented the Naydes, and were attired in light Robes adorned with Flowers, their Haire hanging downe, and waving with Garlands of Water Ornaments on their Heads.

The Tritons wore Skin-Coates of watchet Taffata (lightned with Silver) to shew the Muscles of their Bodies. From the Waste almost to the Knee were Finnes of Silver in the Manner of Bases, a Mantle of Sea-greene laced, and fringed with Golde, tyed with a Knot uppon one Shoulder, and falling down in Foldes behinde, was fastened to the contrary Side: on their Heads Garlands of Sedge, with Trumpets of writhen Shells in their Hand: Buskins of Sea-greene laid with Silver Lace. These Persons thus attired, entred with this Song of foure Parts, and a Musicke of twelve Lutes.

*Youth of the Spring, milde Zephirus blow faire,
And breath the joyfull Ayre,
Which Tethys wishes may attend this Day
Who comes her selfe to pay
The Vowes her Heart presents,
To these faire Complements.*

*Breathe out new Flowers, which yet were never knowne
Unto the Spring, nor blowne
Before this Time, to bewtifie the Earth,
And as this Day gives Birth
Unto new Types of State,
So let it Blisse create.*

*Beare Tethys Message to the Ocean King,
Say how she joyes to bring
Delight unto his Ilands and his Seas,
And tell Meliades,
The Off-spring of his Blood,
How she applaudes his Good.*

The Song ended, *Triton* in the Behalfe of *Zephirus* delivers *Tethys* Message with her Presents (which were a Trident to the King, and a rich Sword and Skarfe to the Prince of *Wales*) in these Wordes.

*FROM that Intelligence which moves the Sphere
Of circling Waves (the mightie Tethys, Queene*

* The Figure of *Zephirus* might aptly discharge this Representation in respect that Messages are of Winde, & *verba di-* *cuntur alata*, winged Wordes: besides it is a Character of Youth, and of the Spring.

Of

Of Nymphes and Rivers, who will straight appeare,
 And in a humane Character be seene)
 We have in Charge to say, that even as Seas
 And Lands, are grac'd by Men of Worth and Might,
 So they returne their Favours; and in these
 Exalting of the good seeme to delight.
 Which she, in Glory, lately visiting
 The sweete, and pleasant Shores of Cambria, found
 By an unusuall, and most forward Spring
 Of Comfort, wherewith all Things did abound,
 For Joy of the Investiture at Hand
 Of their new Prince, whose Rates, with Acts renown'd
 Were here to be solemniz'd on this Strand:
 And therefore streight resolves t'adorne the Day
 With her al-gracing Presence, and the Traine,
 Of some choice Nymphs she pleas'd to call away
 From severall Rivers which they entertaine.

And first the lovely Nymph of stately Thames,
 (The darling of the Ocean) summon'd is:
 Then those of Trent and Aruns gracefull Streames,
 Then Darwent next with cleare-wav'd Worthinesse.
 The beauteous Nymph of Chrystall-streaming Lee
 Gives next Attendance: Then the Nymph of Ayr
 With modest Motion makes her sweete Repaire.
 The Nymyb of Severne follows in Degree,
 With ample Streames of Grace: and next to her
 The cheerefull Nymph of Rother doth appeare
 With comely Medway, th' Ornament of Kent,
 And then foure goodly Nymphes that beautifie
 Cambers faire Shores, and all that Continent
 The Graces of cleere Uske, Olwy, Dulesse, Wy.

All these within the goodly spacious Bay
 Of manifold unbarboring Milford meete,
 The happy Port of Union, which gave Way
 To that great Hero HENRY, and his Fleete,
 To make the blest Conjunction that begat
 A greater, and more glorious far than that.

From hence she sends her deare lov'd Zephirus,
 To breath out her Affection and her Zeale
 To you great Monarch of Oceanus,
 And to present this Trident as the Seale
 And Ensigne of her Love and of your Right.

And therewithall she wils him, greeete the Lord
 And Prince of the Iles (the Hope and the Delight,
 Of all the Northerne Nations) with this Sword

Which

*Which she unto Astræa sacred found,
 And not to be unsheath'd but on just Ground.
 Herewith, sayes she, deliver him from mee
 This Skarffe, the Zone of Love and Amitie,
 T'ingird the same; wherein he may surway,
 Infigur'd all the spacious Emperie
 That he is borne unto another Day.
 Which, tell him, will be World enough to yeeld
 All Workes of Glory ever can be wrought.
 Let him not passe the Circle of that Field,
 But thinke Alcides Pillars are the Knot
 For there will be within the large Extent
 Of these my Waves, and watry Governement:
 More Treasure and more certaine Riches got
 Then all the Indies to Iberus brought;
 For Nereus will by Industry unfold
 A Chemicke Secret, and turne Fish to Gold,
 This Charge she gave, and lookes with such Cheere
 As did her Comfort and Delight bewray,
 Like cleere Aurora when she doth appeare
 In brightest Roabes to make a glorious Day.*

The Speech ended, the Naydes daunce about *Zephirus*, and then withdraw them aside, when suddenly at the Sound of a loud and fuller Musique, *Tethys* with her Nymphes appeares, with another Scene, which I will likewise describe, in the Language of the Archetictor, who contrived it, and speakes in his owne Mestier to such as are Understanders and Lovers of that Design. First at the opening of the Heavens appeared 3 Circles of Lights and Glassees, one within another, and came downe in a straight Motion five Foote, and then began to moove circularly; which Lights and Motion so occupied the Eyes of the Spectators, that the Manner of altering the Scene was scarcely discerned: for in a Moment the whole Face of it was changed, the Port vanished, and *Tethys* with her Nymphes appeared in their severall Cavernes gloriously adorned. This Scene was comparted into 5 Neeces, whereof that in the middest had some slender Pillowes of whole round, and were made of moderne Architecture in Regard of Roome; these were of burnisht Gold, and bare up the Returnes of an Architrave, Freeze, and Cornish of the same Worke: on which, upon eyther Side was a Plinth directly over the Pillers, and on them were placed, for Finishings, two Dolphins of Silver, with their Tails wreathed together, which supported ovall Vases of Gold.

Betweene the two Pillers on eyther Side were great Ornaments of Relievo, the Basement were two huge Whales of Silver. Above in an Action mounting, were two Sea-horses, and above them, on each Side of *Tethys* Seat was placed a great Trident. The Seate or Throne it selfe was raised fixe Steps, and all covered with such an artificiall Stuffe, as seemer richer by Candle, then any
 Cloth

Cloth of Gold, The Rests for her Armes were two Cherubines of Gold : over her Head was a great Skallop of Silver, from which hung the Foldes of this rich Drapery.

Above the Skallop, and round about the Sides was a resplendent Freeze of jewell Glasses or Lights, which shewed like Diamonds, Rubies, Saphires, Emralds, and such like.

The Part which returned from the two Plinthes that bare up the Dolphines, was circular, and made a Hollownesse over *Tethys* Head, and on this Circle were 4 great Chartuses of Gold, which bore up a round Bowle of Silver, in Manner of a Fountaine, with Mask-Heads of Gold, out of which ran an artificiall Water. On the middest of this was a triangular Basement formed of Scrowles and Leaves, and then a rich Vayle adorned with Flutings, and inchasd Worke with a Freeze of Fishes, and a Battaile of Tritons, out of whose Mouthes, sprang Water into the Bowle underneath. On the Top of this was a round Globe of Gold full of Holes, out of which issued Aboundance of Water, some falling into the Receipt below, some in to the Ovall Vase, borne up by the Dolphines, and indeed there was no Place in this great Aquatick Throne, that was not filled with the sprinckling of these two naturall seeming Waters. The Neeces wherein the Ladies sate, were foure, with Pillasters of Gold, mingled with rustick Stones shewing like a Minerall to make it more Rocke, and Cavern-like, varying from that of *Tethys* Throne. Equall with the Heads of the Pillars was an Architrave of the same Work, above was a circular Frontispice, which rose equall with the Bowle of the Fountaine fore-discribed. On the rustick Frontispice lay two great Figures in Rileve, which seemed to beare up a Garland of Sea-Weeds : to which from two antick Candlestickes which stood over the Pillasters were hanging Labells of Gold. And these were the Finishings of the Top of the two Neeces next to that of *Tethys*.

In the Space betweene the Frontispice and the Architrave stood a great Concave Shel, wherein was the Head of a Sea-God, and on either Side the Shel to fill up the Roome, two great Mask-Heads in Perfile. The other two Neeces which were outermost, were likewise borne up with Pillasters of Gold, and for Variation had square Frontispices, and against the streight Architrave of the other was an Arch. All these were mingled with Rustick, as before.

In the middle betweene the Frontispice and the Arch, was a Bowle or Fountaine made of foure great Skallops, borne up by a great Maske Head which had likewise foure Aspects, and lying upon this Arch (to fill up the Concaves) were two Figures turned halfe into Fishes, these with their Heads held up the Sides of this Bowle : above this were three great Cherubines Heads spouting Water into the Bowle. On the middest of the square Frontispice stood a great Vase adorned.

The rest of the Ornaments consisted of Maske-Heads, spouting Water, Swannes, Festons of maritime Weedes, great Shels, and such like ; and all this whole Scene was filled with the Splendor of Gold and Silver ; onely some beautifull Colours behinde to distinguish them, and to set off the rest.

The whole Worke came into the Forme of a halfe round: there sate three Ladies in each Neece, which made fixe of a Side: the Queene in the middest, and the Lady *Elizabeth* at her Feete.

Now concerning their Habite: first their Head-tire was composed of Shells and Corall, and from a great Muriake Shell in forme of the Crest of an Helme, hung a thin waving Vaile. Their upper Garments had the Boddies of sky-colored Taffataes for Lightnes, all embrodered with maritime Invention: then had they a kinde of halfe Skirts of Cloth of Silver imbrodered with Golde, all the ground Work cut out for Lightnes, which hung down ful, and cut in Points: underneath that, came Bases (of the same as was their Bodies) beneath their Knee. The long Skirt was wrought with Lace, waved round about like a River, and on the Bankes Sedge and Sea-Weedes, all of Gold: Their Shoulders were all imbrodered with the Worke of the short Skirt of Cloth of Silver, and had Cypresse spangled, ruffed out, and fell in a Ruffe above the Elbow. The under Sleeves were all imbrodered as the Bodies: their Shoes were of Satin, richly imbrodered, with the Worke of the short Skirt.

In this Habite they disceded out of their Cavernes one after another, and so marched up with winding Meanders like a River, till they came to the Tree of Victory, which was a Bay erected at the right Side of the State, upon a little Mount there raised, where they offer their severall Flowers in golden Urnes which they bare in their Hands: while a soft Musique of twelve Lutes and twelve Voyces, which entertained the Time, exprest as a Chorus, their Action in this Manner.

*WAS ever Houre brought more Delight
To mortall Sight,
Then this, wherein faire Tethys daignes to shew
Her, and her Nymphes arow
In Glory bright?
See how they bring their Flowers,
From out their watry Bowers,
To decke Apollos Tree,
The Tree of Victory.
About whose verdant Bowes,
They sacrifice their Vowes,
And wish an everlasting Spring
Of Glory, to the Oceans King.*

This Songe and Ceremony ended they fall into their first Daunce, after which *Tethys* withdrawes and reposes her upon the Mount, under the Tree of Victory, entertain'd with Musique and this Song.

*IF Joy had other Figure
Then Soundes, and Wordes, and Motion,
To intimate the Measure,*

And

*And Height of our Devotion:
This Day it had beene shew'd
But what it can it doth performe,
Since Nature hath bestow'd
No other Letter,
To expresse it better.
Then in this Forme;
Our Motions, Soundes, and Wordes,
Tun'd to Accordes,
Must shew the well-set Partes,
Of our Affections and our Harts.*

After this *Tetbys* rises, and with her Nymphes performes her second Daunce, and then reposes her againe upon the Mount, entertain'd with another Songe.

*ARE they Shadowes that we see?
And can Shadowes Pleasure give?
Pleasures only Shadowes bee
Cast by Bodies we conceive,
And are made the Things we deeme,
In those Figures which they seeme.
But these Pleasures vanish fast,
Which by Shadowes are exprest
Pleasures are not if they last,
In their passing, is their best.
Glory is most bright and gay
In a Flash, and so away.
Feed apace then greedy Eyes
On the Wonder you behold.
Take it sodaine as it flies
Though you take it not to hold:
When your Eyes have done their Part,
Thought must length it in the Hart.*

After this Songe *Tetbys* againe arises, and with her Nymphes, taketh out the Lordes to daunce their Measures Corantos and Galliardes, which done they fall into their third and retyring Daunce, wherewith they returne againe into their severall Cavernes, and sodainely vanish. When to avoid the Confusion which usually attendeth the Desolve of these Shewes; and when all was thought to be finisht, followed another Entertainment, and was a third Shew no lesse delightfull than the rest, whose Introduction was thus.

Zephirus marching a certaine Space after *Tetbys* and her Nymphes, attended with his Tritons, a sodaine Flash of Lightning causes them to stay, and Triton delivereth this Speech.

*Behold, the Post of Heaven, bright Mercury
Is sent to summon and recall againe,
Imperiall Tethys with her Company,
Unto her watry Mansion in the Maine:
And shift those Formes, wherein her Power did daigne
T'invest her selfe and hers, and to restore
Them to themselves whose beauteous Shapes they wore.*

And then bowing himselfe towards the State, craveth their Stay, and prepareth them, to the Expectation of a Returne of the Queene and her Ladies in their Formes, in these Wordes.

*AND now bright Starre the Guidon of this State,
And you great Peeres the Ornaments of Power
With all these glittering Troupes that have the Fate,
To be Spectators of this blessed Houre.
Be pleas'd to sit awhile, and you shall see
A Transformation of farre more Delight
And apter drawne to Nature, then can be
Discrib'd in an imaginary Sight.*

Triton having ended his Speech, Mercury most artificially, and in an exquisite Posture descends, and summons the Duke of Yorke, and six young Noble-men to attend him, and bring backe the Queene and her Ladies in their owne Forme, directing him to the Place where to find them; with this Speech.

*Faire Branch of Power in whose sweet Feature here
Milde Zephirus a Figure did present
Of Youth and of the Spring-time of the Yeare
I sommon you, and six of high Descent
T'attend on you (as hopefull Worthyes borne
To shield the Honour and the cleare Renowne
Of Ladies) that you presently returne
And bring backe those, in whose faire Shapes were showne
The late-seene Nymphes in Figures of their owne
Whom you shall finde hard by within a Grove
And Garden of the Spring addrest to Jove.*

Hereupon the Duke of Yorke with his Attendants departing to performe this Service, the lowde Musique soundes, and sodainely appeares the Queenes Majesty in a most pleasant and artificiall Grove, which was the third Scene, and from thence they march up to the King, conducted by the Duke of Yorke, and the Noble-men, in a very stately Manner.

And in all these Shewes, this is to be noted, that there were none of inferiour Sort, mixed amongst these great Personages of State and Honour (as usually there have beene) but all was perform'd by themselves with a due
Refer-

Reservation of their Dignity. And for those two which did personate the Tritons, they were Gentlemen knowne of good Worth and Respect. The introducing of Pages with Torches, might have added more Splendor, but yet they would have pestred the Roome, which the Season would not well permit.

And thus have I delivered the whole Forme of this Shew, and expose it to the Censure of those who make it their best Show, to seeme to know: with this Postscript.

*Pretulerim scriptor delirus inersque videri
Dum mea delectant mala me, vel denique fallant,
Quam sapere & ringi.*

S. D.

True Copies of the insolent, cruell, barbarous, and blasphemous Letter, lately written by the Great TURKE, for Denouncing of Warre against the King of POLAND. And of the Magnanimous, and most Christian Answer made by the said KING thereunto.

With a short Preface, declaring the unjust Cause on which this Turkish Tyrant, and faithlesse Enemy of Christendome, now layeth hold to invade it.

Published in Print by Authoritie, the 11. of June. 1621.

The P R E F A C E.

ABOUT the Yeere, 1608. Jeremy, Prince of Moldavia dying, left 3. Sonnes, Constantine, Alexander, and Bougdan, the eldest of which being but 8 Yeeres old, the Government, during his Minority, was by the deceased Father committed to his Uncle Simeon, who dying within three or four Yeeres after, Constantine the eldest Sonne, according to his Right, and supported by the Councell of his Mother, undertooke the Government. At which Time there lived at Constantinople, one Tomsho or Stephen, who falsely pretending to bee Sonne unto Aron, who had been Prince of Moldavia before Jeremy, had by Money and other sinister Practices, framed to his Ends, Mehemet Bassha, Lieutenant to the Grand Visier (which is the highest Officer under the Turk) and by falsely suggesting that Constantine refused to pay the yeerely Tribute of forty thousand Chequines to the great Turke, obtained from him an Army of 20000 Men, under the Conduet of a Turkish Generall, to expell Prince Constantine, and establish himselfe in the Government. And notwithstanding
Constantine

Constantine endeavored to give all due Satisfaction to this Turkish Generall, and made evident the Fraud and Falshood of Tomsho, yet hee being also corrupted by Tomsho's Bribes and great Promises, would admit no Reason. Whereupon Prince Constantine making Head to defend himselfe and Country, was in a Battaille overcome, taken Prisoner, and after, seeking to escape, drowned in the River Nieftre. Tomsho, after this Victory, being thrust into the Government, and indeavoring to keepe by Tyranny, what he had gotten by Injustice and Usurpation, the Nobility attempted by Armes to free themselves and their Country from his unspeakable Cruelties, but with Successe unworthy their Vertue; for, by an Overthrow, both his Malice, and the Countries Misery increased. In which Disaster, the greatest Part of them fly into Poland, the Refuge of the unfortunate Princeesse with her remaining Children, and the Tribunall from which their Country was in Justice to expect a Governour: the Polonians having by ancient Articles, and Capitulations betweene the Turke and them, to the End their Kingdome might not be prejudiced by that neighbour Province, which though Christian, was yet tributary to the Turk, reserved to themselves the Right and Interest to name a Vaivod, or Prince over that Country. And to this Purpose the King of Poland sent an Embassador to Constantinople, whom the Great Turke, contrary to the Law of Nations, Turkishly answered, by detaining him Prisoner, and ever since hath threatened that most Noble, and Christian Kingdome, with utter Subversion, having (as it is probably conceived) to that Ende drawne all his Forces out of Asia, and made a greater Levy in Europe, then hath beene knowne in that Empire, consisting (by Report) of foure hundred thousand Men; an Armie sufficient to satisfie the most covetous, or religious Christian Souldier with Riches, or Glory.

The Great TURKES Letter.

Sultan Achmat

MOST puissant, and highest Emperour of the Turkes, King above all Kings that dwell upon the Earth, a King that dwelleth on the earthly Paradise, an anointed Prince, and Sonne of Mahomet, Prior of the earthly Paradise, and Keeper of the Grave of thy God, Lord of the Tree of Life, and of the River Flisky, Conquerour of the Macedonians, the Seede of Great Alexander, Prince of the Kingdomes of Tartary, Mesopotamia, Media, and of the Martiall Georgians, Anatolia, Bythinia, Asia, Armenia, Servia, Thracia, Morea, Valachia, Moldavia, and of all warlike Hungary, Sovereigne Lord and Commander of all Greece, Persia, both the Arabia's, the most Noble Kingdome of Ægypt, Tremisen, and African Empire, of Trabezond, and the most glorious Constantinople, Lord of all the White and Blacke Sea, and of the holy Cities Mecha, and Medina, shining with divine Glory, Commander of all Things that are to bee commanded, and the strongest and mightiest Champion of the wide World, a Warriour appointed by Heaven in the Edge of the Sword, a great Persecuter of his Enemies, and of all their evill Vices,
a most

a most perfect Jewell of the blessed Tree, the chiefest Keeper of the *Crucified God*, a Prince and Lord in whom the *Mahometans* trust, and a great Persecuter of all Christians; To *Sigismund* King of *Poland*, if thou doest desire Our Welfare, and art Friend to us and Our Officer Lieutenant Generall of all our Forces which we will send, Our Greeting. But thou hast long since broken Our Friendship, and yet art neither ready nor fit to wage Warre, or fight Battell against us. But thou hast some secret Advice and Intelligence with other confederate petty Kings, and their Counsellors, to deliver thee out of Our Hands, and our Vicegerents Power, wherein thou hast done unadvisedly, and indiscreetly. If therefore thou thus persevere to oppose thy selfe against us, then feare, for thy Death, and the Death of all thy People is determined. *Wee* tell thee, *Wee* will overcome thee, from the Rising of the Sun, to the Going downe thereof, and *Wee* will shew Our Majesty in our own Person and Sight, unto the uttermost Parts of the Earth; Our very Thoughts shall be a Terroure unto thee, shewing that *Wee* will performe all that which *Wee* have herein denounced. And *Wee* will make knowne unto thee the Powerfullnesse of our Dominions. And thou, O King, which puttest thy Trust in strong Forts and Castles, shalt have Experience of Our resistlesse Might. I will roote thee out altogether, and thou shalt behold this with thine owne Eyes. Wherefore expect now no more Friendship at my Hands; put not thy Hope in the Strength of thy Walles, with thy owne Forces and People. I will ruinate thee without any Resistance, I will destroy thy *Cracovia*, in Signe of Triumph, I will leave there my bloody Sword, that every one shall take Notice thereof, and my Beliefe shall bee spread throughout all thy Dominions, and I will utterly roote out the very Remembrance of thy *Crucified God*. Let thy God bee angry, I care not; He may then helpe thee. Thy anointed (the Priests) I will surely put to the Plague; Wolves and wilde Beasts shall sucke the Breasts of thy Women; thou shalt leave and forsake thy Religion which thou now hast; that which remaineth of all Things, shall bee consumed with Fire. Herewith rest thou satisfied; I doe not tell thee now what I will doe, or meane to doe with thee; understand if thou wilt, or canst.

Given at Our most High Port of *Constantinople* most strongly guarded, &c.

The King of POLAND his Answer.

SIGISMUND the Third, by the Grace of GOD King of *Poland*, Great Duke of *Lithuania*, *Russia*, *Prussia*, *Masovia*, *Samogitia*, *Livonia*, &c. and Hereditarie King of the *Suecians*, *Gothes*, and *Vandales*, one of the most humble Servants of the True GOD, and of his Sonne JESUS CHRIST Crucified, to *Achmat* chiefe Prince of *Turkes*, and Infidels, Soules Health. *We* have received thy Letter, full fraught with Threats, and swolne with Impieties

Impieties against the Majestie of the most High GOD, whereunto *Wee* had not vouchsafed Answer, but that *Wee* were perswaded, our Silence would have been a Meanes of causing thee to flatter thy selfe so much the more, else had *Wee* neglected thee like an Arch-enemy of GOD, as thou art. *Wee* have therefore thought fit in some sort to regard the Salvation of thy Soule, giving thee to know, that thou art no other then a meere Man, in thy Person more weake then many of thy Followers; which should cause thee to remember, that if it had not pleased GOD to ingrave in the Front of such as rule, a kinde of awfull Majestie, whereby their Subjects are kept in Obedience; the good by Reward, the evil and perverse by rigorous Lawes, and both the one and the other by Authoritie; it were impossible they should continue eminent above others. Thou then, who in thy selfe art but as other Men, must know, that there is a Supreme Power of more Might then thine, which doth uphold thy Estate, causing thee to bee respected by thy Followers. This Power proceeds from GOD most Good, most Just, most Mighty, who preserveth it so long as Princes humble themselves before him; but if they suffer themselves to bee transported with Presumption and Pride, he easily abateth, and corrects their Fury. I will offer no other Example to thy Consideration, then that of *Bajazet* the First, one of thy Predecessors, who thinking to scale Heaven with his Armie (which in the Judgement of Man was unresistable, but in GODS Sight most contemptible) lived to see himselfe vanquished, taken, and imprisoned, coopt up in an Iron Cage, (wherein hee was in Triumph drawne after the victorious Conquerour, serving him for no better then a Footstoole) and having no other Food, then such as was cast him (like a Dogge) from his Table.

Thinke then with thy selfe, that hee that was so great, so puissant, and so terrible, may haply by right of Succession have left unto thee (as beeing descended from him) the like, or worse Fortune, if thou shalt dare to continue thy Blasphemies against GOD, and his beloved Sonne JESUS CHRIST Crucified. Thou doest mistake in thinking to lay an Aspersion upon us, by reproaching unto us the Crosse. For *Wee* account it Our chiefest Honour, and Glory; by Vertue whereof, as the Emperour *Constantine* quelled his Enemies, *Wee* hope, and assure our selves to bee defended against thy Fury. Thy proud, and thundering Words dismay us not, Our Courage is more Masculine and Generous, then so to be out-braved. For know, that wee regard not thy Threats, but with just Scorne tread upon thy Pride, and laugh at thy idle Terrours, and in stead of thanking thee for advertising us before thy Comming, *Wee* bid thee come when thou wilt, thou shalt be received contrary to thy Expectation. *Wee* have steepe Mountaines, and impregnable Rockes that shall barre thee from entering into our Lands. Thou shalt finde our Cities, and Castles well furnished with Munition, our Canons Mouthes breathing furious Fires, our Courages invincible, our Blades eager and sharpe, our Bodies, as our Mindes, prepared to sustaine the Violence of all Seasons, our Hearts promising nothing but Victory. And to dazell thine Eyes, the glorious Standard of the blessed Crosse shall goe before us; but above all,
the

the *Crucified Son* of the most High GOD shall cause his Angels to conduct us, and give us the Victory; He it is shall bee our Leader, under whose Protection wee will not feare to brave thee at thy Gates. Thy miscreant Troupes shall be troden under Foote, and their Bellies trampled on, and by a happy Victory (if thou chance to escape our conquering Arme) thou shalt finde thy selfe pursued unto the most secret Dens of thy abominable *Seralio*; thou shalt see thy *Mosques* laid levell with the Ground, thy *Muphty*, and other the execrable Priests of thy perfidious *Mahomet* made Gally-slaves; all those traiterous Run-a-gates whom thou doest harbor, shalt thou see put to exquisite Torments; of all which be most assured. And then shall bee set free all those poore and miserable Christians, who now lie groning under the Burthen of thy tyrannous Yoake, whose wofull Cryes being mounted to Heaven, have justly excited the Vengeance of God upon thee, who hath permitted thee to rise to this Height of Pride, that thy Ruine and Destruction may bee the more exemplar unto after-ages. To conclude, thou shalt see the Service of God re-established in *Greece* and *Asia*, which thou doest now unjustly usurpe. But if it happen thee to end thy miserable Life in Battell, (which we hope God will grant) be confident, that all the foresaid Vengeance shall ensue upon thy Death; and whiles thy wretched Soule lies broiling in the quenchlesse Flames of Hell, wee will lift up our cheerefull Voices, and, for the Victory obtained over thee and thine, sing Praises unto our God: to whom be all Glory for ever.

Know then, O Infidell, that wee feare thee not at all, and if thou beest not wilfully bent to runne Headlong unto thy owne Destruction, be advised; content, and containe thy selfe within those Bounds thou doest at this present usurpe, and if thou hast any Beliefe at al that thy thrice revered Prophet *Mahomet* could tell a Truth, or foretell future Events, then call to Minde, that of those thousand Yeeres which hee prescribed for the continuing of thy Sect, there remaine not above fixe or seven Yeeres. This then is the Time that the yet unsheathed Sword of the Christians affords for thy Amendment, that thou mightest come to the Knowledge of the alone true GOD, to worship him in his Sonne JESUS CHRIST, whereunto we once more exhort thee, omitting all other Salutation, and Commendation.

Given at our Castle of *Posnwick*, &c.

SIGISMUND.

A. True Copy of the Latine Oration of the Excellent Lord GEORGE OSSOLINSKI, Count Palatine of *Tenizyn*, and *Sendomyria*, Chamberlain to the Kings Majestie of *Poland*, and *Suethland*, and Embassadour to the Kings most Excellent MAJESTY.

As it was pronounced to his MAJESTIE at *White-Hall* by the said Embassadour, on *Sunday* the 11. of *March*. 1620.

With the Translation of the same into *English*.

Commanded by his MAJESTIE to be published in Print.

Serenissime REX,

SACRA, Regia Poloniæ, & Sueciæ Majestas, Dominus meus clementissimus integram diuturnamq; valitudinem, foelicissimos votorum omnium eventus, florens ac tranquillum latissimarum ditionum Imperium, *M. V.* precatus, singularem fraterni animi, & rerum, *M. V.* studiosissimi, propensionem, maximà quâ potest particularis ergà *M. V.* affectus testificatione declarat, ac his obstringit literis. Quibus præviis, ut reliqua Legationis meæ expediendi mihi, *M. V.* benignas aures præbere dignetur, humilimè postulo.

*T*Andem erupit Ottomanorum jam diu celatum pectore virus, & depositâ simulatæ multis abhinc annis amicitie larvâ, publico Barbarorum furore, validissimum Christiani orbis antemurale, petitur Polonia. Perstrepit bellico apparatu Oriens, onerantur classibus maria, jungitur Europæ Asia, Africanarum, si quid est virium in nostram armatur perniciem. In societatem tanti belli veniunt hæreditarii nominis nostri hostes, Scythæ; venit & uterque Dacus; Servii, Bulgari, Bosnenses, Illyrii, Thraces, Epirotæ, quicquid ferarum usquam est gentium, vi, præmiis, pollicitationibus, spe prædæ, cupiditate vindictæ cogitur, pellicitur, accenditur. Paratus nuper lamentabilis cruentæ tragædiæ prologus; hausit immitis primum cruorem Dacia, cùm perfidus hostis veterum ac recentium solenni jurejurando firmatorum immemor fæderum, innumeris copiis Regiæ Majestatis Domini mei clementissimi petens ditiones, appositam sibi parvam quidè, sed bellicosissimam nostrorum manum cecidit, ingenti Christianæ Reip. detrimento.

Crevêrunt etenim eâ victoriâ barbari spiritus, & tam faustis insolentes primordiis universam spe concipiunt Europam, eô proveci vel arrogantiae, vel amentiae, ut nec assentiente quidem Deo, delere gentem nostram se posse arbitrentur. Tanto non suarum duntaxat, sed Christianarum omnium provinciarum commota sacra Regia Majestas Dominus meus clementissimus discrimine, eo fuit animo, ut & reliquos

reliquos Principes impendentis metus commune faceret, & inprimis ad M. V. nullâ interpositâ morâ, referret.

Sed ea est M. V. singularis vigilantia, tantum communis Christianorum boni studium, ut & illos, ad quos ipsa potissimum vel temporum, vel locorum ratione pertinent pericula, animadvertat. Antevertit M. V. & hunc Serenissimi Regis mei nuncium, idque ultrò præstitit quod postulandum erat, cum eidem hosti se Regiæ M. Domini mei clementissimi amicum esse, nec ei ullo in discrimine deesse posse, nunciavit. Quâ in re agnoscit R. M. verè magnum, verè regium, verè Christianum M. V. animum; agnoscit fraternum ergà se affectum, quem gratissimi testificatione animi prosequitur, ac profitetur, nihil tam grave, nihil tam difficile, nihil tam periculosum fore, quod vicissim M. V. causâ aggredi recuset. Moveantur utinam tam præclaro M. V. exemplo reliqui Christianorum Principes, velintquè potius tam gloriosi laboris esse cooperatores, quàm segnes & otiosi spectatores alieni periculi, pessundaturi quandoquè popria, dum vicina negligunt. Id verò usu-venire nostro, si Diis placet, credant cautiores, exemplo, quos neglecta Græcia, deserta Pannonia, in has conjecit angustias. Et nos quidè eam quam cælum tulerit sortem feremus, renovatori Saguntinorum fidei, Tyrionum constantiæ, & si quid usquam fortiter actum, exempla; cæterum vicini nostri provideant, qua ratione animos firmare possint, ad similes, vel (avertant omen superi) graviores casus tolerandos. Nequè putent tyrannum, cujus animum humiles Sarmatarum case ad tam detestandum impulêrunt perjurium, sanctiora habiturum vicinitatis jura quæ cum eis jecerit, quorum urbibus mercaturâ florentissimis, opibus præstantissimis, ædificiorum cultu splendissimis, jamdudum inbiat. Non detinebunt hæc, sed allicient, non extinguent, sed inflammabunt sacrilegam per nefas propagandi imperii sitim. Quis enim non videt hoc unum Tyrannum intendere, quod in majorum ejus multo tempore agitatum constet fuisse consilio, ut occupatâ patentissimâ in omnes Europæ partes regione, omnis grani feracissimâ, omnium ad classem instruendam, armandamquè necessariorum refertissima, innumeris suis copiis opima apperiat horrea, navium ingentem præparet copiam, quibus Balticum occupet sinum, transiturus in Oceanum, ut sic binis classibus, velut alis, ab utroquè mari Europam premat, & opprimat; terrestres copias per apertissimos, quâ Poloniam spectat, campos, in Germaniam effundat, quâ euntem non montium claustra retinere, non fluminum rapacitas poterit retardare? Volvebat hæc Solymannus animo, agitabant ejus posteri, nec ullâ aliâ ab eo consilio deterritos eos fuisse constat ratione, quàm quòd crederent universos conspiraturos Christianos, ad tuendum hoc Regnum, ex cujus salute totius Europæ pendeat integritas. Nec deerant illo ævo tam magnanimi Principes, qui maluissent opum, ac vitæ propriæ detrimentum facere, quàm vicini sibi populi salutem periclitantem deserere. Hæc nostrâ ætate, prok dolor! multi non intelligunt, negligunt nonnulli, & quod dolendum magis, accersunt ultrò ad communem omnium perniciem, perfidum nominis Christiani hostem, indigni Christiano nomine, Barbaris ipsis execrabiliores. Unum Te habent, Serenissime Rex, hæc nostra tempora, qui pro singulari tuâ prudentiâ animadvertisti, & judicâsti per latus Poloniæ universam peti Europam, ac ejus periculum ad omnes pertinere Christianos; solenne Ottomanorum esse bella ex bellis quærere, & regna regnis cumulare, qui non contenti Asiæ, Africæ, & majoris Europæ partis imperio, quicquid reliquum

est prædæ destinant: nec sibi per religionem licere aliter posse opinantur.

Videt hæc M. V. singula, unde & hanc gloriam est consecuta, ambigentibus cæteris Principibus quid sentirent, solam M. V. quid Christianæ Reip. expediret, maximè & vidisse, & eligisse, autoremquæ reliquis extitisse, ut, dum licet, mutuis auxilliis, communibus subsidiis tantæ immanissimi hostis obviam eant libidini, cujus opes intestinis ipsorum diffidiis eò crevêrunt potentia.

Perge porrò, Invictissime Rex! & hanc dextram non armis magis quàm pietate notam, tuam fidem imploranti, porrige Poloniæ. Defensor fidei es, commune Numen ne blasphemetur, provide; imitère majores tuos, quibus haud grave fuit è propriis Barbaros eruere latebris, & ultimæ Syriæ finibus Britannici nominis gloriam terminare. Abundè amplissimis Majestatis Vestræ ditionibus suppetunt, quæcunque ad reprimendas potentissimi hostis vires requiruntur. Procerum copia, populi multitudo, omnis generis apparatus, vis immensa; ne patiatur Majestas Vestra peritissimos rei militaris Anglos, bellicosissimos Scotos, Hybernos ferocissimos, conjunctissimi Majest. Vestræ Regis, & amicissimæ gentis, discrimina spectare otiosos, ac tam latè serpens incendium in propriâ potiùs opperiri domo, quàm in vicinâ, dum licet, restinguere. In alieno discrimine propria curare pericula, nec præsentia duntaxat intueri, sed futura prospicere, erit celebratæ Majestatis Vestræ prudentiæ, erit & magnanimitatis, quam uterquæ admirabitur orbis, quam sera prædicabit posteritas, quam servata venerabitur Polonia. Serenissimus verò Rex meus uti nunc particularem Majestatis Vestræ ergà se affectum, quâ potest maximâ animi gratitudine, complectitur, ità in posterum eum se Majest. Vestræ declarabit amicum, qui & secundus Majestatis Vestræ rebus ex animo faveat, & adversis, si quæ impendeant, non secus quàm proprio commoveatur discrimine.

Most Renowned KING,

THE sacred, royall Majesty of Poland, and Suethland, my most gracious Lord and Master, wishing unto your Majesty perfect, and long Health, most happy Successe in all your Desires, a flourishing, and peacefull Government over your most large Dominions, declareth, by the most ample Testification hee may of particular Affection to your Majestie, the singular Propension of a Minde, brotherly, and most studiously addicted to your Majesties Affaires, and obligeth himselfe by these Letters. And this Preface past, I most humbly beseech your Majesty, while I briefly declare the rest of my Embassage, to vouchsafe me your benigne Attention.

THE long concealed Poyson in the Brest of the Ottomans, hath now at length broke forth, and the Maske of many Yeeres faigned Friendship laid aside, Poland, the strongest Bulwarke of the Christian World, is assaulted with the universall Fury of the Barbarous. The East is filled with Noise of Preparation for Warre, the Seas are loaden with Navies, Asia is joyn'd to Europe, and what Forces Africa affoords, are arm'd for our Destruction. Into the Society of so great a Warre there come the hereditary Enemies of our Name, the Tartars; there comes also both the Dacians; the Servians, Bulgars, Bosnians, Illyrians, Thracians, Epirotes, all

all wilde, and barbarous People whatsoever, by Force, Rewards, Promises, Hopes of Prey, Desire of Revenge, are compel'd, allur'd, enraged. A lamentable Prologue to this bloody Tragedy hath lately bin acted; cruell *Dacia* hath greedily drunke the first Bloud, where the perfidious Enemy mindlesse of his past and present Leagues solemnely seal'd, and sworne, invading with innumerable Troopes the Territories of the King, my most clement Master, flue, to the singular Losse of the Christian Commonwealth, our small, but most warlike Army opposed against him. For by that Victory the Courage of the barbarous, increased, and they growne insolent with so happy Beginnings, have in Hope devoured all *Europe*, beeing so farre transported either with Arrogance, or Madnesse, that even without * Gods Assent, they beleve themselves able to destroy our Nation, with so great a Danger not onely of his owne, but of all other Christian Provinces, the sacred Majestie of my most gracious Master being moved, hath determined with himselfe to forewarne other Princes of the imminent Perill, but especially, all Delay set apart, to referre it to your Majestie. But such is the singular Vigilancy of your Majesty, so great is the Study of the common Good of Christians, that you doe advertise them, to whom the Dangers in Respect either of Time, or Place chiefly belong; and your Majestie preventeth even this Message of my most renowned King, and of your own Accord You have offered what wee should have sought, when to this selfesame Enemy, you declared your selfe Friend to the regall Majestie of my most gracious Master, and that you would not forsake him in any Danger. Wherein his regall Majestie acknowledgeth your truely great, truely royall, truely Christian Minde; wherein hee acknowledgeth your Majesties brotherly Affection, which with the Testification of a most thankfull Heart, hee embraces, and professeth there is nothing so grievous, so difficult, so dangerous, which hee would not likewise for your Majesties Cause undertake. I would to God other Christian Princes might be moved by this most famous Example of your Majestie, and that they would rather be fellow Labourers in so glorious a Worke, then idle and slothfull Spectators of others Danger, since by neglecting their Neighbours, they cannot but at length ruine themselves. Which how likely it is to come to passe, they may, if Heav'n bee pleas'd, beleve, forewarned by the Example of our selves, whom neglected *Greece*, forsaken *Hungary* have cast into these present Straights. And surely wee shall suffer whatsoever Heav'n imposeth with Resolution to renew the Examples of the *Saguntines* Faith, *Tyrians* Constancie, or of what Fortitude hath else beene found; but let our Neighbours forethinke how they shall prepare their Mindes to endure the like, or (which Heav'n forbid) greater Calamities. Neither let them once imagine the Tyrant, whose Minde the poore *Sarmatian* Cottages drew to so detestable Perjury, wil esteeme more holy the Rights and Lawes of Neighbourhood

* When the chiefe *Muphty*, at the Instance of *Scanaber Bassha*, Generall against the *Polonians*, appointed solemn Prayers in their *Moschites* for the good Successe of his Armie, the Great *Turke* he forbid them, saying, that without any Aide from God, they were sure by their own Forces to destroy the *Polonians*.

which

which he shall make with them, after whose Cities most flourishing in Merchandise, most excelling in Riches, most beautifull in Buildings, hee hath long gaped. These Things will not keepe backe, but draw him on, they will not quench, but inflame his sacrilegious Thirst of enlarging his Empire by all both inhumane, and irreligious Wickednesse. For who sees not the Tyrant onely to intend that which is knowne to have beene long Time debated in the Counsell of his Predecessors, that by possessing a Country yeelding easiest Accessse into all Parts of *Europe*, most fertile of all Kinde of Graine, most replenished with all Necessaries to build, and arme a Navie; hee might open plentifull Granaries to his numberlesse Armies, and prepare infinite Shipping, by which beeing Master of the *Baltike* Sound, hee might passe into the Ocean, and so with two Navies, as it were with two Wings, by both the Seas, presse, and oppresse *Europe*; that he might through most open Countries, and Plaines powre into *Germany*, by those Quarters it bordereth with *Poland*, his Land Forces, where are no Closure of Mountaines to restraine, no Swiftnesse of Rivers to fore-flowe his Journey? This, long since, *Solyman* and his Successors cast in their Minde, neither were they, as it is manifest, by any other Reason deterred from that Purpose, then for that they beleaved, all Christians would conspire to defend that Kingdome, on whose Safety the good Estate of all *Europe* depended. Neither did there want in that Age Princes so magnanimous, that they rather chose to suffer Losse of Substance, yea of Life, then to forsake the endangered Safety of their neighbour Nation. But many in this our Age apprehend not, with Griefe I speake it, these Things, some neglect them, and which is more to be lamented, industriously invite this faithlesse Enemy of the Christian Name, of which they are unworthy, and then the Barbarous themselves more execrable, to the common Destruction of all. These our Times, most Renowned King! finde onely you, who in your singular Wisedome have considered, and understood that all *Europe* is strooke at through the Sides of *Poland*, and that the Danger toucheth all Christians; that to seeke Warres after Warres, and heape Kingdomes to Kingdomes, is customary with the *Turkes*, who, not satisfied with the Empire of *Asia*, *Africa*, and greater Part of *Europe*, designe what e're remains for Prey, and according to their Religion, imagine it is not lawfull for them to doe otherwise. All these Things your Majestie well sees, and thereby hath attained the Glory, whiles other Princes stand doubtfull what to thinke, alone to have understood, and chosen what was behovefull for the Christian Common-wealth, and to have beene Author to the rest, of resisting, by mutuall Aides, and common Succours, the so great Rage of a most cruell Enemy, whose Fortunes have growne unto this Height of Power by their intestine Discords. Proceede then, O most invincible King! and reach out this your Hand, not more knowne by Armes then Piety, to afflicted *Poland* imploring your Helpe. You are Defender of the Faith; take then Care that our common Deity be not blasphemed; imitate your Predecessors, who held it not burthensome to rowze the Barbarous out of their owne Dens, and stretch unto the Bounds of farthest *Syria*, the Glory of the *British* Name. In your Majesties most ample Territories all Things abound
which

which are requir'd to repress the Force of the most potent Enemy; Store of Nobility, Multitude of People, Provisions of all Kinde, immeasurable Power. Let not your Majesty suffer the *English* most experienced in military Affaires, the most warlike *Scots*, the fierce and most couragious *Irish* idly to behold the Dangers of a King most joyn'd in Friendship, and of a Nation most-affected to your Majesty; and rather to expect in their own Roofes so large a spreading Flame, then, whiles they may, extinguish it in their Neighbours. To provide in others Danger for your owne, nor to cast your Eye only on present, but also on future Things, belongs to your Majesties celebrated Wisedome, belongs to your Magnanimitie, which either World shall admire, which long Posteritie shall report and praise, which preserved *Poland* shall reverence. And my most renowned King, as for the present hee imbraceth with all possible Thankefulnesse, the particular Affection of your Majestie towards him, so in all Time to come, he will declare himselfe that Friend, which shall from his Soule both favour your Majesties prosperous Successes, and in adverse, if any such should chance, be no lesse mooved then with his proper Danger.

A Relation of the Departure of the most Illustrious Prince of *WALES*, from *Madrid* the Ninth of *September*, this present Yeare. 1623. *Stilo Novo*.

To Don ALONSO NELI DE REIBADENEYRA, Lord of Vega de Porras, neere to Valladolid.

THE Wonder of *Cordoua* (*Seneca*, *Romes* Master,) said, that the first Point of Ingratitude, was to bee forgetfull of a Benefit. Those which I receiv'd from *Don Francesco de Reibadeneyra*, a Knight of the Order of *Santiago*, Father to your Worthines, I cannot in Gratitude passe over in Silence, for acknowledging whereof, I may well say (that the Sonne of Reason and Recognition rose in me early) and moreover by an hereditary Bequeathment, Sonnes put their Fathers in Mind, what I stood endebted in to yours, whereof I now pay a part, laying at the Feete of your Censure, (for the Discharge of my Office, in Respect of your Wit, and more then humane Parts) this last Discourse, of the Departure and Magnificences of the Prince, except the Shallownesse of my owne Braine abate some Graines of the due Estimate. Fare you well.

Andrez de Mendoza.

The Comming of the illustrious Prince of *Wales* into these Kingdomes, being the strangest Occurrent that in a royall Person the World hath for many Ages seene, which dasht and obscured all ancient Patternes and Examples, it astonished whole Nations, and raised up assured Hopes of great Prosperities and

and Opinions, of his comming amongst Men, being so diversly conceived, beyond the Bounds of ordinary Discourse, as in sundry of my Relations hath beene reported, wherein are discovered and revealed many Points of Urbanity, Greatnes, and Gallantrie, I thought my selfe likewise obliged to write of his Departure, comprehending (as you shall see) so many Circumstances of Pleasure, and Contentment. For which, the ninth of *September* was constituted, and by the *Conde de Olivares*, as chiefe Master of the Horse, Councillor of Estate, and the Kings neereft Confident; Order was given, that hee should bee accompanied by twelve Gentlemen Wayters, to serve and attend him, *Conde de Villa mor*, *de Meiorada*, *de Villa Franqueza*, and *Catillana*, *D. John de Sabe*, *Ara* the Gallant, *D. Diego de Zarate Landi*, *D. Joseph de Samano*, *D. Antonio Zapata*, *D. Garcia de Castro*, *D. Juan de Cordoua*, *D. Aularo de Guzman*, *D. Pompeio de Farsis*, all Persons of renowned and great Quality. They and their Servants, with all honourable Apparence, of Coaches, Horse-litters, Jewels, Liveries, and Gallantry, manifesting the Greatnes of their Persons, by undertaking it with that Observance and Cheerefulness, which usually they shew, in any Thing commended to their Care.

The Carriages were committed to the Licentiate *Don Lewis de Paredes Alcayd* of the Pallace and Court, and his Care and Diligence herein was but requisite, for so great Provisions as belonged to the King and the *Infantes*, besides those of the Prince which hee had in Charge, and the preparing of the Wayes, and opening of Passages, to the Licentiated *Juan de Queniones*, Lieutenant to the Corrigidor of *Madrid*, who in this, as in all other Things, shewed his Affection and Desire to serve the King; Then to provide victuall, to minister Justice to both Parts, and to governe a Company so necessary to be ruled and ordered, as such a Number of Coachmen, Littermen, and Muleters, was referred to the Licentiate, *Don Diego Franco, de Garnica Alcayd*, which was not one of the least Services that ever hee performed.

The Cardinall *Zapata*, the Marques *de Aytona*, and the *Conde de Gondomar*, Counsellors of Estate, were appointed to accompanie, and to assist, in whatsoever was necessarie to bee consulted or treated of, in the Behalfe of the King; for as there is no Action of Princes, which is not subject to great Variety of Accident, and new Reasons give Occasion of present Debatelements, Points of State must necessarily bee scand and discust; the *Conde de Monterrey*, President of *Italy*, so rare and famous in Understanding, was commaunded to attend his Highnes, for the Contentment hee had given herein since his Comming, and the great Acceptance which the Prince made of his Service; and hee was commaunded to joyne with the Counsell of Estate, to treat of any Matter that should come in Question, and for Secretarie there was ordained *Don Andres de Prada*, and *Losuda* Knight of the Order of Saint *John*, one that also deserved higher Employments.

The Kings House, furnisht with double Officers, from the highest to the least, at the Disposition of the *Conde de Baraias*, his Mayordome, or Steward.

The Privy Chamber and all belonging to it, was commended to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who attended in that Place, and most of the Gentlemen there attending

attending were of the *English* Nation, and the Offices being inferiour to ours, it was the lesse Inconvenient, they should come for the Time under forraine Obedience, then to oblige so great Nobilitie, to new Orders and Customes: the Servants and Pages of *Conde de Olivaries*, attended and serv'd the Duke, as they had done since the first Day of his Arrivall.

*Those of his
Majesties
Chamber be-
ing all of the
chiefe Nobil-
ity of Spain.*

Horses, and Mules of Carriage, with whatsoever to them belonged was referred to the Charge of *D. Francisco Zapata*, one of the Kings Ryders, who was confident of his owne Experience: and amongst so many and sundry Persons that went along in this Troop, there were *D. Jacynro Castelin*, and *Don Antonio de Farfis*: *D. Gieronimo de Tapia*, and *D. Manuel Gutienes* the Kings Pages, the Chiefe of the Order of *Calatrava*, the rest were of the Order of *St. Jago*.

The Lieuutenant to the great Post-Master, *Sanctiago de Saldanna* and his Officers, and the *Spanish* and *Almaine* Guardes, were under *Baraias* Command, and whatsoever else belongs to so many Lords: all which strove to the uttermost, in adorning their owne Persons, and enriching their Servants Liveries.

His Majestie presented to the Prince: And the Marques *Flores de Avila* his principall Rider, and a Gentleman of his Chamber, in his Name, deliver'd eightene *Spanish* Genets, fixe Barbaries, fixe breeding Mares, and twenty Foles, all covered with Clothes of Crymson Velvet, garnisht and garded with gold Lace, and Scutchions of his Armes, and one of them had a Saddle of fine Lambskinnes, the other Furniture set and embroyder'd with most rich Pearle, befeeming well both his Majestie, and his Highnesse, and two Stallions, with their Mares, and a Pistoll, Sword and Dagger, set with Diamonds of great Value and Estimation, fourscore small Shot, the like Number of Cross-bowes, with which the Duke of *Medina Sidonia* had served, and a Sword, and Pistoll, with which the Duke of *Ossuna* once served his Majestie: and an hundred selected Swords, amongst all those of the Court, and the Prince gave the Marquesse of *Flores*, a rare Jewell of Diamonds.

To the Duke of *Buckingham* were given twelve *Spanish* Gennets, foure Moriscos or Barbarie Horse, foure Mares, and ten Foales covered with Mantles of crimson Velvet, garnisht with Gold, and of Swords and Hand-peeces, about fiftie: with a Girdle of Diamonds of the Value of thirty thousand Crownes.

And to the Captaine of the Guard, Baron of *Kensington*, two hundred Buttons of Diamonds, and foure Horses, and with them certaine Slings. And to the Estimation of fifty 1000. Duckets in Jewels amongst the *English* Gentry: a Gift and Largeesse correspondent to so great a Monarch.

The Queene our Lady and Mistres besides Linnen, presented to the Prince, fiftie Skins of Ambar unshaven, and an hundred and fiftie Cabretanes, or of young Kids: their Sent and Perfume amounting to a great Sum of Crownes.

The Conde d'Olivares (besides divers Pictures and other rich Utensils of the House) presented his Highnes with three Chains of needle Worke, so rich as proper only for a Prince.

Don Layme Manuel de Cordeves Marqueffe of Belmonte, gave him foure Barbary Horses, and his Highnes commanded a very faire Chaîne, to be given him that brought them.

His Majestie and his Highnesse went twice, to take Leave of the Lady Infanta, and of other Royall Persons, to the Monastery of the *Descalsas*; where they were entertained with Teares of Joy, and his Majestie commanded that the Marques of *Villena*, and the Prince of *Esquilache*, should enter, with other Lords, that had Sisters and Daughters there. And her Highnes gave unto the Prince, many Boxes of Sents, Flowers, and other Things of great Curiosity and Riches.

The Embassadors, Grandes, and Counsellors of Estate, went to take Leave of his Highnes; by whom they were honor'd, and he thanked them for the Care and Paines they tooke, in all the Meetings for his Dispatches: and hee sent to visit all religious and grave Persons, ecclesiasticall and secular of the Assembly, to whom he gave the like Thankes: for as in Greatnesse, so is he in no Manner of Urbanitie defective. On *Thursday* at seven of the Clocke in the Morning, in the Presence of the Counsell of Estate, betweene the Hands of the illustrious Patriarke of the *Indies*, his Highnesse with the King of *Spaine*, performed some Ceremonies of the matrimoniall Capitulations, and those of the Convention of the State.

The Day after, in the Evening, about five of the Clocke, his Majestie went for the Prince in publike, wearing a blacke Sute, and Jewels, for the Sorrow of the Princes Departure, and his Highnesse ware no Jewels at all. The Concourse of People was so great, that neither any Respect of his Majesty, nor Feare of the Guards could keepe them back, so dearely *Spaine* loves her Kings. The Love of the Prince, is growne so naturall: and his Confidence, and Tractabilitie in Treaties, hath so augmented it; as also the *Spaniards* are so easily wonne with Affabilitie, an infallible Effect of their Demerit and Valour. And so likewise, as beeing Sonne to a most absolute and understanding King, his Highnesse knew how to imitate with such admirable Sufficiency. The Queene and the Infanta, accompanied with all the Ladies of the Court, the Wives and Ladies of Embassadors, Ladies, and *Menima's*, which are certaine yong Nobilitie expected; who being entred, they went and received him without the *Tarima*. And all turning towards her, Hee first tooke Leave of the Queene of *Spaine*, without an Interpreter in the *French* Tongue: and afterwards by Meanes of his Embassador Ordinarie, who interpreted for the *Infanta*, with whom hee continued about halfe an Houre. And all the *English* Lords and Knights kissed the Queenes, and the *Infanta's* Hands.

Where being conducted and accompanied by the Lordes *Infantes*, to his Coach, and the Duke of *Infantado*, the Conde de Olivares, the Duke of *Buckingham*,

Buckingham, and the Earle of *Bristol*; the *Spaniards* on the Side of his Highnesse, and the *English* on the Kings Side, they went to the *Descalsa's*, to take their last Leave of his Highnes, leaving behinde them this great and famous Place. They returned by Night. And afterwards his Highnes Gifts and Presents were made knowne, such as becomed a Prince, to Persons who shall be made knowne; wherein he shewed the Greatnesse of his Person, and the Desire and Respect they bare to his Majesty, and ought to shew and manifest.

A Monastery of bare-legged Friars.

To the King our Lord hee gave a Sword set with Diamonds, which in the least Estimate must needs be held a great Gift: and his Majesty gave him that delivered it, a Jewell correspondent to the Majestie of a King.

To the Queene our Mistresse, hee sent a faire and relucient Diamond, which was esteem'd to be of twenty Caracts Weight: And a Triangle, and two Eare Rings of Diamonds, as big as an indifferent Beane, great in Value, but greater in Art, and Workmanship: and the Queenes Majestie gave to the Keeper of the Wardrobe that brought them, three thousand Crownes.

To the Lady *Infanta* a String of two hundred and fifty great peare-fashioned Pearles, of rare Perfection, and of five Caracts: and one with a Diamond which cannot be valued: and two little Peare-pearles for the Eares, of inestimable Value: and other two Pearles for the same Parts, marvellous great.

To the two chiefe Ladies of the Chamber, the Duchesse of *Gandia*, and the Countesse of *Lemos*. To the chiefe *Mayor-domos* or Stewards: the Duke of *Infantado*, and the Conde of *Benavente*, Jewels of Diamonds. And the Duke gave five hundred Ducats to him that brought them: and to seventeene Ladies and *Minima's* seventeene Jewels, as estimable for Value, as for Art.

To the Lord *Infante Don Carlos* a poynted Diamond, in a Cup, set in a Ring, as a true Present from a Prince to his Highnesse.

To the Lord Cardinall *Infante* a Pectorall of Topazes, Diamonds, and a pendent Pearle, which might supply the Absence of the *Peregrina*.

To the Conde de *Olivares*, a great Diamond called a *Portugues*, and it was some time *Don Sebastians*, it is of eight Caracts, with a pendent Pearle of great Price. And the Conde gave to the Keeper of the Wardrobe, to Mr. *Endimion Porter*, and Mr. *Thomas Carey* of his Highnesse Chamber, Jewels of good Value, and each of them fixe excellent Swords, with all their Furniture.

Some rare Jewell so called.

To the Countesse of *Olivares*, a Crosse of very great Diamonds in forme of a Columne. And to the Lady *Maria de Guzman* her Daughter, a Ring worth a great Summe of Crownes.

To the Admirall of *Castilla* a great Jewell, and his Excellency a thousand Crownes to him that brought it, and to the Marqueffe of *Carpio* the like.

To the Duke of *Hixar*: To the Marques of *Mondexar*: To the Kings Confessor, and to the Bishop of *Segovia* foure Jewels of Diamonds worthy of such Persons, and him that gave them.

And to all the Gentlemen of the Chamber, rings with faire Diamonds, and to the Counsellors of Estate, Stones of double the Greatnesse.

To fourteene of the Kings Pages, so many Chaines, and fixe and fifty thousand Ryals to the inferiour Officers that waited. To the Guard of Archers foure thousand Crownes; and to every one was given a very good Ring. And also to *Don Melchior of Alcazar*, whose Observance and Attendance deserv'd it.

To the *Conde de la Puebla del Maestre*, a Chaîne of a thousand, an hundred and seventeene Diamonds; and a Jewell with forty seven more, with his owne Picture.

The Duke of *Buckingham* gave to *Don Rodrigo de Aguiar*, and *Don Pedro Ares*, Servants to the *Conde de Olivares*, two Sutes of Apparell, and Crosses of Diamonds double the Value. The like were given to *Don Juan de Santa-cruz*, and *Don Pedro de Vega*: And to thirteene Pages, thirteene Chaines of Gold: and to the inferiour Officers and Servants, a great Summe of Money: and to all that carried Horses, or any other Thing into *England*, great Gifts of Money and Chaines, reserving still, the shewing them a further Favour there. The Prince did the like to the Gentlemen-waiters to the King. To *Marco Antonio Darroque*, and to *Don Juan de Fonseca Rabelo*, Attendants about the Kings Person, to each of them a thousand five hundred Crownes.

On *Saturday* by faire Day-light, they departed, the Prince, the King, and the Infantes, and in a Manner, all the Court, and every ones Family; to *San Lorenzo*, or the *Escuriall*, whither they came that Day. And the Day following, there were shewed to his Highnesse, accompanied with the royall Persons, the *Panttheon*, Sepulchers, Vestrie, Quire, Libraries, Cloisters, and Gardens: who admired it, as it well deserves: and to all those Lords it seem'd not onely greater then the Fame that went of it, but then any Conceit or Imagination they could have therof: and in Reason, it was exalted with the Title of the eighth Wonder of the World, and the Epilogue and Conclusion of all the rest.

Monday following, being the eleventh, (while they that were to goe the Journey, came on to the rest of the Company) was spent in seeing the *Fresneda* and the *Boscages*, as also in hunting there.

Tuesday Morning was spent after the same Manner: And his Majestie determining with their Highnesses, to accompany them to the Grove of *Balsayn*: when his Highnes requested him, having Respect to the Queenes being great with Child, that he would no longer continue his Absence; his Majesty resisted, but in the End was overcome by his Highnesse: for his just Demand required no lesse.

They departed from the *Escuriall*; and in a little Field not farre off the Place ordain'd for their taking of Leave; they alighted, and so sitting down for the Space almost of halfe an Houre, conversed.

Afterwards they embraced, and the Queene, the Infanta, with the Brothers, *Don Carlos*, and *Infante Cardinall*, came to doe the like: Then all the *English* Lords and Gentlemen kissed the Kings Hand, and the *Spaniards* the Princes:

by

by both whom they were vouchsafed great Honours. And returning to embrace againe, with wonderfull Demonstrations of Love, a Trophee was commanded to be erected, with an Inscription of all that succeeded, in this Place where they took Leave.

The Prince departed to lye at *Guardarama* in his Coach, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Conde de Monterrey*, *Conde de Gondomar*, and his Fathers Embassador Leager: And the King and their Highnesses went to *Madrid*. And this Night the Admiral of *Castile* and *Leon*, in his Majesties Name, with a great Traine and Show of Followers, was sent Post to visit the Prince, and one of the *English* Lords was likewise sent by his Highnesse to the King of *Spaine*.

On *Wednesday* hee went to dine at *Balsayn*, where hee tooke great Delight in the House and Boscages; as also in the rare and strange Situation. And about foure of the Clocke in the Evening, he entred into *Segovia*, where all the Country came flocking in to see him. He admired the Building of the Church, and of the Palace, when, upon the opening the Coach, they gave him a Welcome with all their Artillerie, which was much and good. And lighting on Foote, hee viewed all the House, extolling the Memory of prudent *Philip* the Second, the Re-edifier thereof, delighting to see his Armes quartered, with those of these Kingdomes in the Scutcheons of the second great Hall. The Worke of *Don Henriques* the Third, who married with a Neece of the Kings his Progenitors.

The *Conde de Chinchon Alcayd* of that Royall House, and the Treasurer of the Money Mint, was appointed to entertain him: Which hee performed with the Greatnesse of his Quality, and singular Wit and Discretion: who attended him at the Gate, accompanied with his Lieutenant, the Guard, and the Captaine of the *Alcazar* or Palace, and withall their Servants set forth in all Braverie, and hee offered him the Chiefe and double Key; because the principall Key of the *Fuerca* is onely presented to the Kings Person; or else obtaining it by Plea of Homage.

*An Officer of
great Place.*

His Highnesse was pleased to *merender*, or make his Collation, and the *Conde* served him, with a Number of Delicates, and certaine Trouts of extraordinarie Greatnesse. Also *Don Sancho Giron*, a Knight of the Order of *Alcantara*, *Corrigidor*, (the Glory of *Talavera*, his Countie) was ready with a Present of Milke Confections, of that Citie, so celebrated, which he esteemed, and for it sent him great Thankes.

*Betweene
Dinner and
Supper a
Collation of
some Fruits
and Jankets.*

Afterwards the whole Citie in Ranke and Order, with Mace-bearers, came to kisse his Hand, whom he honor'd, discovering himselfe to them, and not permitting the Ceremony of a Kisse, hee imbraceth them with Shew of great Joy and Contentment.

Then he went downe to see the Mint-House: where also the Count himselfe offered him the Keyes; and the *Alcazar*, or Palace, gave him a full Salve. All the Stamps were imployed, and wrought of all Sorts in his Presence, and here, after he had admired the Form and Maner thereof, the

Conde

Conde de Chinchon served him in Founts, with more then three thousand Crownes, telling him, how it was the Fruit of those Gardens, in Doubles, of an hundred, eight, foure, two, and plaine Plates, Ryals of fifty and of eight, and from them to halfe Ryals: He accepted of this Service; and among those Knights and Gentlemen, that delighted in the Beauty of the Coyne, he imparted some; the rest with much Contentment, hee disperst among the People, who beheld him, with many Acclamations and Benedictions.

Being returned to the Palace, when he had suppt, the Place was girt round about with Lights and Fires: and the Palace with a Number of Torches, and some great Ones very artificall, which yeelded much Light: an excellent Invention; and he presented him with a gallant Mask of thirty and two Knights, which might wel have appear'd in the Court, wherein there were Liveries of Cloth and Silkes, mounted on excellent Jennets. The Palace discharges all their Artillery, which was mingled with the sound of Bels, Trumpets, and musicall Instruments, which took up a great Part of the Night. They had provided Bulls, and twelve Lanciers; but the Haste of the Journey could not admit of this Service.

His Highnesse gave to *Chinchon* a Jewell worth 3000. Crownes, and hee to him that brought it, a Chaine worth three hundred.

He commanded Money to be given among the Officers of the House, and 200. Crownes to the Masters of the Artillerie, and as many to *Don Juan de Torres*, a pregnant and witty Poet, who dedicated unto him certaine ingenious and elegant Verses: and to *Andres de Mendoza*, Author of this Relation, who presented him with a Congratulation of his happy Espousals in the *Latine* Tongue, three thousand Ryals, with many Honours and Manifestations of Contentment. And about five in the Morning, hee cheerefully departed from *Agasaxo*, being received into that Citie: hee dined at *Santa Maria de Nieva*, and the Day following, at *Santiustie*, and lay at *Olmedo*: on *Saturday* he dined at *Valdestillas*, and by two came to *Valladolid*, where the whole Chancerie, Citie, and Universtie kissed his Hand, with a great Traine and Company, whom he honored with Signes of Joy and Gladnesse: he was entertained by those Lords with Bravery and Gallantrie, wherein they shewed Affection to serve their King, and by celebrating the Joy of the Prince his Comming, which his Majestie formerly manifested: Amongst whom, the *Marquesse de los Velez*, and the *Conde de Alva de Aliste*, exemplified themselves, in the great Traine of Servants, the glorious Apparell of their owne Persons, and in the Riches of their Liveries; all which he honoured as they deserved, and as he well knowes how to performe it. His Highnesse went to see the Kings Garden, hee was much delighted with the Pictures of *Raphael de Urbino*, and *Michael Angelo*, and with the Alabaster Fountaine, which the illustrious great Duke of *Tuscan* gave to my Lord Cardinall, the Duke of *Lerma*: he was served with it: It is the Portrature of *Cain* and *Abel*. And his Highnesse took great Contentment in the rich Shops of the Citie, which honoured him with Festivities of Fires, (for he would stay for no other Solemnities) and leaving among the Officers of the Palace and the Garden, Testimonies of his Magnificence, he departed to *Duennas*, where, by order, the Duke

Duke of *Cea*, Vice-Admiral of *Castilia*, entertained and feasted him; and in *Palencia* he was received and feasted by the Bishop, to whom he gave a great Jewell, and to his best, and inferiour Servants, a Liberality of Mony: from whence he departed to *Carrion*. Hee visited the Antiquities of the Citie, and so went to *Fromista*, and having Entertainment in the Marquesse House, by his Order, he was served with a great sumptuous Dinner: The like was shewed him in *Alguilar de Campo*, by the Marquesse thereof; and in *Herrera Rio de Pisuerga*. The Constable of *Castilia* and *Leon*, presented him with the like, for his own Honour, and the Eminency of his Family, omitting nothing, wherein he may testifie it.

And thus the Author cuts off the Thread of his Narration, reserving the rest for some more elegant Pen, till his Comming to *London*.

With Licence from the Lord Gançalo Perez de Valençuela.

In Madrid by the Widdow of Alonso Martin 1623.

Thus far runnes the printed Spanish Relation: what ensued after, you shall now heare, from the Report of some of his Highnesse Trainee, that attended in the Voyage. And thus it begins.

He arrived at Saint *Andera* on Saint *Mathews* Day: not farre off from this Port, the Prince dined (having not yet made his Entry into the Towne) whilst he sat at Dinner (circled about with all his noble Company) a double Newes saluted him at the Boord, and both of them good; the one was, that his Sister (the Princeesse Palatine) was safely brought to bed of a Sonne; the other was, that the whole Fleet (unshaken by any dangerous Sea-bruizes) was arrived in the Haven of Saint *Andera*. In the Afternoone of the same Day that the Newes was brought, about foure of the Clocke, he was with all Honor received and welcomed into the Towne: Being entertained upon the Way, not only with Multitudes of People testifying much Affection in their Faces, and uttering no lesse in their *Spanish* Tongues, that it came from their Hearts: but to render this Joy more substantiall, he was first all the Way he came along presented with Vollies of Musketeeres, and at the Towne with a ringing Peale of Ordnance. He was no sooner in the Towne, but his Desire was to take a View of his Fleet, being attended by many great Lords of *Spaine* who had come along to Saint *Andera* with him; the Conde of *Monterey* being a principall; with many *English* of good Quality.

How soone are Joyes turned into Sorrowes? Safetie into Dangers? a shining Forenoone into a gloomy Evening? His Highnesse after all that feasting and triumphing in Saint *Andera*, being desirous to go aboard that goodly Ship (the Admirall of his Fleet) called the Prince, (a Title due to it for the Bravery and princely Building of it) spent so much Time, that the Evening drew on apace, and with the Evening a more threatening Enemy:
for

for not onely the Tyde resisted his Comming backe (his Highnes being then in his own Barge, and his owne Watermen rowing in it) but a Storme began to arise, and the Billows to swel high, before the Watermen had gotten halfe Way from the Ships to the Towne, the Distance between the Shore and the Ships being at least a *Spanish* League. The Watermen were strong, cunning, and couragious, but the furious Waves taught their Oares another Manner of Practise then ever they were put to upon the *Thames*. To the Town they could not possibly get, against a Wind and Tyde so raging, or if they had ventured, it had been dangerous, in Regard a huge Barke (to save her selfe) lay very neere the Mouth of the Harbour: to the Shore they were as fearefull to put, it being full of Rocks; to the Ships back againe to flie for Succour, Night (a darke Night) being spred over that Horizon, denied that Comfort, for if they should misse the Ships, they were in Doubt to be carried into the Maine, the Channell where the Fleet anchored, running with an impetuous and irresistible Torrent. In this full-Sea of Horrors, the Prince resolved to turn back towards the Ships, and to fall in upon the first they could fasten, rather then trust to the Mercy of the Rockes, upon every one of which sat inevitable Destruction.

What could Hope trust to here, where neither the Watermens Skill, nor Strength, could incourage them to bring Safety to their Master?
A hideous Night. The Clouds opened, and discharged their Artillery of Raine, Lightning, and Thunder: Elements of contrary Nature, warring one upon another, whilst the Waters (which were called up, to decide the Controversie) quarrelling with the Winds, made the Uproare more horrid and tempestuous.

And so much greater was the Danger, by how much the Night (by reason of the Storme) grew darker and darker: yet at last, that omnipotent Arme, which can teare up Rocks from their Center, and that Voyce which can call in the Winds, and still them with the moving of his Finger, sent a Dove with an Olive Branch in her Bill, as an Assurance of Comfort. For by casting out a Rope from a Ship called the *Defiance*, (which with much Hazard of Life, one of the Princes Watermen caught hold of) by spying a Light in the same Ship, his Highnesse and all in the Barge with him, (Praise be given to the Almighty Pilot, that stood at Helme) were with unspeakable Joy received into that Shippe, and there tooke up his Lodging till the next Morning: nothing at all daunted at these Terrors, sithence Dangers to noble Minds are but the Triumphs of their constant Sufferings.

The next Day (being *Saturday*) his Highnesse was brought to Shore, and dined in a House appointed for him and his Company; where after Dinner, he tooke Leave of the *Spanish* Commissioners, and others, who had waited on him thither; and a little before the Evening, went aboard his Ship, called the *Prince*, with a full Resolution to make the Compasse of those wooden Walles, the Prince of *Englands* Court, and in that Sea-Chamber of Presence even to dwell, without any Remove, untill it should please God to send a prosperous Winde, fit to carry him into *England*.

On

On Sunday (which was the 14. of September) his Highnesse invited the *Spanish* Commissioners, and other Gentlemen to a Feast aboard, as a Farewell to them before they set forward to *Madrid*; and at their Returne from his Shippe, where they had such Royall Entertainment, as the Time and Place could conveniently prepare, the whole Fleet in their Passage by every particular Ship, bestowed upon them a Sea-salutation and Farewell, from the Mouthes of their Artillery, whose Ecchoes met them upon their very Landing on the Shore.

The Spanish Lords feasted in the Princes Ship, for a last Farewell.

Leave we those Lords of *Spaine*, fitting their Journey backe againe to *Madrid*, and let us returne to our Prince; whose Progresse (after the King of *Spaine* had taken Leave of him at *Campillo*) ending at *S. Andera* (or *S. Andrew*) the Time untill he set Sayle for *England*, was thus entertained.

On the 10. of September, his Highnesse came to the Towne; on the 11. his whole Fleet, (being eight Ships of his Majesties Navy Royall, and two Pinnaces) safely arrived in Sight of the Towne: the 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. and 17. went away (as before is related) in Entertainments on shore and aboard, in surveying, and making ready the Fleete; and last, in that last Farewell given to the *Spanish* Commissioners, which was on the 14. of September; after whose Departure, his Highnesse continued aboard foure Dayes, before he weighed Anchor, which was with much Joy, Elevation of Voyces, Thundring of Drums and Trumpets, and that excellent muscicall Tumult of Mariners, nimbly running up and downe to set forward so royall a Businesse.

Anchors now are weighed, all the Linnen Bravery of swelling Sailes, courting the Winds to speed them in their Journey: *Spanish* People stand upon the Shore; our Prince and *English* Noble-men upon the Deckes, taking Leaves one of another in dumbe Shewes, with Lookes, Hands, and Hats; And now suppose that for nine Dayes and Nights together you behold his Highnesse and his Noble Attendants, flying apace towards *England* with the Wings of prosperous Winds. But on the 29. Day of September (being *Michaelmas* Day) the Seas grew churlish, the Windes angry, and to avoyd their Fury, the whole Fleet was forced to put into the Iland of *Silley*, from whence they came into *Saint Maries Sound*, and then on the Third of October, being accompanied onely with a Side-wind, they came merrily forward; and within two Dayes after, that is to say, on the Fifth of October, (being Sunday) at Nine of the Clocke in the Morning, his Highnesse, (with unspeakable Joy of all within Reach of such happy Tidings) landed at *Portsmouth*.

Yet before he could meet this Happinesse of Landing, a Misfortune had a Minde to crosse him, but Heaven would not suffer it: for one of the Ships in the Fleet had like to over-set him, but the Malice of this Danger ended in his Preservation.

Being thus then in Health and Safety set upon the Shore, let us with the same Speed follow him to *London*, which he himselfe makes, to glad with his Presence, the Eyes of his royall Father.

But the Joy (that he was come) being swifter then he could be himselfe, put both the Countrey, (all the Way that he came) and the City, (when even after Midnight it was entred into) into such in-utterable Expressions of affectionate Gladnesse, such unlimitable and violent Inundations of Joy, that the People (to remember the Comfort they received in their Prince) seemed to loose their owne Being, and to forget that they were themselves: Men, Women, and Children made but one Consort, and the Musicke of that Consort, sounded nothing but the Prince is come, our *Charles* is come. From the Noble-man to the Artificer, if Contention had arose, which of them was fullest of good Wishes, of glad Welcomes, of loud-resounding Acclamations for his Comming, it had beene hard to decide the Difference.

So many Bels were heard ringing for a whole Day together, that a Stranger but newly entring the Citie, might have thought here had beene spoken no other Language, all Language else being drowned.

So infinite were the Bonafires, so costly, and so high flaming, that had they all beene seene burning in the Night-time, that Weeke might have boasted, it had gotten one Day more than any other Weeke in the Yeere, so universall was the Light.

The Day was foule and rainy, but there were artificiall Sun-beames in every Streete to dry up the Showres.

What need I busie my selfe againe to draw forth this *English* Master-peece of ours, when every Man carries the Picture of it in his Bosome! It will be a Legacie for yong Men when they grow old, to reade (by the Fire Side) the Chronicle of this Day to their Children.

Let us leape therefore from Land againe and behold at Sea one remarkable Accident, with which his Highnesse happily encountred in his Passage homewards. And that was this.

About a Day before they put in at *Silley*, a great thundring of Ordnance beat round about the Aire, in so much that in a short Time after, the Fire of the Peeces was a farre off easily discerned.

The Fleete approaching neerer and neerer, certaine *Dunkerks* and *Hollanders* were at it pell mell: Hereupon two Ships of his Highnesse Fleet, called the *Seaven Starres* and the *Rainbow* (being the formost of the rest) gave them a Shot and hail'd them; upon which first came up foure Shippes singled from the rest, who being asked what they were? They answer'd Men of Warre, and of *Dunkerks*: Our Men bid them go to the Lee-ward, and speake to the Prince of *England*; they presently did so, and went under our Princes Sterne.

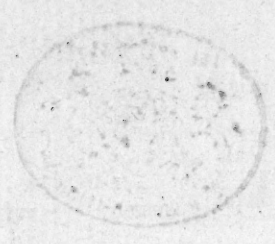
Then came up 5 Ships more, they being likewise hailed, came; and being demanded what they were? They answered, *Holland* Men of Warre: These also were bidden to go to the Lee-ward, and speake to the Prince of *England*.

These comming then under the Princes Sterne, as the other had done before; his Highnesse commanded them to hoysse out their Boates, and the Captaines of either Side to come aboard: they did so; and the Cause of their Fighting being examined by the Prince, it was found that the foure

Dunkerks

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The Ancient Patriarchs Peregrination: or a MAP of the first Inhabited Countries that were in the World, containing a Description of the passages & proceedings from the Flood to the Family of JACOB. Their several travels, living, and places of Abode, notified by pricked lines for the readers direction.

Face p. 243.



J. Mynde Sc.

Dunkerks comming out for them, made after them, and chased them to fight. His Highnesse understanding by their own Relations the Truth of their Quarrell, told them that since it was their Fortune to fall into his Company, hee would perswade them to bee at Peace, and to give over the Chase, and to bid farewell one to another. The *Hollander* seemed unwilling to this, urging rather the contrary; but his Highnesse (out of a noble Desire to save the shedding of Bloud) used many gracious Mediations to draw them to Peace, and prevailed so much at that Time, as that they parted Friends and upon equall Termes: And for Prevention of returning to their Quarrell, his Highnes set them one from the other some good Distance off, and so let them goe.

The Ancient Patriarchs Peregrination; or a M A P of the first inhabited Countries that were in the World: Containing a Description of the Passages and Proceedings from the FLOOD to the Family of J A C O B. Their severall Travels, Living, and Places of Abode, notified by pricked Lines for the Reader's Direction.

THIS small Map, as little as it is, may (if it please you to peruse it) at one View discover to you, what in many greater Charts you cannot find; nor is it ever a whit the lesse usefull, because little, since each Sophister knowes that a Compend of Logicke containes as well all the Termes of that Art, as the *Stagirites* larger Volumes; and every one that sees in a small Table the Miniature of a Man, can equally discern Perfection in it (if it be exactly drawne, and according to the Life) as if it were accomplished with a fuller Description of all the Lineaments. The Face of a great Country, (or to say truly of divers Countries) is in this brieve Plat comprised; which as it cannot but exceedingly satisfie many, concerning these Things; so (it may bee presumed) will delight all that are desirous of such Antiquities.

It is not unknowne to any that is acquainted with the *Scriptures*, (for they shall be as neere as can be gathered, followed) that the first Plantation of Man upon the Earth, after *Adams* Expulsion from *Paradise*, was Eastward, as *Genesis* 4. 16. and continued spreading up and downe those Regions in long liv'd Multitudes till (for the Wickednesse then over growing the inhabited Lands) the *Flood* came, over-spreading all the Face of the Earth.

These Waters abated, the *Arke* was found resting upon the high Mountaines of *Ararat* (interpreted by most *Armenia*) from whence *Noah* and his *Sonnes* with their Wives (*all Mankind at that Time*,) descending tended South-Eastward, to seeke among the lower Countries some more convenient Place

for Habitation; and so planted themselves in that Part, situated between those two great and pleasant Rivers, *Euphrates* Westward and *Tygris* Eastward, both supposed to have passed through the *Garden of Eden*; the first going under the Name of *Perath*, the other of *Hiddekel*. A Country surpassing all in the World for Beauty, Fruitfulness, Commodiousness, and Amenity.

These Places are here principally in the uppermost Division of this Map contained, as also a small Touch of the *Land of Canaan*, but for as much as *Canaan* with *Aegypt* is there inserted, it serves onely to shew at one Glance, how *that* beares from those other Countries, and they from it; but the Use appertaines most to the Easterne Lands between the two Rivers; the originall Country of *Abraham* the Patriarch; of whom and his Posterity, their native Country, living, and Journeys, this Description and Plat are compiled. Thus therefore. After that at the Building of *Babel* in the Land of *Shinar*, afterward *Chaldea*, (the Languages being then confounded) the People were dispersed; *Abrahams* Ancestours taking their Way thence, planted themselves upon a sweet River in a most wholesome, delightful, rich, and fertile Soyle, and erected there a famous Citie called *Ur* of the *Chaldees*.

Here continued *Terah*; with *Abraham*, *Nabor*, and *Haran*, *Terahs* 3 Sons, untill it pleased *God* to reveale himselfe to *Abraham* in his divine Oracles; commanding him to depart the Land of his Nativity, teaching him the true Worship of the true *God*, that before was trained up in Idolatry, both he and al his Fathers House, *Gen.* 11. 31, 32.

So *Terah* with *Abraham* and *Nabor* (for *Haran* *Terahs* other Sonne dyed before his Father in the Place where he was borne) they and theirs leaving *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, and the Territories of *Babylon*, journeyed West and Northward till they came unto *Haran* (called by *Stephen*, *Charran*, *Act.* 7. 2.) in *Mesopotamia*, where a long Time they lived; where *Terah* dyed, and where *Nabor* and his Posterity made their Mansion, and settled their Abode. But *Abraham* the Called of the Lord, as before he had (upon *God's* Appointment) forsaken his naturall Birth-place and familiar Acquaintance; so now by another Motion of *Gods* Spirit directing him thereto, hee takes Leave of his dearest and neereft kindred, goes out of *Haran* on the other Side of *Euphrates*, and *Mesopotamia*, toward the Land of *Canaan* South, onely accompanied of *Lot* his Kinsman; a Place altogether unknowne, and (well may bee imagined) uncouth to him, to enter in there, with all his Possessions of Goods, Servants and Cattle, among a Multitude of Strangers; many of them almost barbarous, most of them cruell and covetous; but the Faith he had on *God* his exceeding great Reward, as it did and does make him famous in all Ages, and in all Lands, so it made him confident to goe to, and constant to passe through that Land, treading under all Obstacles and Impediments whatsoever, especially seeing the gracious Lord that made him his happy Servant, gave him by Promise to possesse in Hope that rich Country.

Now

Now that this worthy Patriarch is come to *Canaan*, passing by the Way of *Damascus* and so onward, you shall understand, that he first pitched his Tent about *Sechem*, where hee built an Altar to the Worship of God, from thence hee removed to a Mountaine, between *Bethel* and *Haai*, erecting there an Altar likewise. From this Place a Famine was Cause of his Journey Southward into *Aegypt*, whence after a hard Welcome there, hee repaired to the former Stage by *Bethel*, and from thence to the faire Plaine of *Mambre*, bordering upon the great City *Hebron*, whence after he had seen the Destruction of *Sodom*, and those other, he came to *Gerar* in the *Philistims* Countrey, and so passed over to *Bersheba*. Then was he commanded to go to the Land of *Moriab* (his tenth Removall) and offer in Sacrifice his Sonne *Isaak*, from whence comming the same Way, he returned to his Tent at *Bersheba*; and his last Passage was from *Bersheba* again to the Plaine of *Mambre* by *Hebron*, where first *Sarah*, and after, himselfe deceased, and were interred: as evidently appeares; each severall Journey; noted by Pricks and Figures, and their Place of Sepulture notified in particular. And for these Things here specified you must have Recourse to the nethermost Plat, which is onely of the Land of *Canaan*, where you may see all this perfectly described; which in the uppermost could not be set.

The other Sons of *Abraham*, as *Ismael*, and those that *Keturah* bare him, tooke their Way Eastward and South, into *Arabia* and the adjacent Parts, betweene the *Red Sea* and the *Persian* Gulfe, all which Places are in these Maps orderly seated: but *Isaack*, for the most Part, abode in the Land of *Canaan*; and after him *Jacob*, when he returned with his Family and Possessions from his Uncle *Laban* from *Haran* or *Padan Aram*; till his going into *Egypt*. Both *Abraham*, *Isaack*, and *Jacob*, the great Patriarchs, all of them Wanderers, Travellers, and Pilgrims, by these their Pilgrimages manifestly showing that they had here no abiding City, but sought one to come, by Faith; carrying themselves as Strangers and Sojourners upon the Earth, journeying from one Place to another; dwelling in Huts and Tents, having no certaine Place of Inheritance here, but, seeking one immortall and undefiled, even in the Heavens.

Such was the Condition of their Life: and although it bee not now with us (the most at least) so to change Place, yet it behoves every one of us to consider of what Country he belongs to, and what his Heritage is to be; which is not to settle our Affections upon earthly Things, that are at best but transitory; but to fixe our Eies on the right Object, and aime at the right Marke, the heavenly Kingdome, that high Inheritance provided and prepared for us by our blessed Saviour. That as those holy Patriarchs in the former, so we in the latter Times of the World, may all of us together shew the same Faith in the same God, and the same Hope of that same true unfading Heritage, reserved for us in the Heavens.

For all such as desire to know the Situation of these Countries here included, by Longitude and Latitude; The Latitude is from 30 Degrees, to 43 of North Latitude, and the Longitude beginning at 74 or thereabouts
upon

upon *Egypt*, continues running along unto 100 Degrees of Longitude; *Persia* being the South, and Part of the *Caspian* Sea the North Bound thereof.

These Lands (all but *Egypt*) are comprehended under that Part of the World called *Asia*, and that very Part of *Asia*, which hath been by many accounted the Middle of the World, and being first inhabited, dispersed into all other Parts of the World, the People which have ever since covered the Face of the Earth. Herein also is a Touch given of the Garden of *Eden*, and the Rivers issuing thereout; but it is best not to be too curious about such Things that are altogether concealed from our Knowledge, and that purposely by the Scripture.

But it is certaine that as this was the Mother of all other Places, so was it also the Mistresse of all knowne Places; as well appears by the proto-Cities *Ninive*, and the rest; and the two first universall Monarchies of the World therein erected; the one of the *Assyrians* and *Chaldeans*, the other of the *Medes* and *Persians*.

Many other Things might be added of the Country it selfe; as also of the changing of some Names, and such like; which I rather referre to the ingenious Perusers Judgment to consider of by himselfe.

The Praise of KING *RICHARD* the Third.

By Sir WILLIAM CORNWALLIS. 1617.

THAT Princes are naturally ambitious, and that Ambition makes them to effect their Desires, rather than to affect the Equitie of their Designes, may more truly then safely be avowed. For all of them, I thinke, were the Record of their Actions indifferent, might be taxed of this Vice. But this Excuse cleares not the Accused; yet it testifies, that Princes erre against Nature, if they aspire not. Wee hold (not without Reason) that if the Bill of the Plaintiffe be stuffed with frivolous Assertions, that the Complaint favoureth more of Malice then of Wrong. Why should not the same Axiome be a Motive to cleare this wronged Prince, whose Accusers lay to his Charge the Anguish his Mother felt, when he came into the World? Then which Accusation what can be more frivolous; it being a Punishment hereditary to all Women, from the first? His being toothed as soone as borne, seemes to me rather a Blessing, then any Imputation, as being a Prefage of his future Worthinesse, and as all Nurses will confesse, an Ease of much Paine and Danger. But he was crook-backt, lame, il-shapen, il-favoured. I might impute that Fault to Nature, but that I rather think it her Bounty: for she being wholly intentive to his Minde, neglected his Forme, so that she infused a straight Mind in a crooked Body, wherein shee shewed her carefull Providence. For oftentimes, the Care to keepe those Parts well formed, with-drawes Mens Mindes from better Actions, and
drownes

drownes them in effeminate Curiositie. His Lameness turned to his Glory; for with those imperfect Limbes he performed Actions most perfectly valiant.

How rightly his Father (*a*) claimed, his Brother (*b*) obtained the Scepter, is sufficiently knowne, and therefore superfluous and impertinent: and also how his Brother dusked his Right (if Right) by abrogating the Oath, which hee sware at *Yorke*, that his Comming in Armes was onely for that Dukedome. (*c*) But to dilate how variable and inconstant the People of those Times were, shall be more necessary and effectually, that knowing their Inconstancy, their Traditions (like themselves) may the lesse be beleaved: so light-headed, so foolish, so irreligious, as their Opinion (for what else are the Thoughts of Ignorance but Opinion?) made them breake their Oath to their Prince, (*d*) and to such a Prince as they did not shame to dislike, onely because hee was too good. Him they abandoned, deposed, after restored; not as desiring, (being guilty of their owne Fault) but onely that it stood with the Liking of (*e*) *Warwicke* the Childe of their Love. If then they were such, as (indeede they were) and that those Relations wee have, must come from that People, it were better (I thinke) to bury their Traditions, then refute their Objections, were not our Age, apt to erre, infected with this Folly.

For his Brother K. *Edward*: (*f*) though his Vices seem not to adde Vertues to this condemned Prince, yet questionlesse they do; making all his ill-estimated Actions of another Nature. He obtained the Crowne, but rather fortunately, then wisely, were not all Wisedom thought Folly, to which *Fortune* lends not Successe. For I thinke, Lust, or if you will terme it Love, could not more have prevailed with the most licentious Creature, then at once to breake the Bonds of Amity, Discretion, and Policy; and all to enjoy a Woman, in Respect of his Height, base: a Widow (*g*) and of his Enemy, without bringing him either Alliance, or Riches; Props most pertinent to his new erected Buildings. Wherein, besides his Breach of regall Discretion, with his chiefeest Friend the Earle of *Warwick*, whom he had sent into *France*, to treat of Marriage betweene him and the Lady *Bona*, (*h*) (wherein being deluded, he became his mortallest Enemy) his Abuse to God was more abominable; being before betrothed (as his owne Mother constantly affirmed) to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*: in Testimonie wherof he had laid such Earnest, (*i*) as should have bound

(*a*) *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, Father of *Edward* the Fourth, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, and *Richard* the Third.

(*b*) *Edward* Earle of *March*, eldest Sonne of *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, after King by the Name of *Edward* the Fourth.

(*c*) For the Dukedome of *Yorke*, as his Right, from his Father Duke of *Yorke*.

(*d*) King *Henry* the Sixt.

(*e*) *Richard* Nevile, Earle of *Warwick*,

surnamed the King-maker.

(*f*) King *Edward* the Fourth.

(*g*) Lady *Eliz. Gray*, Widdow of Sir *John Gray*, Knight, afterward married to King *Edward* the Fourth.

(*h*) Lady *Bona*, Neece to the French King *Lewes* the Eleventh, and Daughter to *Lewes* Duke of *Savoy*.

(*i*) For he had got her with Childe.

any common Man, much more a King, to Performance. How soone the Wrath of God followed this his irreligious Inconstancie, his being driven from the *Seate Royall* into Exile: the Birth of his Sonne in a Sanctuary; (having no Place else of Freedome in his Fathers Kingdome) the Miserie of all his Partakers sufficiently testifie. In which generall Miserie, who did more truly follow him? Who more faithfully ayded him, then his now disgraced Brother? Whereas his other Brother (k) *Clarence* not only left him, but joyned in Marriage (l) with the Daughter of his principall Enemie, and holpe to expulse him: with what Love, what Constancie, his Indeavours, his adventuring his Life to restore him, doth witnesse.

Never was he noted all the Life of K. *Edward*, to thirst after the Kingdome; never denied he any Commandement of his Prince, but performed all his Imployments discreetly, valiantly, successfully. The Suspition of helping his Brother *Clarence* to (m) his End, was but a Suspition, since the Kings old Displeasure awaked by a new Prophecie, was undoubtedly the Cause; if otherwise (when he after repented him) hee would have misliked of *Gloucester*, it being naturall to sinne; but unnaturall, to ease others of their Crimes. For the killing of the Heire of the House of *Lancaster* at *Tewksburie*, (n) (if so) seemes to me, rather the Effect of Love to his Brother, then Cruelty to the Prince: for he was an Enemie, yea, the chiefe and principall Enemie of the contrary Faction. Yet it cannot be proved the Action of *Richard*, but that it was an Act wished by the King to be done, and executed in both their Presences, by the Duke of *Clarence*, the Marquesse *Dorset*, the Lord *Hastings* and others.

The Death of *Henry* (o) the Sixt in the Tower, can no Way belong to him, since the same Reason that cleareth his Brother, fitteth him; he being able, if desiring his Death, to have effected it by a more unworthie Hand. And indeed this Accusation hath no other Proove, then a malicious Affirmation. For many (more truly) did suppose that he died of meere Melancholy and Griefe, when hee had heard of the Overthrow of his Friends, and Slaughter of his Sonne. But if it were true, though it spots him with Bloud, yet it confirms his Love to his Prince; which Love was so coldly requited, as might have moved a true Lover of Rewards more then of Vertue, to have altered his Endeavours; whether it were a Jealousie of the Nobilitie of his Blood, or of the Height of his Spirit, whether the Abundance of Affection to be led by a Woman, or that hee was defective in all brotherly Affection, certaine it is, he rather imployed him, then rewarded his Imployments. Contrary, the Queenes Kindred, dayly to rise, meerely without Desert, but that they were of her Kindred; and their Basenesse being thus sodainly exalted, not only to plucke from him Pro-

(k) *George Duke of Clarence*, second Brother of King *Edward* the Fourth.

(l) He married *Isabell*, Daughter of *Richard Nevill*, Earle of *Warwicke*.

(m) Hee was drowned in a Malmsey Butt in the Tower.

(n) *Edward Prince of Wales*, Son of King *Henry* the Sixt, slaine after the Battaille of *Tewksbury*.

(o) The Death of *Henry* the Sixt in the Tower.

motions, due to his Deserts, but to envie the Duke, and contend with him; how insupportable it must be to so magnanimous a Spirit, whose Memory beare Witnesse of their Unworthinesse, his owne Worth, any like Spirit may imagine.

Thus continued this unequall Contention, untill the King, sent for before the great (p) King of Kings, to make an Account of his Greatnesse, left his Body to testifie the Worlds Folly in contending for Worlds, when one little Part of the Earth must containe them. (q) His Successour at that Time very young, was wholly possessed by the Mothers Bloud, whom the now (r) Protector had great Reason to feare, being ever his mortall Enemy, and now most strong, by being most neerely allied to this Prince: Therefore jealous of his owne Preservation, of the Safetie of the Common-weale, and of the ancient Nobilitie, with great Reason and Justice he executed them, whom, if he had suffered to live, were likely enough to have beene the Destruction of him, it, and them. But the Deed accomplished, stirred up no little Feare in the Queene-Mother, and her Faction: For the Queenes taking Sanctuary with her younger Sonne (s) *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, without any Cause that he knew, drave *Gloucester* to suppose that they doubted of their Right, and put him in Possibility of obtaining his owne: wherein by ambitious (t) *Buckingham* hee was assisted, who then related to him afresh the unlawfull Marriage of his Brother, that being unlawfull, consequently his Children were Bastards, and so undoubtedly the Crown was lawfully his; to which Discourse he annexed Protestations of Furtherance, though (perhaps) an earthly Spirit would not have been moved with these Motives, but rather have desired Safety, then Sovereignty: yet in a true heroicke Spirit, whose Affect is aspiring, they could not but be imbraced, using the Wings of *Time*, to bring him to that Height. Be not obstinate (*Mortalitie*) against this climbing Axiome, for hourly you commit worser Errors, more grovelling, more base. Were it not common in every Dayes Issue, it were admirable to note the Impudencie of Man, who at this Instant condemnes Actions, which himselfe would instantly accomplish, were hee permitted by Occasion. The Queene-Mothers Feare, his own Right, *Buckingham*s Ayde, and his owne Jealousie to erect a Prince, too young to governe himselfe, much lesse others, but was likely to be governed by his Mother, and her Kindred, the Protectors mortallest Enemies, Men of meane Birth, not inured to Government, such as were like to destroy the ancient *Peeres*, to fortifie their new Nobility, could not but draw a true discerning Spirit, to favour himselfe, to protect the ancient Nobility, to defend the People from being wasted, and oppressed by the Ambition and Tyrannie of new unexperienced Statists, and to respect his owne Preservation, rather then others. For well he saw hee could not live, unlesse he were a King: that there was no Safety, but in Sovereignty.

(p) The Death of K. *Edward* the Fourth.

(s) *Richard* Duke of *Yorke*, younger

(q) King *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, Son
to King *Edward* the Fourth.

Son of *Edward* the Fourth.

(r) *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester* made
Protector.

(t) *Henry* *Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*.

Should I put thee in Choyse (condemning Reader) whether thou wouldest not be, rather then be a King, thou wouldest perhaps answere no: but that Answere should proceede, rather from the Knowledge of thy Want of Power to royallize thee, then through the Abundance of thy Modestie. No, no, it is a Desire befitting the most worthie Desirer; and were all Mens Affections so high, their Actions would not proye so unworthy.

The *State* being thus in Labour with Innovation, the *Peeres* in Counsaile about their Infant Kings Coronation, all busie, yet dissenting in their Businesse; in a Councell holden at the Tower, *Hastings* Lord (u) Chamberlaine was apprehended, and no sooner apprehended, but executed. The not leisurely proceeding by Forme of Law, may seeme to plead *Hastings* Innocencie, the Protectors Cruelty. But they that consider the Nature of the People of that Time, apt to Sedition, greedy of Innovation, and likely to be glad of so pittifull a Colour (for *Hastings* was a Man growne very popular) will hold the Protector in that Action very judicall, and, if guilty of any Thing, of Discretion, and Policie: But could *Hastings* be innocent, whom (w) *Commines* reporteth to be a Pensioner of the *French* King, *Lewis* the Eleventh, the only subtile Prince of that Time? Hee, of all others, that most affected Tyrannie, and was naturally the mortall Enemy of this Kingdome? Or was he fit to be a States-man or Counsaillor, who being corrupted by the Bribes of an Enemy, had dissuaded his Master, the late King *Edward* the Fourth, from assisting the oppressed Lady (x) the Heire of *Burgundie*, against *Lewis* the *French* King, whereby that Lady was driven to seeke Ayde else-where, who, otherwise, was likely to have married with the Duke of *Clarence*, or some other *English* Prince, and so to have united that Dukedome to this Crowne, to the eternall Benefit and Security of both Countries; who gloried in his private Revenges, who not only enticed his Master, but accompanied him in all Sensuality: who in the deflowring of Mens Wives, (y) and such other his unprincelike Actions, was his perpetuall Attendant, and sometimes (as it is thought) would begin to him? (z) Doctor *Shaws* Sermons not a little illustrates the Malice of his Accusers: For I thinke, no Man that is discreet, will imagine this Prince so indiscreet, as to have Witnesse that he commanded that Sermon, and gave Instructions what should be said: Then how do our Chronicles report it for Truth, were not their Malice greater then either their Truth, or their Judgement? But they are *Historians*, and must be beleaved.

Alas, poore Men, how would they be beleaved, whose greatest Authorities (as a learned and honorable (a) Knight writeth) are built upon the notable Foundation of heare-say? Men that have much Ayd to accord differing Writers, and to picke Truth out of Partiality. But it is not mentioned, that *Shaw* ever executed this Action, with alleaging him to be the Cause. It is likely

(u) *William* Lord *Hastings*, Chamberlaine to *Edward* the Fourth. to *Maximilian* the Emperour.

(y) *Shores* Wife.

(w) *Philip de Commines*, Lord of *Argenton*, in his History.

(z) D. *Shaws* Sermon at *Pauls* Crosse.

(x) *Mary* sole Daughter and Heire of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, after married

(a) Sir *Philip Sidney* in his Defence of Poetry.

indeed,

indeed, that *Shaw* being ambitious, gaping after Preferment, supposing some such Intent in the Protector (as he had a reaching Head) was bold to set his *Rhetorick* to Sale, to publish his Fancies: but seeing his Hopes vanish into Smoke, and his Expectation deluded, seeing the Protector neither rewarded, nor regarded his *Rhetorick*, he soone after languished and died: a just Example to teach *Theologians* so boldly to intermeddle with Princes Affaires, before they bee commanded: for (doubtlesse) had the Protector set him a Worke, he would have payed him his Hire. But if it were so, that he commanded the Sermon (as that is yet unproved) was that an Offence to make the People so publikely Partakers of his Right; yea, to prostitute his Cause to their Judgements? for charging his Mother with Adulterie, was a Matter of no such great Moment, since it is no Wonder in that Sexe: And surely hee had more Reason to adventure her Fame, then his Kingdome, because of two Evils it is Wisedome to chuse the least. If it were true, it was no Injustice to publish it; what could be expected from him, but true Justice, who was so impartiall, that he would not spare his owne Mother? if untrue, good Faith, he was therein too blame, and her Innocencie the more meritorious; but certaine it is, the People approved his Right: for he was crowned (*b*) with such Consent, and so great Applause both of *Peeres* and People, that if wee will judge by the outward Behaviour (the onely Marke our Judgements may or can levell at) we must determine them so contented, as no Actions which might testifie the Satisfaction of their Mindes, were omitted: surely, if ever the unjudiciall Multitude did any Thing judicially, it was in receiving this Prince, whom his chiefe Disgracers cannot but acknowledge for valiant; then who was more meet to restraine Domesticke, to subdue forraine Seditions? For these civill Diffensions had almost wasted and made desolate this populous Nation: discreet he was and temperate, (two so rare and excellent Qualities, as he that truly possesseth them, meriteth the Possession of a Diademe:) for in these Vertues, joyned with that *Cardinall* Vertue *Fortitude*, (whereof also he had a very large Portion) consisteth the Soule of *Soveraignty*, which whosoever wanteth (be hee a while never so powerfull) his owne Greatnesse so crusheth him, that hee forfeiteth all in a Moment: Most liberall he was, desiring rather to want, then to suffer Worth unrewarded: and this *Liberalitie* is the onely true Nurse, and Fosterer of Vertue: Vertue unrewarded being unsensible, our Flesh being governed, advised, yea mastered by our Senses: this Worthie, this princely Ornament some Calumniators have sought in him to deface, alleadging; that his Liberality to some, proceeded from his Extortion from others: but even those cannot denie him to have beene Politicke and Wise; then is it likely that a Prince of his Wisedome and Policie, could not discern betweene the worthy and unworthy? And to take from Undeservers, to bestow upon Deservers, must be acknowledged a Vertue.

He was neither Luxurious, nor an *Epicure*, not given to any Ryot, nor to Excesse, neither in Apparell, nor Play: for had he been touched with any

(*b*) The Coronation of King *Richard* the Third.

of these Vices, doubtlesse they which object lesser Crimes, would not have omitted these: then (without Question) he was largely interess'd in Vertues, (their Contraries) but those (through Malice) are either not registred, or (if registred) so infamed, as if all his Vertues had a vicious Intent: yet to acknowledge the Vertues of the Vicious, is such a Right, that what *Historian* willingly omitteth them, therein becommeth vicious himselfe. But in all that I have hitherto among the Vulgar observed:

Culpatur factum, non ob aliud, quam exitum:

They approve, or disprove all Things by the Event; which though sometimes it proveth like the Cause, yet it is more often governed by the Will of the divine Providence. And surely, but that the gracious Goodnesse of God to manifest the Weaknes of humane Policie, overthrew his Designes, tooke from him his Kingdome; and contrary eyther to Mans Hope, or our Merit, united by a blessed and happy Conjunction (c) the two dissenting Factions, to the true establishing of sweet Peace and Prosperitie of this desolate Kingdome: for, otherwise, had he lived to have left Issue to have succeeded him, such might have beene his and their Merits, that *Fame* would have beene no more injurious to him then to his Predecessors the fourth *Henry* and *Edward*, whose Raignes were polluted with much more Royall Blood: for he omitted nothing, that in Wisedome or true Policie, might secure himselfe, or establish Peace or good Lawes in this Kingdome.

His Statutes are extant; what can be found in them not becomming a King? what, not befitting the Service of God? the Worship of Religion? the Good of his Country? Yea, I have heard of some, accounted both good Lawyers and good Statists say, that in those three Years of his Government, there were more good Statutes for the Weale-publike enacted, then in 30 Years before. He was no Taxer of the People, no Oppressor of the Commons, though he came to manage an Estate whose Treasure was exceedingly exhausted; no Suppressor of his Subjects, to satisfie either licentious Humours, or to enrich light-headed Flatterers. But (alas) who robs Vertue, but Ingratitude, Detraction and Malice? What a Curse is it to *Mortalitie*, that no Fashion of Life, no Merits, no Regards, can free Princes from Discontentments in their Life, and Infamy after Death? Who is it that heares of any one so endued, so loden with Vertues, that judgeth him not happy? Yet he is defamed; and by whom? even by those for whom he cared, laboured, and omitted nothing that might profit, committed nothing that might prejudice them.

This, the Charge and Commandement that he gave presently after his Coronation, to the Lords and Gentlemen (whom hee sent home into their Countries) that they should in their Countries see Justice duely administred and impartially, (that no Wrong, nor Extortion should be done to his Subjects) doth testifie; this, his Lawes, and all his Actions approve: yet neyther the

(c) The two dissenting Factions of *Yorke* and *Lancaster* united by the Marriage of *Henry* the Seventh to *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth.

Care of his Countrey, his Lawes, nor Actions are thought to be sufficient to plead his Equitie and Innocencie: for malicious Credulitie rather embraceth the partiall Writings of indiscreet Chroniclers, and witty Play-makers, then his Lawes and Actions, the most innocent, and impartiall Witnesses.

It is laid to his Charge (as a maine Objection) that he was ambitious, let us examine the Truth of this Accusation. Was he ambitious, who was onely content with the Limits of his owne Country? Who sought to be rather famous for instituting good Lawes, then for atchieving great Conquests? No, no, he wanted nothing to make him an accomplished Prince, but that hee was not ambitious enough: for had hee imitated that worthy King *Henry* the Fifth, who in a like unsetled Estate, led out the Nobilitie and People to make Wars upon forraine Enemies, to make Conquest of *France*, and to embue their warlike Swords (lately bloudied against one another) in the Bloud and Bowels of Strangers, he might (perhaps) have had a fortunate Successe: for he wanted not the like Title, he was no lesse valiant, no lesse politicke. So might he have re-conquered that Kingdome, and those Territories, which by the Pusillanimity of some of his Predecessors were given away and lost; and (peradventure) so busied the stirring Heads of the Nobilitie and People, that they should have had no Leasure to thinke upon any Innovation or Part-taking at home: so might he happily have secured himselfe, and enlarged the Bounds of his Conquests beyond any of his Ancestors. What Lets or Obstacles could hinder him from those glorious Enterprises? His Subjects were warlike, trained up in Armes; somewhat too much exercised in Bloud, because it was in their owne. His Neighbors, the *French*, were governed by (d) a King, who had some Policie, but so little Valour, that he would rather yeeld to any Capitulation, then heare the Sound of an Adversaries Drumme. So that his People being unused to Wars, were easily to be conquered by that Nation which had so often beaten them in the Height of their Daring.

The *Scots*, their Colleagues, hee had already beene victorious over: his Name among them was growne terrible. For in the Time of his Brother hee wan from them many Castles and Holds: but principall hee conquered (e) *Barwick*, the chiefe and principall Towne upon their Frontiers, a piece of speciall Importance, either to make easie our Entrance into that Kingdom, or to keepe them from invading ours: so that I cannot justly accuse him of any Crime so much, as that his Ambition stretched not farre enough. To justifie his Adversaries Accusation, in this Time chanced the Death of his two young (f) Nephewes in the Tower, whose Deaths promising Quiet to him, and wholly imposed upon him, how truely I have Reason to doubt; because his Accusers are so violent, and impudent, that those Vertues (which in other Men are imbraced, for which they are esteemed as Gods) they impute to him rather to be Enamellers of Vices, then really Vertues: his Humilitie

(d) *Lewes* the Eleventh.

(f) The Death of Prince *Edward* and

(e) *Barwicke* won from the *Scots* by *Richard* Duke of *Yorke* in the Tower.
Richard the Third.

they terme secret Pride: his Liberalitie Prodigalitie: his Valour, Crueltie and Blood-thirstineffe: yet in these Dayes their partiall Opinions are thought to be of Validity sufficient, to make Proove of any Imputation: But if it were so, that their Deaths were by him contrived, and commanded, the Offence was to God, not to the People: for the depriving them of their Lives freed the People from Diffension. And how could he demonstrate his Love more amply, then to adventure his Soule for their Quiet? But who knoweth, whether it were not Gods secret Judgement, to punish the Fathers Transgression in the Children? and if it be so, complaine of their Fate, not *Richards* Crueltie: (for in these fatall Things it fals out, that the High-working Powers make second Causes unwittingly accessarie to their Determinations) yet, in Policie, Princes never account Competitors (how young soever) innocent, since the least Colour of Right provokes innovating Humours to stirre up Sedition, which (once kindled) threatens the Subversion both of Princes and Subjects.

And if some wise and politike Princes have imprisoned, and put to Death, such as have beene reputed their Heires and Successors, because some factious Heads (weary of good Government, and hoping for Authoritie by Alteration) have sought to establish them before their Times; (as commonly giddy-brained People doe more reverence the Suns Rising then his Fall) had not King *Richard* great Reason to deprive them of their Lives, who were not to succeed him, but (in many Mens Judgments) had most Right to be invested before him with the Diadem? And (indeed) the removing such Occasions of civill Wars in a well-ruled Common-wealth, is most profitable, most commendable; being no Crueltie, but Pitty, a Jealousie of their Subjects, and a zealous Regard of their own Safeties. And (indeed) if we duly consider how much the Duty we owe to a Country exceeds all other Duties, since in it selfe it containes them all, that for the Respect thereof, not onely all tender Respects of Kindred, or whatsoever other Respects of Friendship, are to be laid aside; but that even long-held Opinions (rather grounded upon a Secret of Government, then any Ground of Truth) are to be forsaken: since the End whereto any Thing is directed, is ever to be of more noble Reckoning, then the Thing thereto directed, that therefore the Weale-publike is more to be regarded, then any Person or Magistrate that thereunto is ordained: The feeling Consideration hereof moved *K. Richard* to set principally before his Eyes the good Estate of so many Thousands, over whom he had raigned, rather then so to hood-winke himselfe with Affection, as to suffer his Realme to runne to manifest Ruine.

If any Man shall object that his Course was strange and unlawfull; let him know that new Necessities require new Remedies, and for him there was no Remedy but this one. Then if for this Action hee ought to be condemned, it is for Indiscretion in the managing; for as safely might he have had the Realmes generall Consent, in disposing of their Lives as of their Kingdome. Had he held a secret Execution best, hee might have effected it more secretly: but he rather chose a middle Way, content to let the People know it, holding their Knowledge equall with their Consents: And it should seeme,
the

the People (though they were at that Time very factious) yet approved thereof: for wee find not that in any Action, either inward or outward, they shewed any Dislike. And (truely) such is the Difference between the Thoughts and Actions, the Dispositions of Princes and Subjects, that I hold no Subject sufficiently judiciall to censure them: their Courses so unlike, that what is meet, expedient in a Prince, in a lower Fortune is utterly unmeet, unexpedient. Therefore let no servile Condition adventure to condemne them, since all such Eyes lose their Faculty, if they but gaze against the Sunne of Majestie. It is sufficient for us to know how to obey; this Nature commandeth and exacteth of us: but to search into the Actions of our Commanders, dilates more Curiositie then Honesty: Nay, though wee would, we cannot: for our Knowledge extends to Things equall, or inferiour; those above us, in Divinitie, are comprehended onely by Faith; in terrene Matters (if superating our Estates) they are only snatched at by Supposition. And this our Lawes approve, which appoint every Man to be tryed by his Peeres: shall then the Head, the Director of civill Policie, the annoynted Majestie of a King, be barred from the Right allowed to Subjects? No (surely) it is preposterous, most unlawfull to condemne a King if not found faulty by a (g) Jury of Kings. Were Man in his Innocencie, this Advice were not lost: but being noursed in misusing of his malicious Tongue, ever to condemne others, never to amend themselves, it is (as they will be for their Abuse) perpetually lost; No more then for them.

Let us yet further cleare this wronged Prince: It is constantly affirmed (say our Chroniclers) that hee first noysed, after contrived the Death of his Wife: (b) and that it was bruited before it was effected, thereby with her Sorrowes to confirme the Report. This Evidence they adjudge pregnant and effectually enough to condemne him: Did Fame never lye? What are more generally received for Untruths, then flying Reports, seeing no Creature sensible will give Credit to Fame, or take her Word without a Surety, whom they may assuredly know to be credible? But constantly (say our Chroniclers.) Could their Words be so constant, whole Actions were the very Stage of Inconstancie, who opposed, deposed Kings at their Pleasure, and (to make sure to be no worse then they were) swore Alleageance to two (i) Princes at once, and with both broke their Oaths? But I will spend no more Time in proving the Vanitie of these Chroniclers, since their owne Penne contradicts it selfe; first, shewing the Affections of this People to be mutinous, and after approving them: for certaine it is, (but uncertaine that the King caused it) that such a Rumour there was, and that it made a great Impression in the Queene, deeming (as Women are ever fearefull) this prophetical Relation to be the Forerunner of her End: which bewayling to her Husband, hee sought with all Kindnesse to remove that melancholy

(g) A King not to be condemned but of *Warwicke*, and Widdow of Prince *Edward*, Son to *Henry* the Sixt.

(b) *Anne* Wife of King *Richard* the Third, Daughter of *Richard Nevill* Earle (i) To *Henry* the Sixt, and *Edward* the Fourth.

Fantafie. What more could hee doe to testifie his Love, to cure her Passions? But how absurd is it to thinke or imagine, that the King contrived her Death? where if hee had pleased to marry else-where (for that is made the Cause) hee might and would have used a more safe Meanes by a Divorce: Did not the *French King Lewes* the Twelfth, because (k) his Wife was barren, and crooked backt) sue a Divorce, and obtained it from Pope *Alexander* the Sixt, and afterward by his Dispensation married with *Anne* Dutchesse of *Britaine*, the Widdow of his Predecessor *Charles* the Eighth? Might not King *Richard* have done the like: for he had the like Cause (his Wife being barren) whereof he had often complained to *Rotheram* then Archbishop of *Yorke*? And the Popes of those Times were not so nice conscioned to deny Princes such Requests, but were easily wonne thereunto either by Favor or Rewards: therefore that he contrived her Death, was a slanderous, false, and absurd Accusation; but her (l) Time was come, which *Mortalitie* might sorrow, but Sorrow might not prevent, Death being deafe to all humane Lamentations.

After her Death, being desirous to reconcile himselfe to all such as held themselves offended (as at his Coronation hee had done with one *Fogg* a meane Atturny, who had highly offended him) hee laboured to winne the one Sort with Benefits and Rewards, and freely pardoned the others Misbehaviours and Offences: He had no Cause to feare *Fogg*, therefore Feare was not the Cause: No, it was a worthy, a kingly Humilitie, that would rather abate of his Greatnesse, then to have it stayned with the Blood of so meane a Vassaile, for a Crime committed against himselfe; yet was hee guiltie of counterfainting his Royall Hand and Signet, and of a most untrue and infamous Libell. Therefore how falsely doe our Chroniclers seeke to cleare *Collingborne*, who was (as may appeare by his Inditement) (m) executed for Treason against the State, not for that ryming, foolish, ridiculous Libell? For neyther they, nor any other can ever prove, that ever he revenged any Injurie whatsoever, committed particularly against himselfe. For the Good and Safety of his Kingdome and People, hee was zealous, he was fervent: for, only for their Peace, for their Quiet, hee was content to suffer his neereft Kinsman, his dearest Friends to be executed, so now with the Mother-Queene he laboured Reconciliation, he often solicited it, at the last hee effected it: this rare, this excellent Worke of *Christianity*, this true Cognizance of a *Religious Queene*, our *Chroniclers* defame, and impute it to her as an horrible Crime: Such is the obstinate Errour of Mankinde, that, when Hatred is by God absolutely prohibited, they dare say and maintaine the contrary: but (were not they thus corrupt, partiall, governed wholly by Affection, not Truth,) their Histories would be the wisest Guides, making Men that are young in Yeeres, olde in Judgement, making Experience

(k) The Wife from whom he was divorced, was *Joane*, Daughter of *Lewes* the Twelfth, Sister of *Charles* the Eighth. *Gui Lib.* 4.

(l) The Death of *Anne* Wife of *Richard*

the Third, and second Daughter of *Richard Nevill* Earle of *Warwicke*.

(m) *Collingborne* executed for Treason, not Libelling.

most precious, most cheape; for Knowledge, Judgement, and Experience are dearely purchased, when wee must wander into infinite Errours, ere we can be perfect in our Way; nay, they were most deare, were they had with no other Expence, but growing old before we enjoy them, waxing rotten, ere they grow ripe. The End and Scope of this Reconciliation was, to unite himselfe in Marriage with his (*n*) Niece: a Contract (no doubt) inconvenient, and prohibited the *Vulgar*; but amongst *States-men* it is like to produce infinite Good, both to Prince and People. It is an Inconvenience, most convenient, nothing strange, because usuall, and accustomed amongst Princes: tolerated, yea allowed by their received Oracle of Divinity, the *Pope*, who considering the Cause, ordinarily dispenseth with the *Consanguinity*. It is granted that this Desire of Marriage was mentioned by this King, in Respect of the publike Peace; to make Satisfaction to the Mother, in exalting the Daughter, for the dejecting of the Sonnes, and to avoide the Effusion of much of the Peoples Bloud, which was likely to be spilt, if his Niece should marry else-where: as if (say our Chroniclers) the first could not be established, the latter avoided without this *Platforme* of *Policie*; No, had not Gods secret Working beene beyond Mans wisest Apprehension, it could not: for well he knew the head-strong Obstinacie of this-People could hardly be kept in Awe by a Man, therefore impossible to be restrained by Children: this made him dispossesse them of their Kingdome, and (peradventure) of their Lives; for had they beene suffered to live, they would ever have bin the Fire-brands of new Seditions; and therefore he thought it more convenient, they should be quenched with their own Blouds, than with the Blouds of infinite Numbers of the People; yet to make Satisfaction for this Wrong, (if it were a Wrong to deprive the Disturbers of the common Good) he was contented and much laboured to marry their Sister, his Niece: but hee is therefore adjudged ill: why? Because his Accusers would be reputed good, though (without Doubt) hee was a good Prince, and they all, or the most Part of all, evill, fantasticke, and seditious People. And even at this Day, though the fortunate and successfull Government of our later Princes, hath somewhat altered their Natures, and bettered their Conditions, yet it were a lesse difficult Quest to find one good Man, then many. But it pleased not the divine *Ordainer of Marriage* to permit that Conjunction, but rather to set a *Period* at once to his Kingdome and Life.

About the Time of the plotting of this Marriage, the judicall *Buckingham*, (not thinking himselfe sufficiently regarded) grew discontent, and got the Princes Favour to retire himself into the Country; where (no Doubt) his fantastick Melancholly would soone have vanished (being a Man more happy in the Inheritance of his Father, then in the Legacie of Nature, Discretion, or Judgment) had not the Prisoner corrupted the Jaylour, namely (*o*) *Moreton*, *Bishop of Ely* (committed by King *Richard* to his Custodie) who finding

(*n*) The Lady *Elizabeth* eldest Daughter to *Edward* the Fourth, after Wife to *Henry* the Seventh.

of *Henry* the Seventh, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Cardinall and Lord Chancellor of *England*.

(*o*) This *Moreton* was after, in the Raign

this Duke discontented, more desirous to inflame his Griefes, than to redresse them, with his fiery Wit so wrought upon the Dukes combustible Matter, that sodainly he brought him to kindle a Fire of Rebellion, and to take up Armes against his Sovereigne: This K. *Richard* soone hearing, he prosecuted him as an Enemy, and so laboured (what by his owne Wisdome, what by his Especials) that within a while he tooke his Head from his (p) Body, for being no better able to advise him in his Proceedings. Was it a Fault to punish Perjury in him, who had sworne true Allegiance? then the executing of Law is a Sin; if so, let Transgressors be accounted innocent, and Magistrates and Judges guilty of Transgression. And had this been the Action of some other Prince, it had beene good, just, necessary: but being his, it is censured as the contrary, so that Sin is not Sin, nor Vertue accounted Vertue, by their owne Natures or Effects, but are made Vertues or Vices, by the Love or Hate that is borne to the Committer: such is our humane Understanding, as they rather confound all Things, than by distinguishing them to make Choise of the Worthiest; for let a Noble-man be popular, if he have an ill Face, it is termed Warlike; his Drunkenesse is termed Good-fellowship; his Slovenlinesse, Humility; his Prodigality, Liberality; Thus is Vertue suppressed, and forced with her own Titles to adorne her mortallest Adversaries. But, to returne to our defamed King, had not his Mercy exceeded his Cruelty, his Safety had been better secured, and his Name not so much subject to Obloquy: for though he cut off the Head of a mighty Conspirator, yet hee suffered the Conspiracie to take so deepe Root, that (in the End) the Branches thereof overtopped his Glory, and overshadowed his Greatnesse. For (q) the Countesse of *Richmond* labouring in her Sonnes Right, daily enticed and inveigled many to be of her Faction: to strengthen which the more, it was plotted betweene the two Mothers, to joyne (r) the two dissenting Houses in Unitie, by (s) a Marriage. This Practise the King wel knew; yet Mercy, Love, Lenity so prevailed with him, that hee onely sought to prevent that Conjunction, by uniting his Brothers Daughter with himselfe, and inflicted no other Punishment on the Countesse, but onely the committing of her to the Custody of her (t) Husband. Would a cruell bloud-thirsty Prince have done so? Could any Thing have beene performed with more Mildnesse and Lenity? Could he doe lesse than let her understand, that hee knew her secretest Practises? Surely if hee were an Usurper (as that he could not be now, standing after the Death of his Nephewes in the same Ranke that *Edward* the Fourth his Brother did) yet his Equity in Justice, his Mercy in pardoning Offenders, his Care of Religion, his Providence for the Safety of the People, should and ought to have tempered the Bitternesse of his most malicious Enemies: With no lesse mer-

(p) The Death of *Henry Stafford* Duke of *Buckingham*, beheaded at *Shrewsbury*.

(q) *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, Wife of *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, Mother of King *Henry* the Seventh.

(r) Q. *Elizabeth*, Mother to *Elizabeth*

eldest Daughter of *Edward* the Fourth, and *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, Mother to *Henry* the Seventh, after King.

(s) *Yorke* and *Lancaster*.

(t) *Thomas* Lord *Stanley*, after by *Henry* the Seventh created Earle of *Darby*.

cifull Gentlenesse he used her Husband, (and that) at such a Time as her Sonne was already landed, and made Claime to the Kingdome; for he onely tooke his Sonne (*u*) the Lord *Strange* as an Hostage, and then suffered him to go into the Country to levie his Forces: so farre was he from Bloud and Cruelty, as, though he knew his Alliance to the contrarie Faction, a Motive, sufficient to make him (as indeed he did) incline to their Ayde, though he might justly suspect him, and could not have wanted Colour to have beheaded him (as being Father-in-law to his Competitor) yet he onely detained his Sonne in his Campe; and when he had assured Notice of his Fathers disloyall Revolt, yet hee suffered the Hostage of his Loyalty to live: an Evidence effectuall enough to testifie, that he desired rather to settle, than to overthrow the Quiet of this Land; that he laboured to winne the Hearts of his Subjects, rather with Meekenesse than Cruelty: What Prince could have done lesse? Nay, what King would not have done more? Since both the Effect, and the present Feare, are both such inward Tormentors, that it is hard to determine which is most grievous: so opposite, so contrary to the Nature of a Prince borne, (not to feare, but to be feared) that it is most just, most naturall, to remove such a Terror. But now (*w*) the *Heire of Lancaster* being come to challenge the Crowne, what did the King? Did his Spirits faile him? Was his magnanimous Courage daunted? No, he then gathered new Spirit, hee new-steeled his Courage, hee withstood him with the Height of Fortitude; protesting rather to die valiantly, than to live lesse than a King. With what a *Roman-like* Spirit did he resist Fortune? Being overthrowne, how Heroically did he encounter with Death? This our detracting Chroniclers cannot but acknowledge; for so high, so powerfull was his Magnanimity, that (in spight of Malice) it prevaieth, and (like the Sunne) breaketh thorow the misty Clouds of his Adversaries Slanders: Was it a Fault to withstand the *Lancastrian* Heires Claime? Then those are faulty, who being in Possession of Lands, to prove good their Title, prosecute Suits, and are overthrowne by the Law; for the Sentence of Judgement makes them to perceive that to be an Errour, which before they imagined none. Besides, he knew well, that his Kingdome and Life had both one Period, to which Life he was perswaded his Competitor had no Right, and therefore he would never be guilty of such a Sin (as wilfully to betray it) till he who lent it him required Payment.

Had his Life, his Actions beene most abominable; yet (like a Slave) to have yeelded his Throat to the Execution, would have beene an Imputation beyond all other Imputations: but could hee as openly have manifested his other Vertues, as he did his Valour and Policie, the Worlds Opinion had beene otherwise, and I neither had taken such Paines to defend his Innocencie, nor in some weake Judgements to endanger mine own. But surely he did couragiously and valiantly withstand his Enemies, with great Expedition

(*u*) *George Lord Strange*, Sonne and Heire to *Thomas Lord Stanley*. (*w*) *Henry the Seventh*.

rallying his Forces, and performing all Things with wonderfull Celerity, he went to encounter the Disturbers of his Quiet.

It is reported, that, the Night before the Day of Battell, he dreamed a most (x) dreadfull and horrible Dreame, which by our Chroniclers is interpreted to be a Testimonie of his wicked and tyrannous Life. Did not *Cæsar*, (y) before hee attained the Empire, dreame that hee knew his owne Mother carnally? Had not both *Dion* and *Brutus* the Figures of terrible Spirits represented unto them, the Night before their End? and yet these were reputed good Men, and Lovers and Protectors of their Country; and because King *Richard* dreamed with some Terrour, must his Life of Necessity be evill? O vaine! O frivolous Objection! But they hold this Dreame to be a Compunction of his Conscience: Happy Prince to have so indiscreete Slanderers; for how could they more truly witnesse his Integrity, since only they who reverence and feare God, are indued with that inquiring Conscience, which censureth their Actions? For they who are given over to a reprobate Sence, are insensible of that good Angell, which seeketh by telling us of our Faults, to make us repent our Sins past, and to be wary, lest we commit any more.

Surely, I thinke, his Conscience (like a Glasse) presented before him the Figures of all his Actions; which he faithfully examining, humbly craved Pardon for his Misdeeds: and so having made Attonement with God, like a devout Penitentiary settled his Minde, hee went with Alacrity to the bloody Court, where the Cause of his Life was to be tried, where his Sword being his Advocate, pleaded most valiantly. In all which Tumult, he failed neither in Discretion, nor in Execution, but boldly encouraged his Souldiers, both by Word and Example.

There is extant in our Chronicles, an (z) Oration, which at that Time he made to his Souldiers, wherein he confesseth his Errours, and desireth Pardon of all the World, as he hoped his repentant Teares had obtained Mercy of God.

What a Saint-like Thing was this, for a King, to crave Forgiveness of Subjects? For a General, to humble himselfe to his Souldiers? What could it be but the Effect of a more divine, than terrene Understanding? If (like the common Fashion of Men) he would have put his Affiance in humane Assistance, and neglected his God, he might (in common Reason) have promised himselfe the Victory, being double in Forces, and nothing inferiour, either in Valour or Policy; but he acknowledged and confessed the Power of the most powerfull; he knew that it was not the Multitude of Men, but God, that giveth the Victory, and therefore having first made Peace with his owne Soule, he humbled himselfe, and asked Pardon of those, over whom he had Government: knowing no Government to be so perfect, wherein some good Men are not offended.

(x) King *Richards* Dreame the Night and *Brutus*.
before the Battel of *Bosworth*.

(y) *Plutarch* in the Life of *Cæsar*, *Dion*, (z) The Oration of King *Richard*. *Hol-*
linshed's Chronicle in the End of his Reigne.

This was the Effect of his Compunction; to put him in Remembrance, that Princes are mortal, and that his being a King, bound him to a more strict Reckoning, than one that enjoyeth a lesser Fame. Now whether this mercifull Remembrance of God disgraceth him, judge ye that have Grace. But now (both Battels being joyned) what did this valiant King? Did hee onely stand to give Directions to others? No, he did rigorous Execution with his Sword upon his Enemies.

Did he, when hee perceived some of his Subjects disloyally to revolt, and that his Forces were put to the worst, think upon Yeelding or Flight? Though by some of his faithfullest Servants he was counsailed to flie, and for that Purpose presented with a Horse of wonderfull Speed, yet he would not; for having been inured to Conquest, he scorned to yeeld: having been a King, he would not die a Vassall; and therefore, because the Garland was a Crowne, the Prize a Kingdome; Victory, Majestie, and perpetuall Renowne the Reward, this Lyon-hearted-King couragiously charging his Speare, ran into the Battalion of his Adversaries, where, with his owne Hands hee slew the stout (a) Sir *William Brandon*, Standard-bearer of his Enemie: he overthrew the strong and valiant S. *John Cheyney*, and singled out his Competitor: who being the most heroick and valiant Prince of those Times, yet had doubtlesse been slaine, had not he beene rescued by S. *William Stanley*, who came happily with three thousand Men to his Rescue, who on all Sides encompassing K. *Richard*, so assailed him, that though he did more than a Man, though his Sword acted Wonders, yet being oppressed by so great a Multitude, hee was there manfully slaine, not overcome, for he conquered the Betrayers of Men, in Danger, Passion and Feare.

Thus lost he both Kingdome and Life, but nothing diminished his interiour Vertues: When the adjudged Punishment is performed, our Lawes doe account the Offender as clear of the Crime, as if he never had committed it. Why should this common Benefit be denied a King, since if guilty, his Blood made Restitution, and being dead his royal Body was despoiled of all kingly Ornaments, left naked, and not onely unroyally, but inhumanely and reprochfully dragged? Yet neither can his Blood redeem him from injurious Tongues, nor the Reproach offered his Body be thought cruell enough, but that we must still make him more cruelly infamous in Pamphlets and Playes. Compare him now (judicious Reader) impartially with other Princes; judge truly of all their Actions, their Forme of Government, and their Statutes and Ordinances, the Upholders, the Strength, the Sinewes of Government; and thou shalt find him as innocent of Cruelty, Extortion and Tyranny as the most; as wise, politike and valiant as any: if so, censure him, his Actions, his Ordinances, according to their Deserts, and this Treatise of mine as a charitable well-wishing to a scandalized and defamed King.

Yet for all this know, I hold this but a Paradox.

(a) Sir *William Brandon*, Standard-Bearer ther to *Charles Brandon*, after created Duke to *Henry* the Seventh slaine. He was Fa- of *Suffolke*, by *Henry* the Eighth.

The Elements of Architecture: Collected by HENRY WOTTON, Knight, from the best Authors and Examples. 1624.

The PREFACE.

I Shall not neede (like the most Part of Writers) to celebrate the Subject which I deliver. In that Point I am at Ease; for Architecture can want no Commendation, where there are Noble Men, or Noble Mindes; I will therefore spend this Preface, rather about those, from whom I have gathered my Knowledge; for I am but a Gatherer and Disposer of other Mens Stuffle, at my best Value.

Our principall Master is Vitruvius and so I shall often call him; who had this Felicitie, that he wrote when the Roman Empire was neere the Pitch; or, at least, when Augustus (who favoured his Endeavours) had some Meaning (if he were not mistaken) to bound the Monarchie: Tacit. lib. i. Annal. This I say was his good Happe; For in growing and enlarging Times, Artes are commonly drowned in Action: But on the other Side, it was in Truth an Unhappinesse, to expresse himselfe so ill, especially writing (as he did) in a Season of the ablest Pennes: And his Obscuritie had this strange Fortune; That though he were best practised, and best followed by his owne Countrymen; yet after the reviving and repolishing of good Literature, (which the Combustions and Tumults of the middle Age had uncivillized) he was best, or at least, first understood by Strangers; for of the Italians that tooke him in hand, those that were Gramarians seeme to have wanted Mathematicall Knowledge; and the Mathematicians perhaps wanted Gramer: till both were sufficiently conjoyned, in Leon-Baptista Alberti the Florentine, whom I repute the first learned Architect beyond the Alpes: But hee studied more indeede to make himselfe an Author, than to illustrate his Master. Therefore among his Commenters, I must (for my private Conceite) yield the chiefe Praise unto the French, in Philander; and to the high Germans, in Gualterus Rivius: who, besides his Notes, hath likewise published the most elaborate Translation, that I thinke is extant in any vulgar Speech of the World: though not without bewayling, now and then, some Defect of Artificiall Tearmes in his owne; as I must likewise; For if the Saxon, (our Mother Tongue) did complaine; as justly (I doubt) in this Point may the Daughter: Languages, for the most Part in Tearmes of Art and Erudition, retayning their originall Povertie, and rather growing rich and abundant, in complementall Phrases and such Froth. Touching divers moderne Men that have written out of meere Practise, I shall give them their Due, upon Occasion.

And now, after this short Censure of others, I would faine satisfie an Objection or two, which seeme to lie somewhat heavily upon my selfe; It will be said that I handle an Art, no Way suteable either to my Employments, or

to my Fortune. And so I shall stand charged, both with Intrusion, and with Impertinency.

To the First I answere, that though by the ever acknowledged Goodnesse of my most deare and gracious SOVERAIGNE, and by his long indulgent Toleration of my Defects, I have borne Abroad some Part of his civill Service, yet when I came Home, and was againe resolved into mine owne Simplicities, I found it fitter for my Pen; (at least in this first publique Adventure) to deale with these plaine Compilements, and tractable Materials; than with the Laberynthes and Mysteries of Courts and States; and lesse Presumption for mee, who have long contemplated a famous Republique, to write now of Architecture; than it was anciently for * Hippodamus the Milesian, to write of Republicques, who was himselfe but an Architect.

To the Second, I must shrink up my Shoulders, as I have learn'd abroad, and confesse indeed, that my Fortune is very unable to exemplifie, and actuate my Speculations in this Art, which yet in Truth, made mee the rather even from my very Disabilitie, take Encouragement to hope, that my present Labour would find the more Favour with others, since it was undertaken for no Mans Sake, lesse than mine owne. And with that Confidence, I fell into these Thoughts; Of which, there were two Ways to be delivered: The one Historical, by Description of the principall Workes, performed already in good Part, by Giorgio Vassari in the Lives of Architects: The other Logically, by casting the Rules and Cautions of this Art, into some comfortable Methode, whereof I have made Choice, not onely as the shortest and most Elementall, but indeed as the soundest; For though in practicall Knowledges, every complete Example, may beare the Credite of a Rule; yet peradventure Rules should preceed, that we may by them be made fit to judge of Examples: Therefore to the Purpose; for I will preface no longer.

Of the Elements of ARCHITECTURE. *The 1st Part.*

IN Architecture, as in all other Operative Arts, the End must direct the Operation.

The End is to build well.

Well Building hath three Conditions: *Commoditie, Firmness, and Delight.* A common Division among the Deliverers of this Art, though I know not how, somewhat misplaced by *Vitruvius* himselfe, *Lib. 1. cap. 3.* whom I shall be willing to follow, as a Master of *Proportion*, than of *Methode*.

Now, for the attayning of these Intentions, wee may consider the whole Subject, under two generall Heads.

The Seate, and the Worke.

Therefore first touching Scituation.

* Aristot. 2. lib. Politi. cap. 6.

The *Precepts* thereunto belonging, doe either concerne the *Totall Posture*, (as I may tearm it) or the *placing* of the *Parts*: whereof the first Sort, howsoever usually set downe by *Architects* as a piece of their *Profession*: yet are in Truth borrowed, from other *Learnings*; there being betweene *Arts* and *Sciences*, as well as betweene *Men*, a Kinde of good Fellowship, and Communication of their *Principles*.

For you shall finde some of them, to be meerely *Physicall*, touching the Quality and Temper of the *Aire*: which being a perpetuall Ambient, and Ingredient, and the Defects thereof, incorrigible in single *Habitations* (which I most intend) doth in those Respects, require the most exquisite Caution; that it be not too *grosse*, nor too *penetrative*; not subject to any foggy Noy-somnesse, from *Fenns* or *Marshes* neere adjoyning; nor too *Mineral* Exhalations, from the Soile it selfe. Not undigested, for Want of *Sunne*, not unexercised, for Want of *Winde*: which were to live (as it were) in a *Lake*, or standing *Poole* of *Aire*, as *Alberti* the *Florentin Architect*, doth ingeniously compare it.

Some doe rather seeme a little *Astrological*, as when they warne us from Places of malign *Influence*: where *Earthquakes*, *Contagions*, *prodigious Births*, or the like, are frequent without any evident Cause: whereof the Consideration is peradventure not altogether vaine: Some are plainly *Æconomicall*; as that the *Seate* be well watered, and well fewelled, that it bee not of too steepie and incommodious *Accesse* to the Trouble both of Friends and *Familie*. That it lie not too farre, from some navigable *River* or *Arme* of the *Sea*, for more Ease of Provision and such other *domestique* Notes.

Some againe may bee said to bee *Opticall*? Such I meane as concerne the *Properties* of a well chosen *Prospect*: which I will call the *Royaltie* of *Sight*. For as there is a *Lordship* (as it were) of the *Feete*, wherein the Master doth much Joy when he walketh about the *Line* of his owne *Possessions*; so there is a *Lordship* likewise of the *Eye*, which being a raunging, and imperious, and (I might say) an *usurping Sence*, can indure no narrow *Circumscription*, but must be fedde, both with Extent and Varietie; yet on the other Side, I finde vaste and indefinite Viewes which drowne all Apprehension of the uttermost *Objects*, condemned, by good Authors, as if thereby some Part of the Pleasure (whereof we speake) did perish. Lastly, I remember a private *Caution*, which I know not well how to fort, unlesse I should call it *Political*. By no Meanes, to build too neere a great *Neighbour*; which were in Truth to bee as unfortunately seated on the Earth, as *Mercurie* is in the Heavens, for the most Part, ever in *Combustion*, or *Obscuritie*, under brighter Beames then his owne.

From these severall *Knowledges* as I have said, and perhaps from some other doe *Architects* † derive their Doctrine about Election of *Seats*, wherein I have not beene so severe, as a great Scholer of our Time, who precisely restrayneth a perfect *Scituation*, at least for the maine Point of Health, *ad locum contra quem Sol radios suos fundit, cum sub Ariete oritur*, that is, in a

† Joannes Heurnius *Instit. Medicin. Lib. 7. cap. 2.*

Word hee would have the first *Salutation* of the *Spring*; but such *Notes* as these, wheresoever we finde them in grave or slight Authors, are to my Conceite rather *Wishes* then *Precepts*; and in that Qualitie, I will passe them over. Yet I must withall say that in the *seating* of our selves (which is a kinde of *Marriage* to a *Place*) *Builders* should bee as circumspect as *Wooers*; lest when all is done that *Doom* befall us, which our Master doth lay upon *Mitylene*, *A Towne* in Truth (saith hee) * *finely built, but foolishly planted*. And so much touching that, which I termed the *Totall Posture*.

The next in Order is the placing of the *Parts*; about which (to leave as little as I may in my present Labour, unto *Fancie*, which is wilde and irregular) I will propound a Rule of mine owne Collection, upon which I fell in this Maner. I had noted, that all *Arte* was then in truest Perfection, when it might bee reduced to some naturall *Principle*; for what are the most judicious *Artisans* but the *Mimiques* of *Nature*? This led me to contemplate the *Fabrique* of our owne Bodies, wherein the *high Architect* of the World, had displaid such Skill, as did stupifie, all humane Reason. There I found the *Heart* as the Fountaine of Life placed about the Middle, for the more equall Communication of the vitall Spirits. The *Eyes* seated aloft, that they might describe the greater Circle within their View. The *Armes* projected on each Side, for Ease of reaching. Briefly (not to loose our selves in this sweet Speculation) it plainly appeareth, as a *Maxime* drawne from the divine Light; that the *Place* of every Part, is to be determined by the *Use*.

So then, from naturall *Structure*, to proceed to artificiall; and in the rudest Things, to preserve some Image of the excellentest. Let all the principall Chambers of *Delight*, all *Studies* and *Libraries*, be towards the *East*: For the Morning is a Friend to the Muses. All Offices that require Heat, as *Kitchens*, *Stillatories*, *Stoves*, Roomes for *Baking*, *Brewing*, *Washing*, or the like, would be *Meridionall*. All that need a cool and fresh Temper, as *Cellers*, *Pantries*, *Butteries*, *Granaries*, to the *North*. To the same Side likewise, all that are appointed for gentle Motion, as *Galleries*, especially in warme Climes, or that otherwise require a steadie and unvariable Light, as *Pinacotheca* (saith *Vitruvius*) by which he intendeth, (if I may guesse at his *Greeke*, as wee must doe often even at his *Latine*) certaine *Repositories* for Workes of Rarity in Picture or other Arts, by the *Italians* called *Studioli*, which at any other Quarter, where the Course of the *Sunne* doth diversifie the *Shadowes*, would loose much of their Grace. And by this Rule having alwayes Regarde to the *Use*, any other Part may bee fitly accommodated.

I must here not omit to note that the antient *Grecians*, and the *Romanes*, by their Example in their Buildings abroad, where the *Seat* was free, did almost religiously scituate the *Front* of their Houses, towards the South; perhaps that the Masters *Eye*, when hee came home, might not be dazeled, or that being illustrated, by the *Sunne*, it might yeeld the more gracefull *Aspect*; or some such Reason; but from this, the moderne *Italians* do varie; whereof I shall speake more in another Place. Let thus much suffice at the present

* *Opidum quidem ædificatum eleganter, sed imprudenter positum.*

for the *Position* of the severall *Members*, wherein must bee had as our Author doth often insinuate, and especially *Lib. 6. cap. 10.* a singular Regard to the Nature of the *Region*: Every Nation being tyed above all Rules whatsoever, to a Discretion, of providing against their owne *Inconveniences*; and therefore a good *Parler* in *Ægypt* would perchance make a good *Celler* in *England*.

There now followeth the second Branch of the generall *Section* touching the *Worke*.

In the *Worke*, I will first consider the principall Parts, and afterwards the Accessorie, or *Ornaments*; And in the principall, first the Preparation of the *Materials*, and then the Disposition, which is the *Forme*.

Now, concerning the *Materiall* Part; Although, surely, it cannot disgrace an *Architect*, which doth so well become a Philosopher, to looke into the Properties of *Stone* and *Wood*; as that Firre Trees, Cypresses, Cedars, and such other *Aereall* aspiring *Plants*, being by a Kinde of naturall Rigor (which in a Man I would call Pride) inflexible downewards are thereby fittest for *Posts* or *Pillars*, or such upright Use; that on the other side, Oake, and the like true hartie Timber being strong in all Positions, may bee better trusted in crosse and traverse *Worke*, for *Summers*, or guirding and binding *Beames*, as they tearme them. And so likewise to observe of *Stone*, that some are better within, and other to beare *Weather*: Nay, to descend lower even to examine *Sand* and *Lyme*, and *Clay* (of all which Things *Vitruvius* hath discoursed, without any Daintines, and the most of new Writers) I say though the *Speculative* Part of such Knowledge be *liberall*; yet to redeeme this Profession, and my present Paynes, from Indignitie; I must heere remember that to choose and sort the *Materials*, for every Part of the *Fabrique*, is a Dutie more proper to a second *Superintendent*, over all the under Artisans called (as I take it) by our Author, *Officinator*, *Lib. 6. cap. 11.* and in that Place expressely distinguished, from the *Architect*, whose Glory doth more consist, in the Designement and *Idea* of the whole *Worke*, and his truest Ambition should be to make the *Forme*, which is the nobler Part (as it were) triumph over the *Matter*; whereof I cannot but mention by the Way, a forreigne Paterne, namely the Church of *Santa Giustina* in *Padoua*: In Truth a found Piece of good Art, where the *Materials* being but ordinarie Stone, without any Garnishment of Sculpture, doe yet ravish the Beholder, (and hee knowes not how) by a secret *Harmony* in the *Proportions*. And this indeede is that End, at which in some Degree, we should ayme even in the privatest *Workes*: whereunto though I make Haste, yet let me first collect a few of the least triviall Cautions, belonging to the *Materiall Provision*.

Leon Batista Alberti; is so curious, as to wish all the *Timber* cut out of the same *Forrest*, and all the *Stone* out of the same *Quarrie*.

Philibert de l'Orme the *French Architect* goes yet somewhat further, and would have the *Lyme* made of the very same *Stone*, which wee intend to imploy in the *Worke*; as belike imagining that they will sympathize and joyne the better, by a Kinde of *Originall Kindred*; but such Conceits as these seeme somewhat too fine among this *Rubbage*, though I doe not produce them in Sport.

Sport. For surely the like Agreements of Nature, may have oftentimes a discreet Application to Art. Alwayes it must be confessed, that to make *Lyme* without any great Choyce of refuse Stuffe, as we commonly do, is an *English* Error, of no small Moment in our Buildings. Whereas the *Italians* at this Day, and much more the *Ancients* did burne their firmeſt *Stone*, and even Fragments of *Marble* where it was copious, which in Time became almost *Marble* againe, or at least of indissoluble Duritie, as appeareth in the standing *Theaters*. I must not here omit, while I am speaking of this Part, a certain Forme of *Bricke* described by *Daniele Barbaro* Patriarch of *Aquileia*, in the largest Edition of his Commentary upon *Vitruvius*. The Figure triangular, every side a Foot long, and some Inch and a halfe thicke, which he doth commend unto us for many good Conditions; as that they are more commodious in the Management, of lesse Expence, of fayrer Show, adding much Beautie and Strength to the *Murall Angles*, where they fall gracefully into an indented *Worke*: so as I should wonder that wee have not taken them into Use, being propounded by a Man of good Authoritie in this Knowledge; but that all Nations doe start at *Novelties*, and are indeede married to their owne *Moulds*. Into this Place might aptly fall a Doubt, which some have well moved; whether the ancient *Italians* did burne their *Bricke* or no; which a Passage or two in *Vitruvius* hath left ambiguous. Surely where the *Naturall* Heat is strong enough, to supply the *Artificiall*, it were but a curious Folly to multiply both *Labour* and *Expence*; and it is besides very probable, that those *Materials* with a kindly and temperate Heate would prove fairer, smoother, and lesse distorted, than with a violent; onely, they suffer two Exceptions. First, that they are likely by such a gentle Drying to be the more *ponderous*: An important Circumstance to the maine of the *Worke* in the Compilement. The next is of no lesse Moment; that they will want a certaine sucking and soaking *Thirstinesse*, or a fiery Appetite to drinke in the *Lime*, which must knit the *Fabrique*; but this Question may be confined to the *South*, where there is more Sunne and Patience. I will therefore not hinder my Course, with this incident Scruple, but close that Part which I have now in Hand, about the *Materialls*, with this principall Caution; That sufficient *Stuffe* and *Money* bee readie before wee beginne; For when wee build now a Piece, and then another by *Fits*, the *Worke* dries and sinkes unequally, whereby the *Walles* growe full of *Chinques*, and *Crevices*; wherefore such a pawſing Humour is well reprooved by *Palladio*, *Lib. 1. cap. 1.* and by all other. And so having gleaned these few Remembrances, touching the Preparation of the *Matter*, I may now proceede to the *Disposition* thereof, which must forme the *Worke*. In the *Forme*, as I did in the *Seate*, I will first consider the generall *Figuration*, and then the severall *Members*.

Figures are either *Simple* or *Mixed*. The *Simple* be either *Circular* or *Angular*. And of *Circular*, either *Compleate*, or *Deficient*, as *Ovals*, with which *Kindes* I will bee contented, though the Distribution might bee more curious.

Now the exact *Circle* is in Truth a Figure, which for our Purpose hath many fit and eminent Properties; as *Fitnessse*, for *Commodity* and *Receit*, being the most capable; *Fitnessse* for *Strength* and *Duration*, being the most united in his Parts; *Fitnessse* for *Beautie* and *Delight*, as imitating the celestiall *Orbes*, and the universall *Forme*. And it seemes, besides, to have the *Approbation* of *Nature*, when shee worketh by *Instinct*, which is her secret Schoole; for Birds doe build their Nests *Spherically*: But notwithstanding these Attributes, it is in Truth a very unprofitable Figure in private *Fabriques*, as being of all other the most chargeable, and much Roome lost in the bending of the *Wall*, when it comes to bee divided: besides an ill Distribution of Light, except from the *Center* of the *Roofe*. So as anciently it was not usual, save in their *Temples* and *Amphi-Theaters*, which needed no *Compartitions*. The *Ovals* and other imperfect circular *Formes*, have the same Exceptions, and lesse Benefite of Capacity: So as there remaynes to bee considered in this generall Survey of *Figures*, the *Angular*, and the *Mixed* of both. Touching the *Angular*, it may perchance sound somewhat strangely, but it is a true Observation, that this *Art* doth neither love many *Angles* nor few; for first, the *Triangle* which hath the fewest Sides and Corners, is of all other the most condemned, as being indeed both incapable and infirme (wherof the Reason shall be afterwards rendred) and likewise unresolvable into any other regular *Forme* than it selfe, in the inward *Partitions*.

As for Figures of five, six, seven, or more *Angles*: they are surely fitter for *Military Architecture*, where the Bulworks may be layed out at the *Corners*, and the Sides serve for *Curtaines*, than for civill Use; though I am not ignorant of that famous Piece at *Caprarola*, belonging to the House of *Farnese*, cast by *Baroccio* into the *Forme* of a *Pentagone*, with a *Circle* inscribed, where the *Architect* did ingeniously wrestle with divers Inconveniences in disposing of the *Lights*, and in saving the Vacuities; but as *Designes* of such Nature doe more ayme at *Rarity*, than *Commoditie*: so for my Part I had rather admire them, then commend them.

These Things considered, we are both by the Precepts and by the Practise of the best Builders, to resolve upon *Rectangular Squares*, as a Meane betwene too few, and too many *Angles*; and through the equall Inclination of the Sides (which make the right Angle) stronger than the *Rhombe*, or *Lozenge*, or any other irregular *Square*. But whether the exact *Quadrat*, or the long *Square* be the better, I finde not well determined, though in mine owne Conceit I must preferre the latter; provided that the *Length* doe not exceede the *Latitude* above one third Part, which would diminish the Beauty of the *Aspect*, as shall appeare when I come to speake of *Symmetry* and *Proportion*.

Of mixed Figures, partly *Circular*, and partly *Angular*, I shall neede to say nothing; because having handled the Simple already, the Mixed according to their Composition, doe participate of the same Respects. Onely against these, there is a proper *Objection*, that they offend *Uniformity*: Whereof I am therefore opportunely induced to say somewhat, as farre as shal concerne the outward *Aspect*, which is now in Discourse.

In

In *Architeſture*, there may ſeem to be two oppoſite Affectations, *Unifor-
mitie* and *Varietie*, which yet will very well ſuffer a good Reconcilement, as
we may ſee in the great Paterne of *Nature*, to which I muſt often reſort :
For ſurely there can be no *Structure*, more uniforme, then our *Bodies* in the
whole *Figuration*; each Side, agreeing with the other, both in the Number,
in the Qualitie, and in the Meaſure of the Parts: And yet ſome are round,
as the *Armes*, ſome flat, as the *Hands*, ſome prominent, and ſome more re-
tired: So as upon the Mater, wee ſee that *Diverſitie* doth not deſtroy *Uni-
formitie*, and that the Limmes of a noble *Fabrique*, may bee correlative
enough, though they be various; Provided alwayes, that we doe not runne
into certaine extravagant Inventions, whereof I ſhall ſpeake more largely,
when I come to the parting and caſting of the whole *Worke*. We ought
likewiſe to avoyde enormous Heights of fixe or ſeven *Stories*, as well as ir-
regular *Formes*; and the contrary Fault of low-diſtended *Fronts*, is as un-
ſeemely: Or againe, when the *Face* of the *Building* is narrow, and the
Flanke deepe: To all which Extreames, ſome particular Nations, or Townes,
are ſubject, whoſe Names may be civilly ſpared: And ſo much for the ge-
nerall *Figuration*, or *Aſpecte* of the *Worke*.

Now concerning the Parts in Severaltie. All the Parts of every *Fabrique*
may be comprised under five Heads; which Diviſion I received from *Baptiſta
Alberti*, to doe him right. And they be theſe,

The *Foundation*.

The *Wall*s.

The *Appertitions*, or *Overtures*.

The *Compartition*.

And

The *Cover*.

About all which I purpoſe to gather the principall Cautions; and as I
paſſe along, I will touch alſo the naturall Reaſons of *Art*, that my Diſcourſe
may be the leſſe *Mechanicall*.

Fiſt then, concerning the *Foundation*, which requireth the exacteſt Care;
for if that happen to dance, it will marre all the Mirth in the Houſe: There-
fore, that wee may found our Habitation firmly, we muſt fiſt examine
the *Bed* of *Earth* (as I may tearme it) upon which we will build; and then
the Underfillings, or *Subſtruction*, as the Auncients did call it: For the
former, we have a generall Precept in *Vitruvius* twice precifely repeated by
him, as a Point indeed of mayne Conſequence, fiſt *Lib. 1. cap. 5.* And
againe more fitly *Lib. 3. cap. 3.* in theſe Words as *Philander* doth well cor-
rect the vulgar Copies.

Subſtructionis Foundationes fodiantur (ſaith he) *ſi queant inveniri ad ſolidum,
& in ſolido.* By which Words I conceive him to commend unto us, not onely
a diligent, but even a jealous Examination what the *Soile* will beare: ad-
viſing us, not to reſt upon any appearing *Soliditie*, unleſſe the whole *Mould*
through which wee cut, has likewiſe beene *ſolid*; but how deepe wee ſhould
goe in this Search, hee hath no where to my Remembrance determined, as
perhaps depending more upon *Diſcretion*, then *Regularitie*, according to the
Weight of the *Worke*; yet *Andrea Palladio* hath fairely adventured to reduce
it

Under dig-
ing, or hol-
lowing of
the Earth.

it into Rule: Allowing for that *Cavazione* (as he calleth it) a fixt Part of the *Height* of the whole *Fabrique*, unles the Cellers be under Ground, in which Case hee would have us, (as it should seeme) to found somewhat lower.

Some *Italians* doe prescribe, that when they have chosen the *Floore*, or Plot, and laid out the Limits of the *Worke*, wee should first of all digge *Wels* and *Cesternes*, and other Under-conducts and Conveiances, for the *Suillage* of the House, whence may arise a double Benefit, for both the Nature of the *Mould* or *Soile*, would thereby be safely searched, and moreover those open Vents, will serve to discharge such *Vapours*, as having otherwise no Issue, might peradventure shake the Building. This is enough for the naturall *Grounding*, which though it bee not a Part of the solid *Fabrique*, yet here was the fittest Place to handle it.

There followeth the *Substruction*, or Ground-worke of the whole *Edifice*, which must sustaine the *Walls*; and this is a Kinde of *Artificiall* Foundation, as the other was *Natural*. About which these are the chiefe Remembrances. First, that the Bottome be precisely Levell, where the *Italians* therefore commonly lay a Platforme of good Bord; then that the lowest *Ledge* or *Row* be meerely of *Stone*, and the broader the better, closely layd without *Morter*, which is a generall Caution for all Parts in Building, that are contiguous to *Bord* or *Timber*, because *Lime* and *Wood* are infociable, and if any where unfit Confiners, then most especially in the *Foundation*. Thirdly, that the Breadth of the *Substruction* bee at least double to the *insistent Wall*, and more or lesse, as the Weight of the *Fabrique* shall require; for as I must againe repeate, *Discretion* may be freer then *Art*. Lastly, I finde in some a curious Precept, that the *Materials* below, be layd as they grew in the *Quarrie*, supposing them belike to have most Strength in their *Naturall* and *Habituall* Posture; for as *Philippe de l'Orme* observeth, the breaking or yeelding of a Stone in this Part, but the Breadth of the Backe of a Knife, will make a *Cleft* of more then halfe a Foot in the *Fabrique* aloft, so important are *Fundamentall Errors*. Among which Notes I have sayd nothing of *Pallification*, or *Pyling* of the *Ground-Plot*, commanded by *Vitruvius*, when we build upon a moist or marshy Soile, because that were an Error in the first Choyce; and therefore all *Seats* that must use such Provision below (as *Venice* for an eminent Example) would perhaps upon good Enquiry, be found to have beene at first chosen by the Counsell of *Necessity*.

Now the *Foundation* being searched, and the *Substruction* layd, wee must next speake of the *Walls*.

Walls are either entire and continuall, or intermitted; and the *Intermissions* be either *Pillars* or *Pylasters*; for here I had rather handle them, then as some others doe, among *Ornaments*.

The entire *Muring* is by Writers diversly distinguished; by some, according to the Quality of the *Materials*, as either Stone or Brick, &c. where, by the Way, let me note, that to build *Walls* and greater Workes of *Flint*, whereof wee want not Example in our *Iland*, and particularly in the Province
of

of *Kent*, was (as I conceive) meerly unknown to the *Ancients*, who observing in that *Materiall*, a Kinde of *Metallick* Nature, or at least a *Fusibility*, seeme to have resolved it into nobler Use; an Art now utterly lost, or perchance kept up by a few *Chymicks*. Some againe doe not so much consider the Quality, as the *Position* of the sayd *Materials*: As when Bricke or squared Stones are laid in their Lengths with Sides and Heads together, or their Points conjoynd like a *Networke* (for so *Vitruvius* doth call it *reticulatum opus*) of familiar Use (as it should seeme) in his Age, though afterwards growne out of Request, even perhaps for that subtile Speculation which hee himselfe toucheth; because so layd, they are more apt in swagging down, to pierce with their Points, then in the jacent Posture, and so to crevice the *Wall*; But to leave such Cares to the meaner Artificers, the more essentiall are these.

That the *Walles* bee most exactly perpendicular to the *Ground-worke*; for the right *Angle* (thereon depending) is the true Cause of all *Stability*; both in Artificiall and Naturall Positions; A Man likewise standing firmeest, when he stands uprightest. That the massiest and heaviest *Materials* bee the lowest, as fitter to beare, then to be borne. That the *Worke* as it riseth, diminish in *Thicknesse* proportionally, for Ease both of Weight, and of Expence. That certaine Courses or *Ledges* of more Strength than the rest, be interlayed like *Bones*, to sustaine the *Fabrique* from totall Ruine, if the under Parts should decay. Lastly, that the *Angles* bee firmly bound, which are the *Nerves* of the whole *Edifice*, and therefore are commonly fortified by the *Italians*, even in their Bricke Buildings, on each Side of the Corners, with well squared Stone, yeelding both Strength and Grace; and so much touching the entire or solid *Wall*.

The Intermissions (as hath beene sayd) are either by *Pillars*, or *Py-lasters*.

Pillars, which we may likewise call *Columnes*, (for the Word among Artificers is almost naturallized) I could distinguish into *Simple* and *Compounded*. But (to tread the beaten and plainest Way) there are five *Orders* of *Pillars*, according to their Dignity and Perfection, thus marshalled:

The *Tuscan*.

The *Dorique*.

The *Ionique*.

The *Corinthian*.

And

The *Compound Order*.

Or as some call it the *Roman*, others more generally the *Italian*.

In which five *Orders* I will first consider their *Communities*, and then their *Proprieties*.

Their *Communities* (as farre as I observe) are principally three. First, they are all *Round*; for though some conceive *Columna Atticurges* mentioned by *Vitruvius*, *Lib. 3. cap. 3.* to have beene a squared Pillar, yet wee must passe it over as irregular, never received among these *Orders*, no more then certaine other licentious Inventions, of *Wreathed*, and *Vined*, and *Figured Columnes*, which our Author himselfe condemneth, being in his whole Booke a professed Enemy to *Fancies*.

Secondly,

Secondly, They are all *Diminished*, or *Contracted* insensibly, more or lesse, according to the Proportion of their Heights, from one third Part of the whole *Shaft* upwards, which *Philander* doth prescribe by his owne precise Measuring of the ancient Remainders, as the most gracefull *Diminution*; And here I must take Leave to blame a Practice growne (I know not how) in certaine Places too familiar, of making *Pillars* swell in the middle, as if they were sicke of some *Tympany*, or *Dropsie*, without any authentique *Paterne* or Rule, to my Knowledge, and unseemely to the very Judgement of Sight. True it is that in *Vitruvius*, *Lib. 3. cap. 2.* wee finde these Words, *De adjectione, quæ adjicitur in mediis Columnis, quæ apud Grecos Euryæ appellatur, in extremo libro erit formatio ejus*; which Passage, seemeth to have given some Countenance to this Error; but of the Promise there made, as of diverse other elsewhere, our Master hath fayled us, either by slip of Memory, or injury of Time, and so we are left in the Darke. Alwayes sure I am, that besides the Authority of Example which it wanteth, it is likewise contrary to the originall and naturall *Type*, in *Trees*, which at first was imitated in *Pillars*, as *Vitruvius* himselfe observeth, *lib. 5. cap. 1.* For who ever saw any *Cypresse*, or *Pine*, (which are there alledged) small below and above, and tumerous in the Middle, unlesse it were some diseased Plant, as Nature (though otherwise the comliest *Mistresse*) hath now and then her Deformities and *Irregularities*.

Thirdly, they have all their *Undersettings*, or *Pedistals*, in Height a third Part of the whole *Columnne*, comprehending the *Base* and *Capitall*; and their upper Adjuncts, as *Architrave*, *Frize*, and *Cornice*, a fourth Part of the sayd Pillar; which Rule of singular Use and Facility I find settled by *Jacobo Baroccio*, and hold him a more credible Author, as a Man that most intended this Piece, than any that vary from him in those *Dimensions*.

These are their most considerable *Communities* and *Agreements*.

Their *Proprieties* or *Distinctions* will best appeare by some reasonable Description of them all, together with their *Architraves*, *Prizes*, and *Cornices*, as they are usually handled.

First therefore the *Tuscan* is a plain, massie, rurall Pillar, resembling some sturdy well-limmed Labourer, homely clad, in which Kinde of Comparisons *Vitruvius* himselfe seemeth to take Pleasure, *lib. 4. cap. 1.* The Length thereof shall be six *Diameters*, of the grossest of the Pillar below. Of all Proportions, in Truth, the most naturall; for our Author tells us, *lib. 3. cap. 1.* that the Foote of a Man is the sixt Part of his Bodie in ordinary Measure, and *Man* himselfe, according to the Saying of *Protagoras* (which *Aristotle* doth somewhere vouchsafe to celebrate) is τὸ τῶν ἀπαιτῶν χρημάτων μέτρον: as it were the *Prototype* of all exact *Symmetrie*, which we have had other Occasion to touch before: This *Columnne* I have by good Warrant called *Rurall*, *Vitruv. cap. 2. lib. 3.* And therefore we need not consider his Rank among the rest. The Distance or *Intercolumniation* (which Word Artificers doe usually borrow) may bee neere foure of his owne *Diameters*, because the *Materials* commonly layd over this Pillar, were rather of Wood then Stone; through the Lightnesse whereof the *Architrave* could not suffer, though thinnely supported, nor the *Columnne* it selfe being so substantiall. The *Contraction* aloft shall be
(according

(according to the most received Practice) one fourth Part of his Thicknesse below. To conclude, (for I intend only as much as shall serve for a due Distinguishment, and not to delineate every petty Member) the *Tuscan* is of all the rudest Pillar, and his principall Character *Simplicity*.

The *Dorique Order* is the graveſt that hath beene received into civill Use, preſerving, in Compariſon of thoſe that follow, a more *Maſculine Aſpect*, and little trimmer than the *Tuscan* that went before, ſave a ſober Garniſhment now and then of *Lions Heads* in the *Cornice*, and of *Triglyphs* and *Metopes* alwayes in the *Frize*. Sometimes likewiſe, but rarely, chaneled, and a little flight Sculpture about the *Hypotrachelion*, or *Necke* under the *Capitall*. The Length, ſeven *Diameters*. His Ranke or Degree, is the loweſt by all *Congruity*, as being more maſſie than the other three, and conſequently abler to ſupport. The *Intercolumniation*, thrice as much as his Thicknesſe below. The *Contraction* aloft, one fiſt of the ſame Meaſure. To diſcerne him, will bee a Peece rather of good *Heraldry*, than of *Architeſture*: For he is beſt knowne by his Place, when he is in Company, and by the peculiar Ornament of his *Frize* (before mentioned) when he is alone.

The *Ionique Order* doth repreſent a Kinde of Feminine Slenderneſſe, yet ſaith *Vitruvius*, not like a light Houſe-wife, but in a decent Dreſſing, hath much of the *Matrone*. The Length eight *Diameters*. In Degree as in Subſtantieneſſe, next above the *Dorique*, ſuſtaining the third, and adorning the ſecond Story. The *Intercolumniation* two of his owne *Diameters*. The *Contraction* one ſixt Part. Beſt knowne by his Trimmings, for the Bodie of this *Columnne* is perpetually chaneled, like a thicke plighted Gowne. The *Capitall* dreſſed on each Side, not much unlike Womens Wires, in a ſpirall Wreathing, which they call the *Ionian Voluta*. The *Cornice* indented. The *Frize* ſwelling like a Pillow; and therefore by *Vitruvius*, not unelegantly tearmed *Pulvinata*. Theſe are his beſt Characters.

The *Corinthian*, is a *Columnne*, laciviously decked like a Curtezane, and therein much participating (as all Inventions doe) of the Place where they were firſt borne: *Corinthe* having been without Controverſie one of the wantoneſt Townes in the World. This Order is of nine *Diameters*. His Degree, one Stage above the *Ionique*, and alwaies the higheſt of the ſimple Orders. The *Intercolumniation* two of his *Diameters*, and a fourth Part more, which is of all other the comeliſt Diſtance. The *Contraction* one ſeventh Part. In the *Cornice* both *Dentelli* and *Modiglioni*. The *Frize*, adorned with all Kinds of *Figures* and various Compartments at Pleaſure. The *Capitall*, cut into the beautifulleſt Leaſe, that Nature doth yeeld, which ſurely next the *Aconitum Parda-lianches* (rejeſted perchance as an ominous Plant) is the *Acanthus* or *Brancus Urſina*, though *Vitruvius* doe impute the Choice thereof unto Chance, and wee muſt be contented to beleve him: In ſhort, as *Plainneſſe* did characterize the *Tuscan*, ſo muſt *Delicacie* and *Varietie* the *Corinthian* Pillar, beſides the Height of his Ranke.

Our Artizans call them Teeth and Cartouzes.

The laſt is the *Compounded Order*: His Name being a Briefe of his Nature. For this Pillar is nothing in Effect, but a *Medlie*, or an *Amasſe* of all the pre-

cedent *Ornaments*, making a new Kinde, by Stealth, and though the most richly tricked, yet the poorest in this, that he is a Borrower of all his Beautie. His Length, (that he may have somewhat of his owne) shalbe of ten *Diameters*. His Degree should, no doubt, bee the highest, by Reasons before yeelded. But few *Palaces*, auncient or moderne, exceede the third of the *Civill Orders*. The *Intercolumniation*, but a *Diameter* and an halfe, or alwayes somewhat lesse then two. The *Contraction* of this Pillar must be one eight Part lesse above than belowe. To know him will be easie by the verie Mixture of his *Ornaments*, and *Cloathing*.

And so much touching the five *Orders of Columnes*, which I will conclude with two or three, not impertinent *Cautions*:

First, that where more of these *Orders* than one, shalbe set in severall *Stories* or *Contignations*, there must bee an exquisite Care, to place the *Columnes* precisely, one over another, that so, the *solid* may answere to the *solid*, and the *Vacuities* to the *Vacuities*, as well for *Beautie*, as Strength of the *Fabrique*: And by this Caution the Consequence is plaine, that when wee speake of *Intercolumniation* or *Distance*, which is due to each *Order*, we meane in a *Dorique*, *Ionical*, *Corinthian Porch*, or *Cloister*, or the like of one *Contignation*, and not in storied Buildings.

Secondly, let the *Columnes* above be a fourth Part lesse than those below, saith *Vitruvius*, *lib. 5. cap. 1.* A strange Precept, in my Opinion, and so strange, that peradventure it were more sutable, even to his owne Principles, to make them rather a fourth Part greater, for *lib. 3. cap. 2.* where our Master handleth the *Contractions* of Pillars, wee have an *Optique Rule*, that the higher they are, the lesse should be alwayes their Dimunition aloft, because the *Eye* it selfe, doth naturally contract all *Objects* more or lesse, according to the *Distance*; which Consideration, may, at first Sight, seeme to have beene forgotten in the Caution wee have now given; but *Vitruvius* (the best Interpreter of himselfe) hath in the same Place of his fift Booke, well acquitted his Memorie by these Words: *Columnæ superiores quarta parte minores, quàm inferiores, sunt constituendæ; propterea quòd, operi ferendo quæ sunt inferiora, firmiora esse debent*; preferring like a wise Mechanick, the naturall Reason, before the *Mathematicall*, and sensible Conceits before abstracted. And yet *lib. 4. cap. 4.* he seemeth againe, to affect *Subtilltie*, allowing Pillars the more they are chaneled, to bee the more slender; because while our *Eye* (saith hee) doth as it were distinctly measure the eminent and the hollowed Parts, the totall Object appeareth the bigger, and so as much as those Excavations, doe subtract, is supplied by a *Fallacie* of the *Sight*: But here mee thinks, our Master should likewise have rather considered, the naturall Inconvenience; for though Pillars by chaneling, bee seemingly ingrossed to our Sight, yet they are truly weakened in themselves; and therefore ought perchance in sound Reason not to bee the more slender, but the more corpulent, unlesse Apparances preponder Truths, but *Contra Magistrum, non est disputandum*.

A third Caution shalbe that all the *projected* or *jutting* Parts (as they are tearmed) be very moderate, especially, the *Cornices* of the lower *Orders*, for
whilest

whilest some thinke to give them a beautifull and royall Aspect, by their Largesse, they sometimes hinder both the Light within, (whereof I shall speake more in due Place) and likewise detract much from the Viewe of the *Front* without, as well appeareth in one of the principall Fabriques at *Venice*, namely the Palace, of the Duke *Grimani* on the *Canal Grande*, which by this magnificent Errour, is somewhat disgraced: I neede now say no more concerning *Columnes* and their *Adjuncts*, about which Architects make such a Noyse in their Bookes, as if the very Tearmes of *Architraves*, and *Friezes*, and *Cornices*, and the like, were enough to graduate a Master of this *Art*; yet let me before I passe to other Matter, prevent a familiar Objection; it will perchance bee said, that all this Doctrine touching the five *Orders*, were fitter for the *Quarries* of *Asia* which yeelded 127 *Columnes* of 60 Foote high, to the *Ephesian Temple*, or for *Numidia* where *Marbles* abound; then for the *Spirits* of *England*, who must be contented with more ignoble *Materials*: To which I answere, that this neede not discourage us: For I have often at *Venice* viewed with much Pleasure, an *Atrium Græcum* (we may translate it an *Anti porch*, after the *Greeke* Manner) raised by *Andrea Palladio*, upon eight *Columnes* of the *Compounded Order*; the *Bases* of Stone, without *Pedistals*, the *Shafts* or *Bodies*, of meere Brick; three Foote and an halfe thicke in the *Diameter* below, and consequently thirty five Foote high, as himselfe hath described them in his second Booke; than which, mine Eye, hath never yet beheld any *Columnes*, more stately of Stone or Marble; for the Bricks, having first beene formed in a *Circular Mould*, and then cut before their burning into foure Quarters or more, the Sides afterwards joyne so closely, and the Points concenter so exactly, that the *Pillars* appeare one entire Peece; which short Description, I could not omit, that thereby may appeare, how in Truth wee want rather *Art* than *Stuffe*, to satisfie our greatest *Fancies*.

After *Pillars*, the next in my Distribution are *Pylasters*, mentioned by *Vitruvius*, lib. 5. cap. 1. and scant any where else under the Name of *Parastates*, as *Philander* conceiveth, which *Grammaticall* Point (though perchance not very cleere) I am contented to examine no farther. Alwayes, what we meane by the Thing it selfe, is plaine enough in our owne *Vulgar*; touching which, I will briefly collect the most considerable Notes.

Pylasters must not bee too tall and slender, least they resemble *Pillars*, nor too *dwarfish* and grosse, least they imitate the *Piles* or *Peeres* of Bridges: Smoothnesse doth not so naturally become them, as a rusticke *Superficies*, for they ayme more at *State* and *Strength*, than *Elegancie*. In private Buildings they ought not to be narrower than one third, nor broader than two Parts of the whole Vacuity, betweene *Pylaster* and *Pylaster*; but to those that stand at the *Corners*, may be allowed a little more Latitude by Discretion, for Strength of the *Angles*: In *Theaters* and *Amphi-theaters*, and such weighty Workes, *Palladio* observeth them, to have beene as broad as the halfe, and now and then as the whole *Vacuitie*: Hee noteth likewise (and others consent with him) that their true *Proportion* should bee an exact *Square*; but for lessening of Expence, and enlarging of Roome, they are commonly narrower in *Flanke*, than in *Front*: Their principall *Grace* doth

consist in halfe or whole *Pillars*, applied unto them; in which Case it is well noted by Authors, that the *Columnes* may bee allowed somewhat above their ordinary Length, because they leane unto so good *Supporters*. And thus much shall suffice touching *Pilasters*, which is a cheape, and a strong, and a noble Kinde of *Structure*.

Now because they are oftner, both for Beauty and Majesty, found *Arched*, than otherwise; I am heere orderly led to speake of *Arches*, and under the same Head of *Vaults*: for an *Arch* is nothing indeed but a contracted *Vault*, and a *Vault* is but a dilated *Arch*: Therefore to handle this Piece both compendiously, and fundamentally, I will resolve the whole Businesse into a few *Theoremes*.

Theoreme 1.

All solid *Materials* free from Impediment, doe descend *perpendicularly* downwards, because *Ponderosity* is a naturall Inclination to the Center of the World, and *Nature* performeth her Motions by the shortest Lines.

Theoreme 2.

Brickes moulded in their ordinary *Rectangular* Forme, if they shall be layd one by another in a leuell Row, betweene any Supporters sustayning the two Ends, then all the Pieces between will necessarily sinke, even by their owne naturall *Gravity*, and much more if they suffer any Depression by other Waight above them, because their Sides being *parallel*, they have Roome to descend *perpendicularly*, without Impeachment, according to the former *Theoreme*: Therefore to make them stand, wee must either change their *Posture*, or their *Figure*, or both.

Theoreme 3.

If Brickes moulded, or Stones squared *Cuneatim* (that is *Wedge-wise*, broader above than below) shall be laid in a Row leuell, with their Ends supported, as in the precedent *Theoreme*, pointing all to one Center; then none of the Pieces betweene can sinke till the *Supporters* give Way, because they want Roome in that *Figuration* to descend *perpendicularly*. But this is yet a weake Piece of *Structure*, because the *Supporters* are subject to much Impulsion, especially if the Line be long; for which Reason this *Forme* is seldom used, but over *Windowes*, or narrow *Doores*. Therefore to fortifie the *Work* as in this third *Theoreme* wee have supposed the *Figure* of all the *Materials* different from those in the second: So likewise wee must now change the *Posture*, as will appeare in the *Theoreme* following.

Theoreme 4.

If the *Materials* figured as before *Wedge-wise*, shall not be disposed le-
velly, but in Forme of some *Arch*, or Portion of a *Circle*, pointing all to the same Center: In this Case, neither the Pieces of the sayd *Arch* can sinke downwards, through want of Roome to descend † *perpendicularly*: Nor the

† By the first *Theoreme*,

Supporters or *Butments* (as they are tearmed) of the sayd *Arch* can suffer so much Violence, as in the precedent flat Posture, for the Roundnesse will alwayes make the incumbent Waight, rather to rest upon the *Supporters*, than to shove them; whence may be drawn an evident *Corolary*; that the safest of all *Arches* is the *Semicircular*, and of all *Vaults* the *Hemisphere*, though not absolutely exempted from some naturall Weaknesse, * as *Barnardino Baldi* Abbot of *Guaftalla*, in his Commentary upon *Aristotles Mechaniques*, doth very well proove; where let me note by the Way, that when any Thing is *Mathematically* demonstrated weake, it is much more *Mechanically* weake: Errors ever occurring more easily in the Management of *Grosse Materials*, than *Lineall Designs*.

Theoreme 5.

As *Semicircular Arches*, or *Hemisphericall Vaults*, being raised upon the totall *Diameter*, bee of all other the roundest, and consequently the securest, by the precedent *Theoreme*: So those are the gracefullest, which keeping precisely the same Height, shall yet bee distended, one fourteenth Part longer than the sayd entire *Diameter*; which Addition of distent will conferre much to their *Beauty*, and detract but little from their *Strength*.

This Observation I finde in *Leon-Batista Alberti*; but the Practice how to preserve the same Height, and yet distend the Armes or Ends of the *Arch*, is in *Albert Durers Geometry*, who taught the *Italians* many an excellent *Line*, of great Use in this *Art*.

Upon these five *Theoremes*, all the Skill of *Arching* and *Vaulting* is grounded: As for those *Arches*, which our Artizans call of the third and fourth Point; and the *Tuscan* Writers *di terzo*, and *di quarto acuto*; because they alwayes concurre in an acute *Angle*, and doe spring from Division of the *Diameter*, into three, foure, or more Parts at Pleasure; I say, such as these, both for the naturall Imbecility of the sharpe *Angle* it selfe, and likewise for their very *Uncomeliness*, ought to bee exiled from judicious Eyes, and left to their first Inventors, the *Goths* or *Lumbards*, amongst other *Reliques* of that barbarous *Age*.

Thus of my first *Partition* of the Parts of every *Fabrique*, into five Heads, having gone through the two former, and been incidently carried into this last Doctrine touching *Arches* and *Vaults*. The next now in Order are the *Apertions*; under which tearme I doe comprehend *Doores*, *Windowes*, *Staircases*, *Chimnies*, or other *Conduits*: In short, all *Inlets* or *Outlets*; to which belong two generall *Cautions*.

First, That they bee as few in Number, and as moderate in Dimension, as may possibly consist with other due Respects: for in a Word, all *Openings* are *Weaknings*.

Secondly, That they doe not approach too neere the *Angles* of the *Wals*; for it were indeed a most essentiall *Solecisme* to weaken that Part, which must strengthen all the rest: A Precept well recorded, but ill practised by the *Italians* themselves, peticularly at *Venice*, where I have observed diverse

* Which is the sole Prerogative of perpendicular Lines and right Angles.

Pergoli, or *Meniana* (as *Vitruvius* seemeth to call them, which are certaine ballised out-standings to satisfie Curiosity of Sight) very dangerously set forth, upon the very Point it selfe, of the *Murall Angle*.

Now, albeit I make Haste to the casting and comparting of the whole *Worke*, (being indeede the very Definitive Summe of this *Art*, to distribute usefully and gracefully a well chosen *Plot*) yet I will first under their severall Heads, collect briefly some of the choicest Notes, belonging to these particular *Overtures*.

Of DOORES and WINDOWS.

THESE *Inlets* of *Men* and of *Light*, I couple together, because I find their due Dimensions brought under one Rule, by *Leon Alberti* (a learned Searcher) who from the Schoole of *Pythagoras* (where it was a fundamental *Maxime*, that the *Images* of all Things are latent in *Numbers*) doth determine the comeliest Proportion, betweene Breadths and Heights; reducing *Symmetrie* to *Symphonie*, and the *Harmonie* of *Sounde*, to a Kinde of *Harmonie* in *Sight*, after this Manner: The two principall *Consonances*, that most ravish the Eare, are by Consent of all Nature the *fift* and the *octave*; whereof the first riseth radically, from the Proportion, betweene *two* and *three*. The other from the double *Intervalle*, betweene *one* and *two*, or betweene *two* and *four*e, &c. Now if we shall transport these Proportions, from audible to visible *Objects*, and apply them as they shall fall fittest, (the Nature of the Place considered) namely, in some *Windowes* and *Doores*, the *Symmetrie* of *two* to *three*, in their Breadth and Length; in others the double, as aforesaid; there will indubitably result from either, a gracefull and *harmonious* Contentment to the Eye: Which Speculation, though it may appeare unto vulgar *Artizans*, perhaps too subtile and too sublime, yet wee must remember, that *Vitruvius* himselfe doth determine many Things in his Profession, by *Musicall* Grounds, and much commendeth in an *Architect*, a *Philosophical* Spirit; that is, he would have him (as I conceive it) to be no superficiall and floating *Artificer*, but a *Diver* into *Causes*, and into the *Mysteries* of *Proportion*: Of the *Ornaments*, belonging both to *Doores* and *Windowes*, I shall speake in another Place: But let mee heere adde one Observation; That our *Master* (as appeareth by divers Passages, and particularly *Lib. 6. cap. 9.*) seemes to have beene an extreame Lover of *Luminous Roomes*; and indeede I must confesse, that a franke Light can misbecome no *Edifice* what-

Lumen est diffusivum sui & alieni. soever, *Temples* onely excepted; which were anciently darke, as they are likewise at this Day in some Proportion. *Devotion more requiring collected than defused Spirits.* Yet on the other Side we must take Heede not to make a House (though but for civill Use) all *Eyes*, like *Argus*; which in Northerne *Climes* would be too cold, in Southerne, too hot: And therefore the Matter indeede importeth more than a merry Comparison. Besides, There is no Part of *Structure* either more expencefull than *Windowes*, or more ruinous; not onely for that vulgar Reason, as being exposed to all Violence of Weather; but because consisting of so different and unfociable Pieces, as *Wood*, *Iron*, *Leade*, and *Glasse*, and those small

small and weake, they are easily shaken; I must likewise remember one Thing (though it be but a *Grammatical* Note) touching *Doores*. Some were *Fores* and some were *Valvæ*. Those (as the very Word may seeme to import) did open *outwards*, these *inwards*; and were commonly of two *Leaves* or *Panes*, (as we call them) thereby requiring indeed a lesser *Circuit* in their *unfolding*; and therefore much in Use among *Italians* at this Day: But I must charge them with an Imperfection, for though they let in as well as the former, yet they keepe out worse.

Of STAIRE-CASES.

TO make a compleate *Staire-case*, is a curious Peece of *Architecure*: The vulgar Cautions are these.

That it have a very liberall *Light*, against all Casualtie of *Slippes*, and *Falles*.

That the Space above the *Head*, bee large and *Airy*, which the *Italians* use to call *Un bel-sfogolo*, as it were good *Ventilation*, because a Man doth spend much *Breath* in mounting.

That the *Halfe-paces* bee well distributed, at competent Distances, for reposing on the Way.

That to avoyd *Encounters*, and besides to gratifie the Beholder, the whole *Staire-case* have no niggard *Latitude*, that is, for the principall *Ascent*, at least ten Foot in *Royall Buildings*.

That the Breadth of every single *Step* or *Staire* bee never lesse than one Foote, nor more than eighteen Inches.

That they exceede by no Meanes halfe a Foot in their Height or Thickness; for our *Legges* doe labour more in *Elevation*, than in *Distention*: These I say are familiar Remembrances, to which let me adde.

That the Steps bee layd where they joyne *Con un tantino di scarpa*; we may translate it somewhat *sloaping*, that so the Foot may in a Sort both ascend and descend together, which though observed by few, is a secret and delicate Deception of the Paines in Mounting.

Lastly, to reduce this Doctrine to some *Naturall*, or at least *Mathematicall* Ground, (our *Master*, as we see, *lib. 9. cap. 2.*) borroweth those Proportions, that make the Sides of a *Rectangular Triangle*, which the ancient Schoole did expresse in lowest Tearmes, by the Numbers of 3. 4. and 5. That is, *three* for the *Perpendicular*, from the *Staire-head* to the Ground; *four* for the *Ground line* it selfe, or *Recession* from the Wall, and *five* for the whole *Inclination* or Slopenesse in the *Ascent*; which Proportion, saith he, will make *Temperatas graduum librationes*. Hitherto of *Staire-cases* which are direct: There are likewise *Spirall*, or *Cockle Staires*, either *Circular*, or *Ovall*, and sometimes running about a *Pillar*, sometimes vacant, wherein *Palladio* (a Man in this Point of singular Felicity) was wont to divide the *Diameter* of the first Sort into three Parts, yeelding one to the *Pillar*, and two to the *Steps*; of the second into four, whereof he gave two to the *Staires*, and two to the *Vacuitie*, which had all their *Light* from above; and this in exact *Ovals* is a Master-piece.

Of CHIMNIES.

IN the present Businesse, *Italians* (who make very frugall Fires, are perchance not the best Counsellors.) Therefore from them we may better learne, both how to raise faire *Mantels* within the Roomes, and how to disguise gracefully the Shafts of *Chimnies* abroad (as they use) in sundry Formes (which I shall handle in the latter Part of my Labour) and the rest I will extract from *Philippe de l'Orme*: In this Part of his *Worke* more diligent than in any other, or, to doe him right, than any Man else.

First, Hee observeth very soberly, that who in the Disposition of any Building will consider the Nature of the *Region*, and the *Winds* that ordinarily blow, from this, or that *Quarter*; might so cast the Roomes, which shall most need Fire; that hee should little feare the Incommodity of *Smoake*, and therefore hee thinkes, that Inconvenience, for the most Part to proceede from some inconsiderate Beginning. Or if the Error lay not in the *Disposition* but in the *Structure* it selfe; then hee makes a *Logicall* Enquiry, that either the *Winde* is too much let in above, at the Mouth of the *Shafte*, or the *Smoke* stifled below; if none of these, then there is a Repulsion of the *Fume*, by some higher *Hill* or *Fabrique*, that shall Overtoppe the *Chimney* and worke the former Effect: If likewise not this, then he concludes, that the Room which is infested, must bee necessarily both little and close, so as the *Smoke* cannot issue by a naturall *Principle*, wanting a Succession and Supply of new *Ayre*.

Now, In these Cases he suggesteth divers Artificiall Remedies; of which I will allow one, a little *Description*, because it savoureth of *Philosophie*, and was touched by *Vitruvius* himselfe, *lib. 1. cap. 6.* but by this Man ingeniously applied to the present Use: Hee will have us provide two hollow *brasse Balles* of reasonable Capacitie, with little Holes open in both, for Reception of Water, when the Aire shalbe first sucked out; one of these wee must place with the Hole upwards, upon an Yron Wire, that shall traverse the *Chimney*, a little above the *Mantell*, at the ordinary Height of the sharpest Heate or Flames, whereof the Water within being rarified, and by Rarification resolved into *Winde*, will breake out, and so force up the *Smoke*, which otherwise might linger in the *Tunnell*, by the Way, and oftentimes revert; with the other, (saith he) wee may supply the Place of the former, when it is exhausted, or for a Neede blow the *Fire* in the meane while; which Invention I have interposed for some little Intertainment of the Reader; I will conclude with a Note from *Palladio*, who observeth that the *Ancients* did warme their Roomes, with certaine secret *Pipes* that came through the Walles, transporting Heate (as I conceive it) to sundry Parts of the House, from one common *Furnace*; I am ready to baptize them *Caliducts*, as well as they are tearmed *Venti ducts*, and *Aquæ ducts* that convey *Winde* and *Water*; which whether it were a Custome or Delicacie, was surely both for Thrift, and for Use, far beyond the *German Stoves*; and I should preferre it likewise before our owne Fashion, if the very Sight of a Fire, did not adde to the Roome a Kinde
of

of Reputation, * as old Homer doth teach us in a Verse, sufficient to proove that himsele was not blinde, as some would laie to his Charge.

Touching *Conduits* for the *Suillage* and other Necessities of the House, (which how base soever in Use, yet for Health of the Inhabitants, are as considerable, and perhaps more than the rest) I finde in our Authors, this Counsell; that *Art* should imitate *Nature*, in those ignoble Conveyances; and separate them from Sight, (where there wants a running Water) into the most remote, and lowest, and thickest Part of the *Foundation*: with secret Vents passing up through the Walles like a *Tunnell* to the wilde Aire aloft: which all *Italian* Artizans commend for the Discharge of noysome Vapours, though else-where to my Knowledge little practised.

Thus having considered the precedent *Appertions*, or *Overtures*, in severallie according to their particular Requisites, I am now come to the casting and *Contexture* of the whole *Worke*, comprehended under the Tearme of *Compartition*: Into which (being the mainest Piece) I cannot enter without a few generall Precautions, as I have done in other Parts.

First therefore, Let no Man that intendeth to build, setle his Fancie upon a Draught of the *Worke* in *Paper*, how exactly soever measured, or neatly set off in *Perspective*; and much lesse upon a bare *Plant* thereof, as they call the *Schiographia* or *Ground Lines*; without a *Modell* or *Type* of the whole *Structure*, and of every Parcell and Partition in *Pastboard* or *Wood*.

Next that the said *Modell* bee as plaine as may be, without Colours or other beautifying, lest the Pleasure of the *Eye* preoccupate the *Judgement*; which Advise omitted by the *Italian Architects*, I finde in *Philippe de l'Orme*, and therefore (though *France* be not the *Theater* of best Buildings) it did merit some mention of his Name.

Lastly, The bigger that this *Type* be, it is still the better, not that I will perswade a Man to such an Enormity, as that *Modell* made by *Antonio Labaco*, of Saint Peters Church in *Rome*, containing 22 Foot in Length, 16 in Breadth, and 13 in Heighth, and costing 4184 Crownes: The Price in Truth of a reasonable *Chappell*: Yet in the *Fabrique* of some 40 or 50 thousand Pounds charge, I wish 30 Pounds at least layd out before Hand in an exact *Modell*; for a little Misery in the *Premises*, may easily breed some Absurdity of greater Charge, in the *Conclusion*.

Now, after these Premonishments, I will come to the *Compartition* it selfe; by which, the Authors of this *Art* (as hath beene touched before) doe understand, a *gracefull* and *usefull* Distribution, of the whole *Ground plot* both for Roomes of *Office*, and of *Reception* or *Entertainment*, as farre as the *Capacity* thereof, and the Nature of the *Countrie*, will comport. Which Circumstances in the present *Subject*, are all of maine Consideration, and might yeeld more Discourse than an *Elementall Rapsodie* will permit. Therefore (to anatomize briefly this Definition) the *Gracefulness* (whereof wee speake) will consist in double *Analogie*, or Correspondencie. First, between the *Parts* and the *Whole*, whereby a great *Fabrique* should have great *Partitions*, great

* αἰδομένη δὲ τοῦτος γεγραμμένη οἷον ἰδέσθαι. Hom. Epig.

Lights, great Entrances, great Pillars or Pylasters; in summe, all the *Members great*. The next betweene the *Parts* themselves, not only, considering their *Breadths*, and *Lengths*, as before, when wee spake of *Doores* and *Windowes*; but here likewise enters a third Respect of *Height*, a Point, (I must confesse) hardly reduceable to any generall Precept.

True it is, that the *Ancients* did determine the *Longitude* of all *Roomes*, which were longer than broad, by the double of their *Latitude*, *Vitruvius lib. 6. cap. 5.* And the *Height* by the halfe of the Breadth and Length summed together. But when the Roome was precisely square, they made the *Height* half as much more as the *Latitude*; which Dimensions the moderne *Architeets* have taken Leave to varie upon Discretion: Sometimes squaring the *Latitude*, and then making the *Diagoniall* or overthwart Line, from *Angle* to *Angle*, of the said Square; the Measure of the *Height* sometimes more, but seldome lower than the full Breadth it selfe; which Boldnesse of quitting the old *Proportions*, some attribute first to *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, perchance upon the Credite he had before gotten, in two other *Arts*.

The second Point is *Usefulnessse*, which will consist in a sufficient *Number* of *Roomes*, of all Sorts, and in their apt *Coherence*, without *Distraction*, without *Confusion*; so as the Beholder may not onely call it, *una Fabrica ben raccolta*: as *Italians* use to speake of well united Workes, but likewise that it may appeare *airie* and *spiritous*, and fit for the Welcome of cheerefull Guests; about which the principall Difficultie will bee in contriving the *Lights*, and *Staire-cases*, whereof I will touch a Note or two: For the first, I observe that the ancient *Architeets* were at much Ease. For both the *Greekes* and *Romanes* (of whose private Dwellings *Vitruvius* hath left us some Description) had commonly two *Cloystered* open *Courts*, one serving for the *Womens* Side, and the other for the *Men*: who yet perchance now a-Dayes would take so much Separation unkindly. Howsoever, by this Meanes, the Reception of *Light*, into the Bodie of the Building, was very prompt, both from without and from within: which we must now supplie either by some open *Forme* of the *Fabrique*, or among gracefull Refuges, by *Tarrasing* any *Storie*, which is in Danger of Darknesse; or lastly, by *perpendicular Lights*, from the *Roofe*: of all other the most naturall, as shalbe shewed anon. For the second Difficultie: which is casting of the *Stayre-cases*; that being in it selfe no hard Point, but onely as they are Incombrances of Roome for other Use: (which Lights were not) I am therefore aptly moved heere to speake of them. And first of Offices.

I have marked a Willingnesse, in the *Italian* Artisans, to distribute the *Kychin*, *Pantrie*, *Bakehouse*, *Washing Roomes*: and even the *Buttrie* likewise, under Ground; next above the *Foundation*; and sometimes Level with the *Plaine*, or *Floore* of the *Cellar*: raysing the first *Ascent* into the House *fifteene Foote* or more for that Ende, which besides the Benefit of removing such *Annoyes* out of Sight, and the gayning of so much more Roome above, doth also by Elevation of the *Front*, adde *Majestie* to the whole *Aspect*. And with such a Disposition of the principall *Stayre-case*, which commonly doth deliver

us, into the *Plaine* of the second *Storie*, there may bee Wonders done, with a little Roome, whereof I could alleadge brave *Examples* abroad; and none more Artificiall, and Delicious, than a House built by *Daniele Barbaro Patriarche* of *Aquileia* before mentioned, among the memorable *Commenters* upon *Vitruvius*. But the *Definition* (above determined) doth call us to some Consideration of our owne Countrey, where though all the other pettie *Offices* (before rehearsed) may well enough bee so remote, yet by the naturall *Hospitalitie* of *England*, the *Buttrie* must be more visible; and wee neede per-chance for our *Raunges*, a more spacious and luminous *Kitchen*, than the foresaid *Compartition* will beare; with a more competent Neereneffe likewise to the *Dyning Roome*. Or else besides other Inconveniences, perhapes some of the *Dishes* may straggle by the Way; Heere let me note a common Defect, that wee have of a very usefull Roome, called by the *Italians* *Il Tinello*; and familiar, nay almost essentiall, in all their great *Families*. It is a Place properly appointed, to conserve the Meate that is taken from the Table, till the *Waiters* eate; which with us, by an olde Fashion, is more unseemely set by, in the meane while.

Now touching the Distribution of *Lodging Chambers*; I must here take Leave to reprove a Fashion, which I know not how hath prevailed through *Italie*, though without ancient Examples, as farre as I can perceive by *Vitruvius*. The Thing I meane is, that they so cast their *Partitions* as when all *Doors* are open, a Man may see through the whole *House*; which doth necessarily put an intollerable Servitude upon all the *Chambers* save the *Inmost*, where none can arrive, but through the rest; or else the *Wallies* must be extreame thicke for secret Passages: and yet this also will not serve the Turne, without at least *three* Doores to every Roome: a Thing most insufferable, in cold and windie Regions, and every where noe small weakening to the whole *Worke*: Therefore with us that want no Cooling, I cannot commend the direct Opposition of such *Overtures*, being indeede meerely grounded upon the fond Ambition of displaying to a *Stranger* all our *Furniture* at one *Sight*, which therefore is most maintained by them that meane to harbour but a few; whereby they make onely Advantage of the *Vanitie*, and seldome prove the *Inconvenience*. There is likewise another Defect (as Absurdities are seldome solitarie) which will necessarily follow, upon such a servile disposing of inward Chambers. That they must bee forced to make as many common great *Roomes*, as there shalbe severall *Stories*; which (besides that they are usually darke, a Point hardly avoided, running as they doe, through the middle of the whole *House*) doe likewise devoure so much Place, that thereby they want other *Galleries*, and *Roomes* of *Retreate*, which I have often considered among them (I must confesse) with no small Wonder; for I observe no *Nation* in the World, by Nature, more *private* and *reserved* than the *Italian*, and on the other Side, in no *Habitations* lesse *Privacie*; so as there is a Kinde of Conflict betweene their *Dwelling* and their *Being*: It might heere perchance bee expected, that I should at least describe (which others have done in *Draughts* and *Designes*) divers *Formes* of *Plants* and *Partitions*, and Varieties of *Inventions*: But speculative *Writers* (as I am) are

not bound to comprise all particular Cases, within the Latitude of the *Subject*, which they handle; generall Lights, and *Directions*, and Pointings at some Faults, is sufficient. The rest must be committed to the Sagacitie of the *Architect*, who will bee often put to divers ingenious Shifts, when hee is to wrestle with Scarfitie of *Ground*. As sometimes * to damme one Roome (though of speciall Use) for the Benefit and Beautie of all the rest; another while, to make those fairest, which are most in *Sight*, and to leave the other (like a cunning Painter) in Shadow, *cum multis aliis*, which it were infinite to pursue. I will therefore close this Part touching *Compartition*, as cheerefully as I can with a short Description of a *Feasting* or *entertayning Roome*, after the *Ægyptian* Manner, who seeme (at least till the Time of *Vitruvius*) from the auncient *Hebrewes* and *Phenicians* (whence all Knowledge did flow) to have retayned with other *Sciences*, in a high Degree, also the *Principles*, and *Practise* of this magnificent *Art*. For as farre as I may conjecture by our Masters Text, *lib. 6. cap. 5.* (whereas in many other Places he hath tortured his *Interpreters*) there could no *Forme*, for such a royall Use, bee comparably imagined, like that of the foresaide *Nation*, which I shall adventure to explaine.

Let us conceive a *Floore* or *Area* of goodly Length, (for Example, at least of 120 Foote) with the *Breadth* somewhat more than the halfe of the *Longitude*, whereof the Reason shalbe afterwards rendred. About the two longest *Sides*, and *Head* of the said Roome, shall runne an Order of *Pillars*, which *Palladio* doth suppose *Corinthian* (as I see by his Designe) supplying that Point out of *Greece*, because we know no *Order*, proper to *Ægypt*. The fourth *Side* I wil leave free for the *Entrance*: On the foresaid *Pillars* was laid an *Architrave*, which *Vitruvius* mentioneth alone: *Palladio* addes thereunto (and with Reason) both *Freeze* and *Cornice*, over which went up a continued *Wall*, and therein, halfe or three quarter *Pillars*, answering directly, to the Order below, but a fourth Part lesse; and betweene these halfe *Columnes* above, the whole Roome was windowed round about.

Now, from the lowest *Pillars* there was layd over a *Contignation* or *Floore*, borne upon the outward *Wall*, and the *Head* of the *Columnes* with *Tarrace* and *Pavement*, *sub dio* (saith our Master) and so indeed hee might safely determine the Matter in *Egypt*, where they feare no *Clouds*: Therefore *Palladio* (who leaveth this *Tarrace* uncovered in the middle, and *ballised* about) did perchance construe him rightly, though therein discording from others: Alwayes we must understand a sufficient *Breadth* of *Pavement*, left between the open Part and the *Windowes*, for some Delight of *Spectators*, that might looke downe into the Roome: The *Latitude* I have supposed contrary to some former Positions, a little more than the halfe of the Length; because the *Pillars* standing at a competent Distance from the outmost *Wall*, will by Interception of the *Sight*, somewhat in Appearance diminish the *Breadth*; in which Cases, (as I have touched once or twice before) *Discretion* may bee

* The *Italians* call it *una stanza dannata*, as when a Buttrie is cast under a Stayre-case, or the like.

more licentious than *Art*. This is the Description of an *Egyptian* Roome, for *Feastes* and other *Jollities*. About the *Walles* whereof wee must imagine entire *Statues*, placed below, and illuminated by the descending Light, from the *Tarrace*, as likewise from the *Windowes* betweene the halfe *Pillars* above: So as this *Roome* had abundant and advantageous *Light*; and besides other garnishing, must needs receive much *State* by the very Heighth of the *Roofe*, that lay over two Orders of *Columnes*: And so having runne through the foure Parts of my first generall *Division*, namely, *Foundation*, *Walles*, *Appertions*, and *Compartition*; the *House* may now have Leave to put on his *Hatte*: having hitherto beene uncovered it selfe, and consequently unfit to cover others. Which Point though it be the last of this *Art* in Execution, yet it is alwayes in *Intention* the first, for who would build but for *Shelter*? Therefore obtayning both the *Place*, and the Dignity of a *Finall Cause*, it hath beene diligently handled by diverse, but by none more learnedly than *Bernardino Baldi* Abbot of *Guaftalla* (before cited upon other Occasion) who doth fundamentally, and *Mathematically* demonstrate the firmest *Knittings* of the upper *Timbers*, which make the *Roofe*. But it hath beene rather my *Scope*, in these *Elements* to fetch the Ground of all, from *Nature* her selfe, which indeed is the simplest Mother of *Art*. Therefore I will now onely deliver a few of the properest, and (as I may say) of the naturalest Considerations, that belong to this remayning *Piece*.

There are two Extremities to be avoyded in the *Cover*, or *Roofe*; that it be not too *heavy*, nor too *light*. The first, will suffer a vulgar Objection of pressing too much the Under-worke. The other, contayneth a more secret Inconvenience; for the *Cover* is not onely a bare Defence, but likewise a Kind of *Band* or *Ligature*, to the whole *Fabrique*, and therefore would require some reasonable Weight. But of the two Extreames, a House *Top-beavie* is the worst. Next, there must be a Care of *Equality*, that the *Edifice* be not pressed on the one Side more than on the other; and here *Paladio* doth wish (like a cautelous *Artizan*) that the inward *Walles* might beare some good Share in the Burthen, and the outward be the lesse charged.

Thirdly, The *Italians* are very precise in giving the *Cover* a gracefull *Pendence* or *Sloпенesse*, dividing the whole Breadth into *nine* Parts; whereof two shall serve for the Elevation of the highest *Toppe* or *Ridge*, from the lowest. But in this Point the Quality of the *Region* is considerable: For (as our *Vitruvius* insinuateth) those *Climes* that feare the falling and lying of much *Snow*, ought to provide more inclining *Pentices*; and *Comelineffe* must yeeld to *Necessity*.

These are the usefullest Cautions which I finde in *Authors*, touching the last *Head* of our *Division*, wherewith I will conclude the First *Part* of my present *Travaile*. The Second remayneth, concerning *Ornaments* within, or without the *Fabrique*: A Piece not so dry as the meere Contemplation of Proportions. And therefore I hope therein somewhat to refresh both the *Reader*, and my selfe.

Of the Elements of ARCHITECTURE. The 2d Part.

EVERY Mans proper *Mansion House* and *Home*, being the *Theater* of his *Hospitality*, the *Seate* of *Self-Fruition*, the *comfortablest Part* of his owne *Life*, the *Noblest* of his *Sonnes Inheritance*, a *Kinde* of private *Princedom*; nay, to the *Possessors* thereof, an *Epitomie* of the whole *World*; may well deserve by these *Attributes*, according to the *Degree* of the *Master*, to be *decently* and *delightfully* adorned. For which *Ende*, there are two *Arts* attending on *Architecture*, like two of her principall *Gentlewomen*, to *dresse* and *trimme* their *Mistresse*, *PICTURE* and *SCULPTURE*: Between whom, before I proceed any further, I will venture to determine an ancient Quarrell about their *Precedency*, with this *Distinction*; that in the garnishing of *Fabriques*, *Sculpture* no doubt must have the *Prebeminence*, as being indeede of neerer *Affinity* to *Architecture* it selfe, and consequently the more naturall, and more futable *Ornament*. But on the other Side, (to consider these two *Arts* as I shall doe *Philosophically*, and not *Mechanically*) An excellent Piece of *Painting*, is to my Judgement the more admirable *Object*, because it comes neere an *Artificiall Miracle*; to make diverse distinct *Eminences* appeare upon a *Flat*, by Force of *Shadowes*, and yet the *Shadowes* themselves not to appeare: which I conceive to be the uttermost Value and Vertue of a *Painter*, and to which very few have arrived in all *Ages*.

In these two *Arts* (as they are applicable to the *Subject* which I handle) it shall bee fit first to consider how to *choose* them; and next, how to *dispose* them. To guide us in the *Choyce*, wee have a *Rule* somewhere (I well remember) in *Pliny*, and it is a pretty *Observation*: That they doe mutually helpe to censure one another. For *Pictare* is best when it standeth off, as if it were carved; and *Sculpture* is best when it appeareth so *tender*, as if it were *painted*, I meane, when there is such a seeming Softnesse in the *Limbes*, as if not a *Chissell* had hewed them out of *Stone*, or other *Materiall*, but a *Penfill* had drawne and stroaked them in *Oyle*, which the judicious *Poet* tooke well to his *Fancy*.

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra.

But this Generalitie is not sufficient to make a good *Chooser*, without a more particular *Contraction* of his Judgement. Therefore when a Piece of *Art* is set before us, let the first *Caution* be, not to aske who made it, least the *Fame* of the *Author* doe captivate the *Fancie* of the *Buyer*. For, that excellent *Men* doe alwaies *excellently*, is a false *Conclusion*; whereupon I observe among *Italian Artizans* three notable *Phrases*, which well decipher the *Degrees* of their *Workes*.

They will tell you, that a Thing was done *Con diligenza*, *Con studio*, and *Con Amore*; the first, is but a bare and *ordinary Diligence*, the second, is a *learned Diligence*; the third, is much more, even a *loving Diligence*; they meane not with Love to the *Bespeaker* of the *Worke*, but with a Love and Delight in the *Worke* it selfe, upon some speciall *Fancie* to this, or that *Storie*;

Storie; and when all these concur (particularly the last) in an eminent *Author*, then perchance *Titianus Fecit*, or ὁ Φίδιας ἔποιε will serve the *Turne*, without farther *Inquisition*; Otherwise *Artizans* have not onely their *Growthes* and *Perfections*, but likewise their *Vaines* and *Tymes*.

The next Caution must be (to proceede *Logically*) that in judging of the *Worke* it selfe, wee bee not distracted with too many Things at once; Therefore first (to beginne with *Picture*) we are to observe whether it bee well *drawne*, (or as more elegant *Artizans* tearme it) well *design'd*; then whether it be well *Coloured*, which bee the two generall *Heads*; and each of them hath two principall *Requisites*; for in well *Designing*, there must bee *Truth* and *Grace*, in well *Colouring*, *Force*, and *Affection*; all other *Praises*, are but *Consequences* of these.

Truth (as we Metaphorically take it in this *Art*) is a *just* and *naturall Proportion*, in every Part of the determined *Figure*. *Grace* is a certaine *free Disposition*, in the whole *Draught*, answerable to that unaffected Franknes of *Fashion*, in a living *Bodie*, Man or Woman, which doth *animate Beautie* where it is, and *supplie* it, where it is not.

Force consisteth, in the *Roundings* and *Raisings* of the *Worke*, according as the *Limbes* doe more or lesse require it; so as the *Bebolder*, shall spie no *Sharpenesse* in the bordering *Lines*; as when *Taylors* cut out a *Sute*, which *Italians* doe aptly tearme according to that Comparifon, *Contorni taglianti*; nor any *Flatnesse* within the *Bodie* of the *Figure*, which how it is done, we must fetch from a higher *Discipline*; for the *Opticques* teach us, that a *Plaine*, will appeare *prominent*, and (as it were) *embossed*, if the Parts farthest from the *Axel-tree* or middle *Beame* of the *Eye*, shalbe the most *shadowed*. Because in all *Darknesse*, there is a Kinde of *Deepenesse*, but as in the *Arte* of *Perswasion*, one of the most fundamentall *Precepts* is; the *Concealement* of *Arte*, soe here likewise, the *Sight* must be sweetly deceived, by an insensible *Passage*, from *brighter Colours*, to *dimmer*, which *Italian Artizans* calle the *middle Tinctures*; that is, not as the *Whites*, and *Yolkes* of *Egges* lie in the *Shell*, with visible *Distinction*; but as when they are *beaten*, and *blended*, in a *Dish*: which is the neereft Comparifon, that I can suddenly conceive.

Lastly, *Affection* is the *lively Representment*, of any *Passion* whatsoever, as if the *Figures* stood not upon a *Cloth* or *Borde*, but as if they were *acting* upon a *Stage*; and heere, I must remember, in *Truth* with much *Marveile*, a *Note*, which I have received, from excellent *Artizans*, that though *Gladnesse*, and *Griefe*, be opposites in *Nature*; yet they are such *Neighbours* and *Confiners* in *Arte*, that the least *Touch* of a *Penfill*, will translate a * *Crying*, into a *Laughing Face*; which *Instance*, besides divers other, doth often reduce unto my *Memorie*, that ingenious *Speculation*, of the *Cardinall Cusanus* extant

* The Verses following, touching the Coincidence of extreame Affections, represented by *Homer* in the Person of *Hector's Wife*; as *Painters* and *Poets* have alwaies had a Kind of Congeniality.

Ι Δ Ι Α Δ. ζ.

Ὡς εἰπὼν ἀλόχειο φίλης ἐν χέρσιν ἔθηκε,
Παῖδ' ἔδν, ἥδ' ἄρα μιν κηῶδεϊ δέξατο κόλπῳ
Δηκρύουεν γελάσασα. — That is,

Shee tooke her Sonne into her Armes,
weepingly laughing.

in

in his *Workes*, touching the *Coincidence* of *Extreames*. And thus much of the *four* *Requisites*, and *Perfections* in *Picture*.

In *Sculpture* likewise, the *two* first are absolutely *Necessarie*; the *third* impertinent; for *Solide* Figures neede no *Elevation*, by Force of *Lights*, or *Shadows*; therefore in the *Roome* of this, wee may put (as hath beene before touched) a *Kinde* of *Tenderneſſe*, by the *Italians* tearmed *Morbidezza*, wherein the *Chiffell*, I muſt confeſſe, hath more *Glory* than the *Penſill*; that being ſo hard an *Instrument*, and working upon ſo unpliant *Stuffe*, can yet leave *Strokes* of ſo gentle *Appearance*.

The *Fourth*, which is the expreſſing of *Affection* (as farre as it doth depend upon the *Activity*, and *Geſture* of the *Figure*) is as proper to the *Carver*, as to the *Painter*; though *Colours*, no Doubt, have therein the greateſt *Power*; whereupon, perchance, did firſt grow with us the *Faſhion* of *colouring*, even *Regall Statues*, which I muſt take Leave to call an *Engliſh Barbariſme*.

Now in theſe *four* *Requisites* already rehearſed, it is ſtrange to note, that no *Artizan*, having ever beene blamed for Exceſſe in any of the three laſt; onely *Truth* (which ſhould ſeeme the moſt *Innocent*) hath ſuffered ſome Objection, and all *Ages*, have yeelded ſome one or two *Artificers*, ſo prodigiouſly exquisite, that they have beene reputed too *Naturall*, in their *Draughts*; which will well appeare, by a famous *Paſſage* in *Quintilian*, touching the *Characters* of the ancient *Artizans*, falling now ſo aptly into my *Memory*, that I muſt needs tranſlate it, as in *Truth* it may well deſerve.

The *Place* which I intend, is extant in the laſt *Chapter* ſave one of his whole *Worke*, beginning thus in *Latine*.

Primi, quorum quidem opera non vetuſtatis modo gratia viſenda ſunt clari Piſtores fuiſſe dicuntur, Polygnotus atque Aglaophon, &c.

The whole *Paſſage*, in *Engliſh* ſtandeth thus:

THE firſt *Painters* of Name, whoſe *Workes* bee conſiderable for any Thing more than onely *Antiquitie*, are ſaid to have beene *Polygnotus*, and *Aglaophon*; whoſe bare *Colourings* (hee meanes I thinke in *white* and *blacke*) hath even yet ſo many Followers, that thoſe rude and firſt *Elements*, as it were of that, which within a while, became an *Arte*, are preferred, before the greateſt *Painters* that have beene extant after them, out of a certaine *Competition* (as I conceive it) in Point of *Judgement*. After theſe, *Zeuxes* and *Parafius* not farre diſtant in *Age*, both about the Time of the *Peloponeſian Warre*, (for in *Xenophon* wee have a Dialogue betweene *Parafius* and *Socrates*) did adde much to this *Arte*. Of which the firſt is ſaid, to have invented the due *Diſpoſition* of *Lights* and *Shadows*; The ſecond, to have more ſubtilly examined, the *Truth* of *Lines* in the *Draught*; for *Zeuxes* did make *Limbes*, bigger than the *Life*; deeming his *Figures*, thereby the more ſtately and *majeſticall*; and therein (as ſome thinke) imitating *Homer*, whom the ſtoutest *Forme* doth pleaſe, even in *Women*. On the other Side, *Parafius* did exactly limit all the *Proportions* ſo, as they call him the *Law giver*, becauſe in the *Images* of the *Gods* and of *Heroicall Perſonages*, others have followed his

Paternes

Paternes like a *Decree*; but *Piſture* did moſt flourish, about the Daies of *Phillip* and even to the Succeſſours of *Alexander*; yet by ſundry *Habilities*; for *Protopogenes*, did excell in *Diligence*; *Pamphilius* and *Melanthius* in due *Proportion*, *Antipbilus* in a *franke Facilitie*; *Theon* of *Samos*, in *Strength* of *Fantaſie* and conceiving of *Paſſions*; *Apelles*, in *Invention*, and *Grace*, whereof hee doth himſelfe moſt vaunte; *Euphranor*, deſerves *Admiration*, that being in other excellent *Studies*, a principall Man, he was likewise a wondrous Artizan, both in *Painting* and *Sculpture*. The like Difference we may obſerve among the *Statuaries*; for the Workes of *Calon* and *Egeſias* were ſomewhat ſtiſſe, like the *Tuſcan Manner*; thoſe of *Calamis* not done with ſo cold Stroakes; and *Myron* more tender than the former; a diligent *Decency* in *Polycletus* above others, to whom though the higheſt Prayſe bee attributed by the moſt, yet leſt he ſhould goe free from Exception, ſome thinke hee wanted *Solemneſſe*; for as he may perchance be ſayd to have added a comely *Dimension* to humane Shape, ſomewhat above the *Truth*; ſo on the other Side, hee ſeemed not to have fully expreſſed the *Majeſty* of the *Gods*: Moreover, hee is ſayd not to have medled willingly with the graver *Age*, as not adventuring beyond ſmooth *Cheekes*: But theſe Vertues that were wanting in *Policletus*, were ſupplied by *Phidias* and *Alcmenes*, yet *Phidias* was a better Artizan in the repreſenting of *Gods*, than of *Men*; and in his Workes of *Ivorie*, beyond all Emulation, even though hee had left nothing behinde him, but his *Minerva* at *Athens*, or the *Olympian Jupiter* in *Elis*, whoſe *Beautie* ſeemes to have added ſomewhat, even to the received *Religion*; the *Majeſtie* of the *Worke*, as it were equalling the *Deity*. To *Truth*, they affirme *Lysippus* and *Praxiteles*, to have made the neereſt Approach: for *Demetrius* is therein reprehended, as rather exceeding than deficient; having beene a greater Aymer at *Likenes*, than at *Lovelines*.

This is that witty Censure of the ancient Artizans, which *Quintilian* hath left us, where the laſt Character of *Demetrius* doth require a little *Philosophicall* Examination; How an *Artificer*, whoſe End is the *Imitation* of *Nature*, can bee too naturall? which likewise in our Dayes was either the Fault, or (to ſpeake more gently) the too much Perfection of *Albert Durer*, and perhaps alſo of *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, betweene whom I have heard noted by an ingenious Artizan, a pretty nice Difference, that the *German* did too much expreſſe that which was; and the *Italian*, that which ſhould be: Which ſevere Obſervation of *Nature*, by the one in her commonest, and by the other in her absoluteſt Formes, muſt needs produce in both a Kinde of *Rigidity*, and conſequently more *Naturalneſſe* than *Gracefulneſſe*: This is the cleereſt Reason, why ſome exact *Symmetriſts* have been blamed for being too true, as neere as I can deliver my Conceit. And ſo much touching the Choyce of *Piſture* and *Sculpture*: The next is, the Application of both, to the beautifying of *Fabriques*.

First, therefore, touching *Piſture*, there doth occurre a very pertinent Doubt, which hath beene paſſed over too ſlightly, not onely by ſome *Men*, but by ſome *Nations*; namely, whether this Ornament can wel become the Outside of *Houſes*, wherein the *Germanes* have made ſo little Scruple, that their

best Townes are the most painted, as *Augusta* and *NoreMBERgh*. To determine this Question in a Word; It is true, that a *Story* well set out with a good *Hand*, will every where take a *judicious* Eye; but yet withal it is as true, that various Colours on the *Out-walles* of *Buildings*, have alwayes in them more *Delight* than *Dignity*: Therefore I would there admit no *Paintings* but in *Black* and *White*, nor even in that Kinde any *Figures* (if the Roome be capable) under *nine* or *ten* Foot high, which will require no ordinary *Artizan*; because the Faults are more *visible* than in small *Designes*. In unfigured *Paintings*, the noblest is the Imitation of *Marbles*, and of *Architecture* it selfe; as *Arches*, *Treezes*, *Columnnes*, and the like.

Now for the *Inside*, heere growes another Doubt, whether *Grotesca* (as the *Italians*) or *Antique* Worke (as wee call it) should be received, against the expresse Authoritie of *Vitruvius* himselfe, *lib. 7. cap. 5.* where *Pictura* (saith hee) *fit ejus, quod est, seu potest esse*, excluding by this severe Definition, all *Figures* composed of different *Natures* or *Sexes*; so as a *Syren* or a *Centaure* had beene intolerable in his Eye: But in this wee must take Leave to depart from our *Master*; and the rather, because he spake out of his owne *Profession*; allowing *Painters* (who have ever bin as little limited as *Poets*) a lesse Scope in their Imaginations, even than the gravest *Philosophers*, who sometimes doe serve themselves of *Instances*, that have no *Existence* in *Nature*; as wee see in *Platoe's Amphibæna*, and *Aristotle's Hirco-Cervus*. And (to settle this Point) what was indeede more common and familiar among the *Romanes* themselves, than the *Picture* and *Statue* of *Terminus*, even one of their *Deities*? which yet if we well consider, is but a Piece of *Grotesca*; I am for these Reasons unwilling to impoverish that *Art*, though I could wish such *medlie* and *mottie* *Designes*, confined onely to the Ornament of *Freezes*, and *Borders*, their properest Place. As for other *Storied* Workes upon *Wall*es, I doubt our *Clime* bee too *yeelding* and *moist* for such *Garnishment*; therefore leaving it to the *Dwellers* Discretion, according to the Qualitie of his *Seat*; I will onely adde a Caution or two, about the disposing of *Pictures* within.

First, That no *Roome* bee furnished with too many, which in Truth were a *Surfet* of Ornament, unlesse they bee *Galleries*, or some peculiar *Repository* for *Rarities* of *Art*.

Next, That the best *Pieces* be placed not where there is the *least*, but where there are the *fewest Lights*; therefore not onely *Roomes* windowed on both Ends, which we call through-lighted, but with two or moe *Windowes* on the same Side, are Enemies to this *Art*; and sure it is, that no *Painting* can be seene in full *Perfection*, but (as all *Nature* is illuminated) by a *single* Light.

Thirdly, That in the *placing* there be some Care also taken, how the *Painter* did stand in the *Working*, which an intelligent *Eye* will easily discover, and that *Posture* is the most naturall; so as *Italian* Pieces will appeare best in a *Roome* where the *Windowes* are high; because they are commonly made to a descending *Light*, which of all other doth set off Mens *Faces* in their truest Spirit.

Lastly,

Lastly, That they bee as *properly* bestowed for their *Quality*, as *fitly* for their *Grace*: that is, *chearefull* Paintings in *Feasting* and *Banquetting* Roomes; *Graver Stories* in *Galleries*, *Land schips*, and *Boscage*, and such *wilde* Workes in open *Tarraces*, or in *Summer Houses* (as we call them) and the like.

And thus much of *Piçture*, which let mee close with this Note; that though my former Discourse may serve perchance for some reasonable *Leading* in the Choyce of such Delights; yet let no Man hope by such a *speculative* Erudition, to discerne the *Masterly* and *Mysterious* touches of *Art*, but an Artizan himselfe; to whom therefore we must leave the *Prerogative*, to censure the Manner and Handling, as hee himselfe must likewise leave some Points, perchance of no lesse Value to others; as for Example, whether the *Story* be rightly *represented*, the *Figures* in true *Action*, the *Persons* *suted* to their severall Qualities, the *Affections* *proper* and *strong*, and such like Observations.

Now for *Sculpture*, I must likewise begin with a *Controversie*, as before (falling into this Place) or let mee rather call it a very meere *Fancie*, strangely taken by *Palladio*, who having noted in an old *Arch* or two at *Verona*, some Part of the *Materials* already cut in fine *Formes*, and some *unpolished*, doth conclude (according to his *Logicke*) upon this particular, that the *Auncients* did leave the outward *Face*, of their *Marbles* or *Free-stone*, without any *Sculpture*, till they were laid, and *cemented*, in the Bodie of the *Building*; for which likewise hee findeth a Reason (as many doe now and then very wittily, even before the Thing it selfe be true) that the Materialls being left *rough* were more managable in the *Masons* Hand, than if they had beene *smooth*; and that so the *Sides* might bee laide together the more exactly; which Conceit, once taken, hee seemes to have farther imprinted, by marking in certaine storied *Sculptures*, of oulde Time how precisely the Parts and *Lines* of the *Figures* that passe from one Stone to another, doe meete; which hee thinkes could hardly fall out so right, (forgetting while he speakes of *ancient* Things, the *auncient Diligence*) unlesse they had beene cut, after the joyning of the *Materials*, but all these *Inducements*, cannot countervaille the sole *Inconvenience* of *shaking*, and *disjoynting* the *Commissures* with so many Strokes of the *Chissell*, besides an *Incommodious* Working on *Scaffolds*; especially having no Testimonie, to confirme it, that I have yet seene among the Records of *Art*; nay, it is indeede rather true, that they did *square*, and *carve*, and *polish*, their *Stone* and *Marble* Workes, even in the very *Cave* of the *Quarrie*, before it was hardened by open Aire; but (to leave Disputation) I will set downe a few *positive* Notes, for the placing of *Sculpture*; because the chusing hath beene handled before.

That first of all, it bee not too *generall* and *abundant*, which would make a *House* looke like a *Cabbinet*; and in this Point, *morall Philosophie*, which tempereth *Fancies*, is the *Superintendent* of *Art*.

That especially, there bee a due Moderation of this Ornament in the first Approach; where our Authors doe more commend (I meane about the principall *Entrance*) a *Dorique*, than a *Corinthian* Garnishment: So as if the great *Doore* be *arched*, with some brave *Head*, cut in fine *Stone* or *Marble*

for the Key of the *Arch*, and two *incumbent* Figures gracefully leaning upon it, towards one another, as if they meant to conferre: I should thinke this a sufficient Entertainment, for the first *Reception*, of any *judicious* Sight; which I could wish seconded with two great standing *Statues* on each Side of a paved Way that shall leade up into the *Fabrique*, so as the *Beholder* at the first Entrance may passe his *Eye* betweene them.

That the *Niches*, if they containe *Figures* of *white* Stone or *Marble*, bee not coloured in their *Concavities* too *blacke*; for though *Contraria juxta se posita magis illucescunt* (by an olde Rule) yet it hath beene subtilly, and indeede truly noted that our *Sight* is not well contented with those sudden Departments, from one Extreame to another; therefore let them have rather a *dusky* Tincture, than an absolute *blacke*.

That *fine* and delicate *Sculptures* be helped with *Neerenes*, and *grosse* with *Distance*; which was well seene in the olde Controversie betweene *Phidias* and *Alcmenes* about the *Statue* of *Venus*: wherein the first did shew Discretion, and save Labour, because the *Worke* was to be viewed at good *Height*, which did drowne the sweet and diligent Strokes of his *Adversarie*: A famous Emulation of two principall *Artizans*, celebrated even by the *Greeke Poets*.

That in the placing of standing *Figures* aloft, wee must set them in a *Posture* somewhat bowing forward; because (saith our Master, *lib. 3. cap. 3.* out of a better *Art* than his owne) the *visuall Beame* of our *Eye*, extended to the *Head* of the said *Figures*, being longer than to the *Foot*, must necessarily make that *Part* appeare *farther*; so as to reduce it to an erect or upright *Position*, there must be allowed a due Advantage of *stooping* towards us; which *Albert Durer* hath exactly taught in his fore mentioned *Geometry*. Our *Vitruvius* calleth this Affection in the *Eye*, a *Resupination* of the *Figure*: For which Word (being in Truth his owne, for ought I know) wee are almost as much beholding to him, as for the Observation it selfe: And let thus much summarily suffice, touching the Choice and Use of these adorning *Arts*. For to speake of garnishing the *Fabrique* with a *Row* of erected *Statues* about the *Cornice* of every *Contignation* or *Story*, were Discourse more proper for *Athens* or *Rome*, in the Time of their true Greatnesse, when (as *Plinie* recordeth of his own *Age*) there were neere as many carved *Images* as living *Men*; like a noble Contention, even in Point of *Fertility*, betweene *Art* and *Nature*; which Passage doth not onely argue an infinite Abundance, both of *Artizans* and *Materials*; but likewise of *magnificent* and *majesticall* Desires, in every common Person of those Times; more or lesse according to their *Fortunes*. And true it is indeed that the marble *Monuments* and *Memories* of well deserving Men, wherewith the very Highways were strewed on each Side was not a bare and transitory Entertainment of the *Eye*, or onely a gentle Deception of *Time*, to the *Travailer*; but had also a secret and strong *Influence*, even into the Advancement of the *Monarchie*, by continuall Representation of vertuous Examples; so as in that Point ART became a Piece of *State*.

Now

Now as I have before subordinated *Picture*, and *Sculpture* to *Architecture*, as their Mistresse; so there are certaine inferiour ARTS likewise subordinate to them: As under *Picture*, *Mosaïque*; under *Sculpture*, *Plastique*; which two, I onely nominate, as the fittest to garnish *Fabriques*.

Mosaïque is a Kinde of Painting in small *Pebbles*, *Cockles* and *Shells* of sundry Colours; and of late Dayes likewise with Pieces of *Glasfe*, figured at Pleasure; an Ornament in Trueth, of much Beauty, and long Life, but of most Use in *Pavements* and *Floorings*.

Plastique is not onely under *Sculpture*, but in deed very *Sculpture* it selfe: but with this Difference; that the *Plasterer* doth make his Figures by *Addition*, and the *Carver* by *Substraction*, whereupon *Michael Angelo* was wont to say somewhat pleasantly: That *Sculpture* was nothing but a *Purgation of Superfluities*. For take away from a Piece of Wood, or Stone, all that is *superfluous*, and the Remainder is the intended *Figure*. Of this *Plastique Art*, the chiefe Use with us is in the gracefull *fretting* of Roofes: but the *Ita'ians* applie it, to the *manteling* of *Chimneys*, with great Figures. A cheape Piece of *Magnificence*, and as durable almost within Doores, as harder *Forms* in the Weather. And here though it bee a little Excursion, I cannot passe unremembred againe, their Manner of disguising the Shaftes of *Chimneys* in various Fashions, whereof the noblest is the *Pyramidall*: beeing in Trueth a Piece of polite and civill Discretion, to convert even the *Conduits* of Soote and Smoake, into *Ornaments*; whereof I have hitherto spoken as farre as may concerne the Bodie of the Building.

Now there are *Ornaments* also without, as *Gardens*, *Fountaines*, *Groves*, *Conservatories* of rare *Beasts*, *Birds*, and *Fishes*. Of which ignobler Kind of Creatures, *Wee ought not* (saith our greatest * Master among the Sonnes of Nature) *childishly to despise the Contemplation*; for in all Things that are naturall, there is ever something, that is admirable. Of these externall Delights, a Word or two.

First, I must note a certaine Contrarietie betweene *Building* and *Garden-ing*: For as *Fabriques* should bee *regular*, so *Gardens* should bee *irregular*, or at least cast into a very wilde *Regularitie*. To exemplifie my Conceit; I have seene a *Garden* (for the Maner perchance incomparable) into which the first Accessse was a high Walke like a *Tarrace*, from whence might bee taken a generall View of the whole *Plott* below; but rather in a delightfull Confusion, than with any plaine Distinction of the Pieces. From this the *Beholder* descending many Steps, was afterwards conveyed againe, by severall *Mountings* and *Valings*, to various Entertainements of his *Sent*, and *Sight*: which I shall not neede to describe (for that were poetically) let me onely note this, that every one of these Diversities, was as if hee had beene *Magically* transported into a new Garden.

But though other *Countreys* have more Benefite of Sunne than wee, and thereby more properly tyed to contemplate this Delight; yet have I seene

* *Arist. lib. 1. cap. 5. de part. Anim.* Δεῖ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν παιδικῶς τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀτιμωτέων ζῶων ἐπίσκεψιν. Ἐν παντί γὰρ τοῖς φυσικοῖς ἐνερὶ τι θαυμάσιον.

in our *owne*, a delicate and diligent *Curiositie*, surely without *parallel* among *foreign Nations*: Namely, in the Garden of Sir *Henry Fanshawe*, at his Seat in *Ware Parke*, where I wel remember, hee did so precisely examine the *Tinctures*, and *Seasons* of his *Flowres*, that in their *setting*, the *inwardest* of those which were to come up at the same Time, should be alwayes a little *darker* than the *outmost*, and so serve them for a Kinde of gentle *Shadow*, like a Piece not of *Nature*, but of *Arte*, which mention (incident to this Place) I have willingly made of his *Name*, for the deare *Friendship* that was long betweene us: though I must confesse, with much Wrong to his other *Vertues*; which deserve a more solide *Memoriall*, than among these vacant *Observations*. So much of *Gardens*.

Fountaines are *figured*, or only *plaine water'd-workes*: Of either of which, I will describe a matchlesse *Patterne*.

The first, done by the famous Hand of *Michael Angelo da Buonaroti*, in the Figure of a sturdie *Woman*, *washing* and *winding* of Linnen Clothes; in which Acte, shee *wrings* out the Water that made the *Fountain*; which was a gracefull and naturall Conceit in the Artificer, implying this Rule; that all *Designes* of this Kind, should be *proper*.

The other doth merite some larger Expression; there went a long, straight, mossie Walke of competent Breadth, greene, and soft under Foot, listd on both Sides with an *Aquæduct* of white Stone, Breast-high, which had a hollow *Channell* on the Top, where ranne a pretty trickling Streame; on the *Edge* whereof, were couched very thicke all along, certaine small *Pipes* of Lead, in little Holes; so neatly, that they could not be well perceived, till by the turning of a Cocke, they did sprout over interchangeably from Side to Side, above Mans Height, in Forme of *Arches*, without any Interfection or Meeting aloft, because the Pipes were not exactly opposite, so as the *Beholder*, besides that, which was fluent in the *Aquæduets* on both Hands in his View, did walke as it were, under a continuall *Bowre* or *Hemisphere* of Water, without any Drop falling on him. An *Invention* for Refreshment, surely farre excellling all the *Alexandrian* Delicacies, and *Pneumatiques* of *Hero*.

Groves, and artificiall Devices under Ground, are of great Expence, and little Dignitie; which for my Part I could wish converted here into those *Cryptera*, whereof mention is made among the curious Provisions of *Ticho Braghe* the *Danish Ptolemie*, as I may well call him: which were deepe *Concaves* in Gardens, where the *Starres* might be observed even at *Noone*. For (by the Way) to thinke that the Brightnesse of the Sunnes Body above, doth drowne our discerning of the lesser Lights, is a popular Errour; the sole Impediment being that Lustre, which by *Reflection*, doth spread about us, from the Face of the Earth; so as the *Caves* before touched, may well conduce, not to a delicious, but to a learned Pleasure.

In *Aviaries* of Wire, to keepe Birdes of all Sorts, the *Italians* (though no wastfull Nation) doe in some Places bestow vast Expence; including great Scope of Ground, Varietie of *Bushes*, *Trees* of good Height, running *Waters*, and sometimes a *Stove* annexed, to contemper the *Aire* in Winter. So as those *Chanteresses*, unlesse they be such as perhaps delight as much in their Wing,

Wing, as in their Voice, may live long, among so good Provisions and Roome, before they know that they are *Prisoners*, reducing often to my Memory, that Conceit of the *Romane Stoicke*, who in Comparison of his owne free *Contemplations*, did thinke divers great and splendent Fortunes of his Time, little more than *commodious Captivities*.

Concerning *Ponds* of Pleasure neere the Habitation; I will referre my selfe to a grave *Author* of our owne (though more illustrious by his other * Worke) namely *Sarisburyensis de Piscinâ*.

And here I will end the second Part touching *Ornaments*, both *within*, and *without* the *Fabrique*.

Now as almost all those, which have delivered the *Elements* of *Logicke*, doe usually conclude with a Chapter touching *Method*; so I am heere seized with a Kind of critical Spirit, and desirous to shut up these building *Elements*, with some *methodical* Direction how to *censure* *Fabriques* already raised: for indeed without some Way to contract our *Judgement*, which among so many Particulars would bee lost by Diffusion; I should thinke it almost harder to be a good *Censurer*, than a good *Architect*; because the *working* Part may be helped with *Deliberation*, but the *Judging* must flow from an *extemporall Habite*. Therefore, (not to leave this last *Piece* without some *Light*) I could wish him that commeth to examine any noble *Work*, first of all to examine himselfe, whether perchance the *Sight* of many brave Things before (which remaine like impressed *Formes*) have not made him apt to thinke nothing good, but that which is the *best*; for this *Humour* were too sowre. Next, before hee come to settle any imaginable Opinion, let him by all Meanes seeke to informe himselfe precisely, of the *Age* of the *Worke* upon which hee must passe his *Doom*. And if hee shall finde the apparent *Decayes* to exceed the Proportion of *Time*; then let him conclude, without farther Inquisition, as an absolute Decree, that either the *Materials* were too *slight*, or the *Seate* is nought. Now, after these Premisses, if the *House* be found to beare his *Yeares* well, (which is alwayes a Token of sound *Constitution*) then let him suddenly runne backwardes, (for the *Method* of *censuring* is contrary to the *Method* of *composing*) from the *Ornaments* (which first allure the *Eye*) to the more essentiall *Members*, till at last hee be able to forme this *Conclusion*, that the *Worke* is *commodious*, *firme*, and *delightfull*; which (as I said in the Beginning) are the three capitall *Conditions* required in good *Buildings*, by all *Authors* both Ancient and Moderne. And this is, as I may tearme it, the most *Scientificall* Way of *Censuring*. There are two other, which I must not forget. The first in *Georgio Vassari*, before his laborious *Worke* of the Lives of *Architects*, which is to passe a running Examination over the whole *Edifice*, according to the Properties of a well shapen Man. As whether the *Wals* stand upright upon cleane Footing and *Foundation*; whether the *Fabrique* bee of a beautifull *Stature*, whether for the *Breadth* it appeare well *burnished*, whether the principall *Entrance* be on the middle Line of the *Front* or Face, like our *Mouthes*; whether the *Windowes*, as our *Eyes*, be set in equall Number

* *De Nugis Curial. &c.*

and Distance on both Sides; whether the *Offices* like the *Veines* in our Bodies, be usefully distributed, and so forth. For this *Allegoricall* Review may be driven as farre as any *Wit* will, that is at Leasure.

The second Way, is in *Vitruvius* himselfe, *Lib. 1. cap. 2.* where hee summarily determineth six *Considerations*, which accomplish this whole *Art*.

Ordinatio.

Dispositio.

Eurythmia.

Symmetria.

Decor, and

Distributio.

Whereof (in my Conceit) wee may spare him the first two; for as farre as I can perceiue, either by his *Interpreters*, or by his own *Text* (which in that very Place, where perchance he should be *clearest*, is of all other the *cloudiest*) hee meaneth nothing by *Ordination*, but a well setting of the *Modell* or *Scale* of the whole *Worke*. Nor by *Disposition*, more than a neate and full Expression of the first *Idea* or *Designement* thereof; which perchance doe more belong to the *Artificer*, than to the *Censurer*. The other foure are enough to condemne, or absolve any *Fabrique* whatsoever. Whereof *Eurythmia* is that agreeable *Harmony*, betweene the Breadth, Length, and Height of all the Roomes of the *Fabrique*, which suddenly where it is taketh every *Beholder*, by the secret Power of *Proportion*: wherein let mee onely note this, that though the least Error or Offence that can be committed against *Sight*, is Excesse of Height; yet that Fault is no where of small Importance, because it is the greatest Offence against the *Purse*.

Symmetria is the *Conueniencie* that runneth betweene the *Parts* and the *Whole*, whereof I have formerly spoken.

Decor is the keeping of a due *Respect* betweene the *Inhabitant*, and the *Habitation*. Whence *Palladius* did conclude, that the principall *Entrance* was never to be regulated by any certaine *Dimensions*; but by the Dignity of the *Master*; yet to exceede rather, in the *more*, than in the *lesse*, is a Marke of *Generosity*, and may alwayes be excused with some noble *Embleme*, or *Inscription*, as that of the *Conte di Bevilacqua*, over his large Gate at *Verona*, where perchance had beene committed a little *Disproportion*.

Patet Janua: Cor magis.

And heere likewise I must remember our ever memorable Sir *Philip Sidney*, (whose *Wit* was in Truth the very Rule of *Congruity*) who well knowing that *Basilus* (as hee had painted the *State* of his *Minde*) did rather want some extraordinary *Formes* to entertaine his *Fancie*, than *Roome* for *Courtiers*, was contented to place him in a *Star-like Lodge*; which otherwise in severe *Judgement* of *Art* had beene an incommodious *Figure*.

Distributio, is that usefull *Casting* of all Roomes for *Office*, *Entertainment*, or *Pleasure*, which I have handled before at more length than any other Piece.

These are the *Foure Heads* which every Man should runne over, before hee passe any determinate *Censure* upon the Works that he shal view, wherewith I will close this last Part, touching *Ornaments*. Against which (mee thinkes) I heare

I heare an *Objection*, even from some well-meaning Man, that these delightful *Craftes* may be divers Wayes ill applied in a *Land*. I must confesse indeede, there may bee a *lascivious*, and there may be likewise a *superstitious* Use, both of *Piecture* and of *Sculpture*: To which Possibility of Misapplication, not onely these *Semi-liberall Arts* are subject; but even the highest Perfections, and *Endowments* of Nature. As *Beautie* in a light Woman, *Eloquence* in a mutinous Man, *Resolution* in an Affasinate, prudent *Observation* of Houres and Humours in a corrupt Courtier, *Sharpenesse* of Wit and Argument in a seducing Scholler; and the like. Nay, finally let mee aske, what ART can be more pernicious, than even RELIGION it selfe, if it selfe be converted into an Instrument of ART: Therefore, *Ab abuti ad non uti, negatur consequentia*.

Thus having stitched in some Sort together these *Animadversions* touching *Architeecture*, and the *Ornaments* thereof; I now feele that *contemplative* Spirits are as restlesse as *active*; for doubting with my selfe, (as all Weakenesse is jealous) that I may be thought to have spent my poore Observation abroad about nothing but Stone and Timber, and such Rubbage, I am thereby led into an Immodestie of proclaiming another Worke, which I have long devoted to the Service of my *Countrey*; namely, *A Philosophicall Survey of Education*, which is indeed a second *Building*, or repairing of Nature, and, as I may tearme it, a Kind of *Morall Architeecture*; whereof such Notes as I have taken in my foreigne Transcursions or Abode, I hope to utter without publike Offence, though still with the Freedom of a plaine *Kentish* Man. In the meane while, I have let these other *Gleanings* flie abroad, like the Bird out of the *Arke*, to discover what Footing may bee, for that which shall follow.

The Danger wherein the Kingdome now standeth, and the Remedie.

Written by Sir ROBERT COTTON, Knight and Baronet, in *January*,
Anno Domini 1627.

AS soone as the House of *Austria* had incorporated it selfe with *Spaine*, and by their new Discoveries gotten to themselves, the Wealth of the Indies, they began to affect and have ever since pursued a first Monarchy.

The Emperour CHARLES the Fift would first lay the Foundation thereof in *Italy*, by surprising *Rome*: from this, hee was thrust by the Force and Respect of Religion: HENRY the Eighth being made *Caput Fæderis* against him. He then attempted it in high *Germany*, practising it by Faction and Force to reduce them first to Pettie States, and so to his absolute Power. Thus HEN. the Eighth againe prevented him, by tying the *Lutheran* Princes

under his Confederacie and Assistance. His Sonne the second PHILIP, pursued the same Ambition in the Nether *Germany*, by Reduction whereof hee intended to make his farther Way into the other. This the late Queene of *England* interrupted, by siding with the afflicted People on the one Part, and making herselfe the Head of their Protestants League with the Princes on the other: drawing in as a Secret of State the Countenance of *France*, to give the more Reputation, and Assistance to them, and Security to it selfe.

Spaine seeing his Hopes fruitlesse by those Unions and Straights, began first to breake if hee may the Amitie of *France* and *England*; but finding the common Danger to bee a fast Tye, hee raiseth up in that Kingdome a Faction of his owne, by which the *French* King was distressed, that had not the *English* Counsell and Assistance relieved him, *Spaine* had there removed that next and greatest Obstacle of his Ambition: his Counsell now tels him from these Examples, that the Way to this great Worke is impassable, so long as *England* layes a Net in his Way; and the Remove of that must bee the first of his Intents.

This drew on those secret Practises often against the Queene, and his open Furie in 88. against the State; which shee seeing by following the Advice of a free Counsell, would never after admit of Peace, winning thereby the Hearts of a loving People, who ever found Hands and Money at home, and keeping sacredly her Aliances abroad, securing to her Confederates all her Time, Freedome from *Spanish* Flattery, and so ended her old and happy Dayes in Glory.

Spaine then by the Wisedome and Power of that great Lady dispoiled of his Meanes to hurt, though not of his Desires, makes up with her peacefull Successour of happie Memory, that golden League, that discerning us at home by Opinion of Securitie, and giving them a Power in our Counsell by believing their Friendships, and pretended Marriages, gave them a Way to cherish amongst us a Partie of their owne Beliefe, of Power abroad to leade in Jealousie, and sow Division betweene us and our Confederates, by which we see they have swallowed up the Fortune of our Masters Brother, with the rest of the Imperiall States; distressed the K. of *Denmarke*, by that Quarrell, diverted the *Swedens* Assistance by the Warres with the *Pole*, and maining him now with the Ofer of the *Danish* Crowne. And now whether from the Plot, or our Fatalitie, it hath cast such a Bone betweene *France* and us, as hath made themselves by our Quarrell of Religion a fast Confederate, and us a dangerous Enemy: so that now wee have left no other Assurance against their Malice and Ambition, but the *Netherlanders*, where the Tie of mutuall Safety is weakened, by daily Discontents bred and fed betweene us, from some ill affected to both our Securities; that by the Doubtfulnes of Friendship, as we now stand, wee may rather suspect from our owne domesticke Faction, if they grow too furious, they will rather follow the Example of *Rome* in her growing, that held it equally safe, honorable and more easie *dare Regem*, than *subjugare Provinciam*, considering the Power they have in their Hands, than to give any Friends Assistance to serve the present Condition of our State.

You

You may therefore see in what Tearmes wee stand Abroad, and I feare me at Home for Resistance in no better State: There must be to withstand a forraine Invasion, a Proportion both of Sea and Land Forces for to give an Enemy an easie Passage, and a Port to relieve him in, is no lesse than to hazard all at one Stake; and it is to be considered, that no March of Land can be of that Speed to make Head against the Landing of an Enemy, nor no such Prevention as to bee Master of the Sea: To this Point of necessarie Defence, there can be no lesse than 24000 for the Land Forces: if it were for an offensive Warre, the Men of lesse Livelihood were the best spared, and were used formerly to make such Warre *Purgamento Repub.* if wee made no farther Purchase by it: and for a Safetie of a Common-wealth, the Wisedome of all Times did never interesse the publique Cause to any other, than such as have a Portion in the publique Adventure, and that we saw in 88. when the Care of the Queene and Counsell did make the Body of that large Army no other than the trayned Band with which the Auxiliaries of the whole Realme amounted to no lesse than 24000 Men; neither was any of these drawne from forth their Countries and proper Habitations before the End of *May*, that there must bee no long Agrievance to the Publique: such Discontentments being even to us a more fatall Enemy than any forraine Force: the carefull Distribution and Direction of their Sea and Land Forces, being more fitting for a Counsell of Warre, than a private Man to advise of. I passe it over, yet willing when I shall bee called humbly to offer uppe such Observations as I have formerly gathered by the former like Occasions in this Realme.

To make up this Preparation, there is requisite two Things; Money, and Affections, for they cannot be properly severed.

It was well and wisely said of the great Counsellor the Lord *Burleigh*, in the like Case to the Queene, Win Hearts and you have their Hands and Purfes. And I finde that of late, Diffidence having bin a Defect in the one, it hath unhappily produced the other.

In gathering then of Money for this present Need, there is requisite three Things, Speed, Assurance, and Satisfaction; and the Way to gather as others in the like Case have done, must be by that Path-way that is called *Via Regia*, being more secure and speedy; for by unknowne and untrodden Wayes it is both rougher and tedious, and seldome succeedeth: This last Way, although it tooke Place as it were by a Supply at first, and received no generall Deniall; yet since, it hath drawne many to consult with themselves and others in the Consequence, and is now conceived as a Pressure on their Liberties and against Law; I much feare, if now againe it bee offered eyther in the same Face, or by Privie Seale, it will bee refused wholly; neyther finde I it, that the Restraint of those Recusants have produced any other Effect than a stiffe Resolution in them and others to forbear: besides, although it went at first with some Assurance, yet when wee consider your Commissions, and other Formes incident to such like Services, that how long it hangs in Hand, the many Delays that wee may easily see, that such a Summe by Parliament granted is farre sooner and more easily gathered.

If any make the Successions of Time, to produce an inevitable Necessitie to inforce it; if denied, whether in generall, or by Excise, or by Imposition, or particular in some select Persons, which is the Custome of some Countries, and so conclide it as therefore the publique State *Suprema Lege*, hee must looke for this to bee told them; that seeing Necessitie must conclide alwayes to gather Money as lesse speedy or assured, than that so practised, which cannot bee fitter than by Parliament, the Successe attendeth the Humour of the heedlesse Multitude, that are full of Jealousie and Distrust, and so unlike to comply to any usuall Course of Leavie but by Force; which if used, the Effect is fearefull, and hath beene fatall to this State: whereas that by Parliament resteth principally on the Regall Person, who may with Ease and Safety mould them to his fit Desires, by a gracious yeilding to their just Petitions.

If a Parliament then be the most speedy, assured and safe Way, it is fit to conceive what is the fairest Way to act and worke it to the present Neede: first, for the Time of the usuall Summons, reputed to bee 40 Dayes, to bee too large for this present Necessity; it may bee by the dating of the Writs lessened, since it is no positive Law, so that Care be had that there bee but one County Day; if then, the same to bee leavied bee once agreed of for the Time: in the Body of our Graunt there may be Assignment made to the Knights of every Shire and County respectively, who under such Assurance may safely give Security proportionable to the Receipts, to such as shall advance in present for the publique Service any Summes of Money.

The last and weightiest Consideration, if a Parliament be thought fit, is how to remove or comply the Differences betweene the King and the Subjects in their mutuall Demands; and what I have learned amongst the better Sort of the Multitude I will freely declare, that your Lordships may be more enabled to remove and answere those Distrusts, that either concerne Religion, publique Safety of the King and State, or the just Liberties of the Common-wealth: for Religion is a Matter that they lay neere to their Conscience, and they are led by this Ground of Jealousie to doubt some Practise against it: First, for that the *Spanish* Match was broken by the gratefull Industrie of my Lord of *Buck.* out of his religious Care; as there hee declared, that the Articles there demanded, in some such Sufferance as may endanger the Quiet if not the State of the Reformed Religion heere. Yet there have been (when hee was a principall Actor in the Conditions of *France*) as hard, if not worse to the Preservation of our Religion passed, than those with *Spaine*; and the Suspect is strengthened, by the close keeping of his Agreements, in the Point there concluded.

It is no lesse Argument of a Doubt to them of his Affections, in that his Mother and others, many of his Ministers in neere Employment about him are so affected, they talke much of his advancing Men papistically devoted so placed in the Campe of neere Service and chiefe Command; and that the Recusants have got these late Yeares, by his Power, more of Courage (than Assurance) than before. If to cleere these Doubts (which perhaps are worse in Fancy than in Truth) hee take a Course, it might much advance the

the publique Service against the squeamish Humours that have more a violent Passion than settled Judgement, and are not the least of the opposite Number in the Common-wealth.

The next is the late Losses, Misfortunes, and Losses both of Men and Munition, and how in our late Undertakings Abroad; which the more temperate Spirits impute to want of Counsell, and the more sublime Wits to Practice.

They began with the *Palatinate*, and lay the Fault of the Losse there on the improved Credite of *Gondamor*, distrusting him for the Staying of Supplies to Sir *Horace Veere*, when Collonell *Cecill* was cast on that Imployment; by which the King of *Spaine* became the Master of the Kings Childrens Inheritance: And when Count *Mansfield* had a Royall Supply of Forces to assist the Princes of our Part for the Recovery thereof, eyther Plot or Errour defeated the Enterprise for us to *Spaines* Advantage: That Sir *Robert Mansfields* Expedition to *Algiers*, should purchase only the Security and Guard of the *Spanish* Coasts: To spend so many 100000 *l.* in the *Cales* Voyage, against the Advise of the Parliament, onely to warne the King of *Spaine* to bee in a Readinesse, and so weaken our selves, is taken for such a Signe of ill Affection to him amongst the Multitude: The spending of so much Munition and Victuals, and Money, in my Lord *Willoughbies* Journey, is conceived an unthrifitie Error in the Director of it, to disarme our selves in fruitlesse Voyages, may (to some over curious) seeme a Plot of Danger, to turne the Quarrell of *Spaine* our auncient Enemy; that the Parliament petitioned and gave Supply to support upon our Allies of *France*, and so some after (anew and happily) gave much Talke, that wee were not so doubtfull of *Spaine* as many wish since. It was held not long agoe a fundamentall Rule of theirs and our Security, by the old Lord *Burleigh*, that nothing can prevent the *Spanish* Monarchie, but a Fastnesse of the two Princes whole Amitie, gave Countenance and Courage to the *Netherlanders* and *German* Princes to make Head against his Ambition; and we see by this Disunion a fearefull Defeat hath happened to *Denmarke*, and that Party to the Advantage of the *Austrian* Family, and thus farre of the Waste of publique Treasure in fruitlesse Expeditions, and an important Cause to hinder any new Supply in Parliament: another Feare that may disturbe the smooth and speedie passing of the Kings Desire in Parliament, is the late Waste of the Kings Livelyhood whereby is like, as in former Times to arise this Jealousie and Feare, that when he hath not of his owne to support his Ordinarie, for which the Lands of the Crowne were settled unalterable and called *sacri Patrimonium Principis*, that then hee must of Necessitie rest to those Assistances of the People, which ever were collected and consigned for the Common-wealth: from hence it is like there will be no great Labour and Stiffenesse to enduce his Majestie to an Act of Resumption, since such Desires of the State have found an easie Way in the Will of all Princes from the 3. *HEN.* to the last, but that which is like to passe the deeper to their Disputes and Care, is the late Pressures they suppose to have beene done upon publique Liberties and Freedome of the Subject, in commanding their Goods without Assent

Affent by Parliament, confining their Persons without especiall Cause declared, and that made good by the Judges lately, and pretending a Writ to commaund their Attendance in a forreigne Warre; all which they are like to enforce as repugnant to many positive Lawes and customary Immunities of this Common-wealth; and these dangerous Distrusts to the People are not a little improved by his unexampled Course, as they conceive an Inland

Anno 88. Armie in Winter Season, when former Times of greatest Feare produced no such, and makes therein their distracted Feare, to conjecture idly, it was rayfed wholly to subject their Fortunes to that Will of Power, not of Law, and so make good some farther Breach upon their Liberties and Freedome at Home, than to defend from any Force Abroad: how farre at Home such Jealousies (if they met with any unusuall Disorder of lawlesse Souldiers) or unapt Distemper of the loose and needy Multitude, which will easily turne away upon any Occasion, in the State they can fide with a glorious Pretence of Religion and publique Safetie, when their true End will bee onely Rapine of the Rich (and Ruine of all) is worthy a provident and preventing Care.

I have thus farre delivered that (that which Freedome you pleased to admit such Difficulties as I have taken up amongst the Multitude) which may avert if not remove Impediments to any speedy Supply in Parliament at this Time, which how to facilitate may better become the Care of your Lordships Judgement than my Ignorance; only wish, that to remove away a personall Distast of my Lord of *Buck.* amongst the People, hee might be pleased, if there bee a Necessitie of Parliament, to appeare a first Adviser thereunto, and what Satisfaction it shall please his Majestie of Grace to give at such Time to his People, which I would wish to be grounded with present of his best and fortunate Progenitors, and which I conceive will largely satisfie the Desires and Hopes of all, if it may appeare in some Sort to be drawn downe from him to the People, by the zealous Care and Industry that my Lord of *Buck.* hath of the publique Unitie and Content, by which there is no doubt, but hee may remaine not only secure from any farther Quarrell with them, but merit happy Memory amongst them of a zealous Patriot, for to expiate the Passion of the People at such Time with Sacrifice of any of his Majesties Servants, I have ever found (as in *Edward II. Richard II. Henry VI.*) no lesse fatall to the Master than the Minister in the End.

Aprill 4, 1628.

The Proceeding of the Parliament being this Day related to the KING, by the Councillors of the COMMONS House of Parliament.

HIS MAJESTIE upon the Report made, expressed great Contentment that it gave him; not valewing the Money [given, comparable to the Hearts shewed in the Way of the Guift: For although his great Occasions of State did require more Money than at this Time was given; yet now he made Account he could not lacke, since he had their Loves; and that this Day, he thought that he had gayned more Reputation in *Christendome*, than if he had wonne many Battailes: Saying further, (according to his Speech the first Day of the Parliament) That they might easily make him in Love with Parliaments, (now he professed he was so:) And that we should finde the Fruits of it by calling us often together, and to secure further Feares, and create future Confidence, he assured us that we should enjoy as great Immunitie and Freedom in his Time, as ever we possessed or had under the Reigne of any the best Kings of this Realme.

The Duke of *BUCKINGHAM* his Speech to his MAJESTIE, on *Friday*, being the 4th of *April*, 1628.

S I R,

MEE thinkes I now behold you a great KING; for Love is greater than Majestie. *Opinion* that your People loved you not, had almost lost you in the Opinion of the *World*: but this Day makes you appeare as you are, *A glorious KING loved at Home, and now to bee feared Abroad*. This falling out so happily, I beseech you give mee Leave to bee an humble Sutor unto your *Majestie*. First, for my selfe, that I who have had the Honour to be your *Favourite*, may now give up my Title unto them, they to bee your *Favourite*, and I to bee your Servant. My second Sute is, that they having all done so well, you will account of them all as one, a Body of many Members, but all of one Heart. *Opinion* might have made them differ, but *Affection* did move them all to joyne with like Love in this great *Guift*: for Proportion, it being lesse than your Occasions may aske, yet it is more than ever Subjects did give in so short a Time: Nor am I perswaded it will rest there, for this is but as an Earnest of their Affections, to let you see, and the World know, what *Subjects* you have; that when your *Honour* and the Good of the *State* is engaged, and *Ayde* asked in the ordinary Way of Parliament, you cannot want. This is not a Gift of five Subsidies alone, but the opening of a Mine of Subsidies which lyeth in their Hearts. This good Beginning hath wrought already these Effects, they have taken your Heart,

Heart, drawne from you a Declaration that you will love Parliaments. And againe, this will be mett, I make no Question, with such Respect, that their Demands will be just, dutifull and moderate: For they that know thus to give, knowe what is fit to aske: then cannot your Majestie do lesse than outgoe their Demands or else you doe lesse than your selfe, or them: For your Message begat Trust, their Trust and your Promise must then beget Performance. This being done, then shall I with a glad Heart hold this Worke as well ended as now begun, and then shall I hope that Parliaments shalbe made hereafter so frequent, by the Effects and good Use of them, as shall have this further Benefit, to deterre from approaching your Eares those *Projectors* and *Inducers* of Innovation, as Disturbers both of *Church* and *Common-wealth*. Now *Sir*, to open my Heart and to ease my Griefe, please you to pardon me a Word more. I must confesse I have long lived in Paine, *Sleepe* hath given mee no Rest, *Favours* and *Fortunes* no Content, much have bene my secret Sorrowes to be thought the Man of *Separation*, and that divided the *KING* from his People, and them from him; but I hope it shall appeare, they were some mistaken Mindes, that would have made me the evill Spirit that walked betweene a good *Master* and a loyall People for ill Offices. Whereas by your *Majesties* Favour, I shall ever endeavour to approve my selfe a good Spirit breathing nothing but the best of Services unto them all. Therefore this Day, I account more blessed unto me than my Birth, to see my selfe able to serve them, to see you brought in Love with Parliaments, to see a Parliament expresse such Love to you. Love them I beseech you, and God so love me and mine, as I joy to see this Day.

The Charge of the SCOTTISH Commissioners against
CANTERBURIE and the Lieuetenant of IRELAND.
Together with their Demand concerning the Sixt
Article of the Treaty.

Whereunto is added the Parliaments Resolution about the Proportion
of the SCOTTISH Charges, and the SCOTTISH Commissioners
thankfull Acceptance thereof. 1641.

*The Lord is knowne by the Judgement which he executeth. The Wicked is
snared in the Workes of his owne Hands.*

NOvations in Religion, which are universally acknowledged to bee the
main Cause of Commotions in Kingdomes and States, and are
knowne to bee the true Cause of our present Troubles, were many
and great, beside the Bookes of Ordination, and Homilies, &c. Some particular
Alterations in Matters of Religion, pressed upon us without Order, and a-
gainst

gainst Law, contrary to the Forme established in our Kirk. 2. A new Booke of Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall. 3. A Liturgie or Booke of Common-prayer, which did also carry with them many dangerous Errours in Matters of Doctrine. Of all which we challenge the Prelate of *Canterbury*, as the prime Cause on Earth.

And first, that this Prelate was the Author and Urger of some particular Changes, which made great Disturbance amongst us, wee make manifest : 1. By fourteen Letters subscribed, *W. Cant.* in the Space of two Years, to one of our pretended Bishops, *Bannatine*, wherein hee often enjoyneth him, and other pretended Bishops, to appear in the Chappell in their Whites, cuntrary to the Custome of our Kirk, and to his Promise made to the pretended Bishop of *Edinburgh*, at the Coronation, that none of them after that Time, should be pressed to weare these Garments, thereby moving him against his Will to put them on for that Time, wherein he directeth him to give Order for saying the *English* Service in the Chappell twice a Day, for his Neglect shewing him that hee was disappointed of the Bishopricke of *Edinburgh*, promising him upon his greater Care of these Novations, Advancement to a better Bishoprick, taxing him for his Boldnesse in preaching the sound Doctrine of the reformed Kirkes, against Master *Mitchell*, who had taught the Errors of *Arminius*, in the Point of the Extent of the Merit of Christ, bidding him send up a List of the Names of Councillours and Senatours of the Colledge of Justice, who did not communicate in the Chappell in a Forme which was not received in our Kirke, commending him when he found him obsequious to these his Commands, telling him that hee had moved the King the second Time for the Punishment of such as had not received in the Chappell: and wherein hee upbraideth him bitterly, that in his first Synod at *Aberdeen*, hee had onely disputed against our Custome of *Scotland*, of Fasting sometimes on the Lords-day, and presumptuously censuring our Kirk, that in this we were opposite to Christianity it selfe; and that amongst us there were no Canons at all: More of this Stuffe may be seene in the Letters themselves.

Secondly, By two Papers of Memoirs and Instructions from the pretended Bishop of Saint *Androis*, to the pretended Bishop of *Rosse*, comming to this Prelate for ordering the Affaires of the Kirk, and Kingdome of *Scotland*, as not onely to obtaine Warrants, to order the Exchequer, the Privy Counsell, the great Commission of Surrenders, the Matter of *Balmerino's* Processe, as might please our Prelates, but Warrants also for sitting of the High Commission Court once a Week in *Edinburgh*, and to gain from the Noblemen, for the Benefit of Prelates, and their Adherents, the Abbacies of *Kelso*, *Arbroith*, *S. Androis*, and *Lindors*: and in the smallest Matters to receive his Comands, as for taking downe Galleries, and Stone-walls, in the Kirks of *Edinburgh* and Saint *Androis*, for no other End but to make Way for Altars, and Adoration towards the East, which besides other Evills, made no small Noise, and Disturbance amongst the People, deprived hereby, of their ordinary Accommodation for publique Worship.

The second Novation which troubled our Peace, was a Booke of Canons, and Constitutions Ecclesiasticall, obtruded upon our Kirk, found by our generall Assembly to be devised for establishing a tyrannicall Power, in the Persons of our Prelates, over the Worship of God, over the Consciences, Liberties, and Goods of the People; and for abolishing the whole Discipline, and Governement of our Kirk, by generall and provinciall Assemblies, Presbyteries, and Kirk Sessions, which was settled by Law, and in continuall Practise since the Time of Reformation; that *Canterbury* was Master of this Worke, is manifest.

By a Booke of Canons sent to him, written upon the one Side onely, with the other Side blanke, for Corrections, Additions, and putting all in better Order, at his Pleasure; which accordingly was done as may appeare by Interlinings, Marginalls, and filling up of the blanke Page with Directions sent to our Prelates; and that it was done by no other than *Canterbury*, is evident by his magisteriall Way of prescribing, and by a new Copy of these Canons, all written with Saint *Androis* owne Hand, precisely to a Letter, according to the former Castigations, sent backe for procuring the Kings Warrant unto it, which accordingly was obtained; but with an Addition of some other Canons, and a Paper of some other Corrections: According to which the Booke of Canons thus composed, was published in Print, the Inspection of the Bookes, Instructions, and his Letters of Joy, for the Successe of the Worke, and of other Letters of the Prelate of *London*, and the Lord *Sterling*, to the same Purpose; all which we are ready to exhibite, will put the Matter out of all Debate.

Beside this generall, there be some Things more specially worthy to be adverted unto, for discovering his Spirit. 1. The 4. Canon of Cap. 8. for as much as no Reformation in Doctrine, or Discipline, can be made perfect at once in any Church; therefore it shall, and may be lawfull for the Church of *Scotland*, at any Time, to make Remonstrance to his M. or his Successors, &c. Because this Canon holdeth the Doore open to more Innovations, he writeth to the Prelate of *Rosse* his privy Agent, in all this Worke, of his great Gladnesse, that this Canon did *stand behind the Curtaine*, and his great Desire that this Canon *may be printed fully as one that was to be most usefull*. Secondly, the Title prefixed to these Canons by our Prelates. Canons agreed upon to *be proponed to the severall Synods of the Kirk of Scotland*, is thus changed by *Canterbury*; Canons and Constitutions *Ecclesiasticall*, &c. ordained to be observed *by the Clergy*. He will not have Canons to come from the Authority of Synods, but from the Power of Prelates, or from the Kings Prerogative. Thirdly, The formidable Canon, Cap. 1. 3. threatning no lesse than Excommunication against all such Persons whosoever shall open their Mouthes against any of these Books, proceeded not from our Prelates, nor is to be found in the Copy sent from them, but is a Thunderbolt forged in *Canterburies* own Fire. 4. Our Prelates in divers Places witnesse their Dislike of Papists. A Minister shal be deposed if hee bee found negligent to convert Papists. Chap. 18. 15. The Adoration of the Bread is a Superstition to be condemned, Chap. 6. 6. They call the absolute Necessity of Baptisme an
Error

Errour of Popery, Chap. 6. 2. But in *Canterburies* Edition, the Name of Papists and Popery is not so much as mentioned. 5. Our Prelates have not the Boldnesse to trouble us in their Canons, with Altars, Fonts, Chancels, reading of a long Liturgie before Sermon, &c. But *Canterbury* is punctuall, and peremptory in all these. 6. Although the Words of the tenth Canon, Chap. 3. be faire, yet the wicked Intentions of *Canterbury* and *Ross*, may bee seen in the Point of Justification of a Sinner before God, by comparing the Canon as it came from our Prelates, and as it was returned from *Canterbury*, and printed, our Prelates say thus: *It is manifest that the Superstition of former Ages hath turned into a great Prophanenesse, and that People are growne cold, for the most Part, in doing any Good, thinking there is no Place to good Workes, because they are excluded from Justification. Therefore shall all Ministers, as their Text giveth Occasion, urge the Necessity of good Workes, as they would be saved; and remember that they are via regni, the Way to the Kingdome of Heaven, though not causa regnandi, howbeit they be not the Cause of Salvation.* Here *Ross* giveth his Judgement, *That hee would have this Canon simply commanding good Workes to be preached, and no Mention made what Place they have or have not in Justification.* Upon this Motion, so agreeable to *Canterburies* Mind, the Canon is set down as it standeth, without the Distinction of *via regni*, or *causa regnandi*, or any Word sounding that Way, urging onely the Necessity of good Works. 7. By comparing Can. 9. chap. 18. as it was sent in Writing from our Prelates, and as it is printed at *Canterburies* Command, may be also manifest, that hee went about to establish auricular Confession, and Popish Absolution. 8. Our Prelates were not acquainted with Canons for inflicting of arbitrary Penalties: But in *Canterburies* Book, wheresoever there is no Penaltie expressely set down, it is provided that it shall be arbitrary, as the Ordinary shall think fittest. By these, and many other the like, it is apparant, what tyrannicall Power he went about to establish in the Hands of our Prelats, over the Worship, and the Souls and Goods of Men, over-turning from the Foundation, the whole Order of our Kirk, what Seedes of Popery hee did sow in our Kirk, and how large an Entry hee did make for the grossest Novations afterward, which hath beene a maine Cause of all their Combustion.

The third and great Novation was the Booke of Common Prayer, Administration of the Sacraments, and other Parts of divine Service, brought in without Warrant from our Kirk to be universally received, as the only Forme of divine Service, under all highest Paines both Civill and Ecclesiasticall; which is found by our nationall Assembly, beside the Popish Frame, and Formes in divine Worship, to containe many Popish Errors, and Ceremonies, and the Seedes of manifold and grosse Superstitions and Idolatries, and to be repugnant to the Doctrine, Discipline, and Order of our Reformation, to the Confession of Faith, Constitutions of generall Assemblies, and Acts of Parliament, establishing the true Religion: That this also was *Canterburies* Worke, wee make manifest.

By the Memoirs, and Instructions sent unto him from our Prelates; wherein they gave a speciall Account of the Diligence they had used, to doe all

which herein they were enjoined, by the Approbation of the Service Booke sent to them; and of all the marginall Corrections, wherein it varieth from the *English* Booke, shewing their Desire to have some few Things changed in it, which notwithstanding was not granted: This we find written by Saint *Androis* owne Hand, and subscribed by him, and nine other of our Prelates.

By *Canterburies* owne Letters, Witneses of his Joy, when the Book was ready for the Presse, of his Prayers that God would speed the Worke, of his Hope to see that Service set up in *Scotland*, of his Diligence to send for the Printer, and directing him to prepare a black Letter, and to send it to his Servants at *Edinburgh*, for printing this Booke. Of his Approbation of the Proofes sent from the Presse. Of his Feare of Delay, in bringing the Worke speedily to an End, for the great Good, (not of that Church, but) of the Church. Of his encouraging *Rosse* who was entrusted with the Presse, to go on in this Peece of Service without Feare of Enemies. All which may be seene in the Autographs and by Letters sent from the Prelate of *London* to *Rosse*, wherein as he rejoyceth at the Sight of the *Scottish* Canons; which although they should make some Noise at the Beginning, yet they would be more for the Good of the Kirk, than the Canons of *Edinburgh*, for the Good of the Kingdome. So concerning the Liturgy he sheweth, that *Rosse* had sent to him, to have an Explanation from *Canterbury* of some Passages of the Service Booke, and that the Presse behoved to stand till the Explanation come to *Edinburgh*, which therefore he had in Haste obtained from his Grace, and sent the Dispatch away by *Canterburies* owne Convaiance.

But the Booke it selfe as it standeth interlined, margined and patcht up, is much more than all that is expresseed in his Letters, and the Changes and Supplements themselves, taken from the Masse Book, and other Romish Ritualls, by which he maketh it to vary from the Book of *England*, are more pregnant Testimonies of his Popish Spirit, and wicked Intentions, which he would have put in Execution upon us, than can bee denied. The large Declaration professeth, that all the Variation of our Booke, from the Book of *England*, that ever the King understood, was in such Things as the *Scottish* Humour would better comply with, than with that which stood in the *English* Service. These Popish Innovations therefore have beene surreptitiously inserted, by him without the Kings Knowledge, and against his Purpose. Our *Scottish* Prelates do petition that something may be abated of the *English* Ceremonies, as the Crosse in Baptisme, the Ring in Marriage, and some other Things. But *Canterbury* will not only have these kept, but a great many more, and worse superadded, which was nothing else, but the adding of Fewell to the Fire. To expresse and discover all, would require a whole Booke, we shall onely touch some few in the Matter of the Communion.

This Booke inverteth the Ordour of the Communion, in the Booke of *England*, as may be seen by the Numbers, setting downe the Orders of this new Communion, 1. 5. 2. 6. 7. 3. 4. 8. 9. 10. 15. Of the divers secret Reasons of this Change, we mention one onely, In joyning the spirituall Praise and Thanksgiving, which is in the Booke of *England*, pertinently after
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the Communion, with the Prayer of Consecration before the Communion, and that under the Name of Memoriall or Oblation, for no other End, but that the Memoriall and Sacrifice of Praise, mentioned in it, may be understood according to the Popish Meaning. *Bellar. de Missa, lib. 2. cap. 21.* Not of the spirituall Sacrifice, but of the Oblation of the Body of the Lord.

It seemeth to bee no great Matter, that without Warrant of the Book of *England*, the Presbyter going from the North End of the Table, shall stand during the Time of Consecration, at such a Part of the Table, where hee may with the more Ease and Decencie use both Hands; yet being tried, it importeth much, as, that he must stand with his hinder Parts to the People, representing (saith *Durand*) that which the Lord said of *Moses*, *Thou shalt see my hinder Parts*. Hee must have the Use of both his Hands, not for any thing he hath to doe about the Bread and Wine, for that may bee done at the North End of the Table, and bee better seen of the People; but (as we are taught by the Rationalists) that he may by stretching forth his Armes to represent the Extension of Christ on the Crosse, and that hee may the more conveniently lift up the Bread and Wine above his Head to be seen and adored of the People, who in the Rubrick of the generall Confession, a little before, are directed to kneel humbly on their Knees, that the Priests Elevation so magnified in the Masse, and the Peoples Adoration may goe together. That in this Posture, speaking with a low Voyce, and muttering (for sometimes hee is commanded to speake with a lowde Voyce, and distinctly) hee bee not heard by the People, which is no lesse a mocking of God, and his People, than if the Words were spoken in an unknowne Language. As there is no Word of all this in the *English* Service; so doth the Book in King *Ed.* Time, give to every Presbyter his Liberty of Gesture, which yet gave such Offence to *Bucer*, (the Censurer of the Book, and even in *Cassanders* own Judgement, a Man of great Moderation in Matters of this Kinde) that he calleth them, *Nunquam satis execrandos Missæ gestus*, and would have them to be abhorred, because they confirme to the Simple and Superstitious *ter impiam & exitialem Missæ fiduciam*.

The corporall Presence of CHRIST's Body in the Sacrament, is also to be found here: for the Words of the Masse-Book serving to this Purpose, which are sharply censured by *Bucer* in King *Ed.* Liturgie, and are not to be found in the Book of *England*, are taken in here; Almighty God is incalled, that of his Almighty Goodnesse he may vouchsafe so to blesse and sanctifie with his Word and Spirit, these Gifts of Bread and Wine, that they may bee unto us the Body and Bloud of CHRIST.

The Change here is made a Work of God's Omnipotencie: The Words of the Masse, *ut fiant nobis*, are translated in King *Edward's* Booke, *That they may be unto us*, which are againe turned into *Latine* by *Alesius*, *Ut fiant nobis*. On the other Part, the Expressions of the Booke of *England* at the Delivery of the Elements of feeding on Christ by Faith, and of Eating and Drinking in Remembrance that Christ died for thee, are utterly delected. Many Evidences there bee in this Part of the Communion, of the bodily Presence
of

of CHRIST, very agreeable to the Doctrines taught by his Secretaries, which this Paper cannot containe. They teach us that CHRIST is received in the Sacrament, *Corporaliter*, both *objectivè* and *subjectivè*. *Corpus Christi est objectum quod recipitur, & corpus nostrum subjectum quo recipitur.*

The Booke of *England* abolisheth all that may import the Oblation of any unbloody Sacrifice, but here we have besides the preparatorie Oblation of the Elements, which is neither to be found in the Booke of *England* now, nor in King *Edward's* Booke of Old, the Oblation of the Body and Bloud of CHRIST, which *Bellarmino* calleth, *Sacrificium Laudis, quia Deus per illud magnopere laudatur.* This also agreeth well with their late Doctrine. We are ready when it shall be judged convenient, and we shall be desired, to discover much more Matters of this Kind, as Grounds laid for *Missa sicca*, or the half Messe; The private Messe without the People; Of Communicating in one Kind; Of the Consumption by the Priest, and Consummation of the Sacrifice; Of receiving the Sacrament in the Mouth, and not in the Hand, &c.

Our Supplications were many against these Books, but *Canterbury* procured them to be answered with terrible Proclamations. Wee were constrained to use the Remedy of Protestation; but for our Protestations, and other lawfull Meanes, which we used for our Deliverance, *Canterbury* procured us to be declared Rebels and Traitors in all the Parish Kirks of *England*: when we were seeking to possesse our Religion in Peace, against these Devices and Novations, *Canterbury* kindleth Warre against us. In all these it is known that he was although not the sole, yet the principall Agent and Adviser.

When by the Pacification at *Berwick*, both Kingdomes looked for Peace and Quietnesse, he spared not openly in the Hearing of many, often before the King, and privately at the Counsell-table, and the privy Jointo to speak of us as Rebels and Traitors, and to speake against the Pacification as dishonourable, and meet to be broken. Neither did his Malignancie and Bitternesse ever suffer him to rest, till a new Warre was entred upon, and all Things prepared for our Destruction.

By him was it that our Covenant, approven by Nationall Assemblies, subscribed by his M. Commissioner, and by the Lords of his M. Counsell, and by them commanded to be subscribed by all the Subjects of the Kingdom, as a Testimony of our Duty to God and the King, by him was it still called Ungodly, Damnable, Treasonable; by him were Oaths invented, and pressed upon divers of our poore Countrey-men, upon the Pain of Imprisonment, and many Miseries, which were unwarrantable by Law, and contrary to their Nationall Oath.

When our Commissioners did appeare to render the Reasons of our Demands, he spared not in the Presence of the King, and Committee, to raile against our Nationall Assembly, as not daring to appeare before the World, and Kirkes Abroad, where himselfe and his Actions were able to endure Tryall, and against our just and necessary Defence, as the most malicious and treasonable Contempt of Monarchicall Government that any by-gone Age had heard of: His Hand also was at the Warrant for the Restraint and Imprisonment

prisonment of our Commissioners, sent from the Parliament, warranted by the King, and seeking the Peace of the Kingdomes.

When we had by our Declarations, Remonstrances, and Representations, manifested the Truth of our Intentions, and Lawfulnesse of our Actions, to all the good Subjects of the Kingdome of *England*, when the late Parliament could not be moved to assist, or enter in Warre against us, maintaining our Religion, and Liberties, *Canterbury* did not onely advise the breaking up of that high and honourable Court, to the great Griefe and Hazard of the Kingdome, but, (which is without Example) did sit stil in the Convocation, and make Canons and Constitutions against us, and our just and necessary Defence, ordaining under al highest Paines, that hereafter the Clergy shall preach 4 Times in the Yeare, such Doctrines as is contrary, not only to our Proceedings, but to the Doctrines and Proceedings of other reform'd Kirks, to the Judgement of all sound Divines, and Politiques, and tending to the utter Slavery and Ruining of all Estates and Kingdomes, and to the Dishonour of Kings and Monarchs. And as if this had not been sufficient, he procured six Subsidies to be lifted of the Clergy, under Paine of Deprivation to all that should refuse. And which is yet worse, and above which Malice it selfe cannot ascend, by his Meanes a Praier is framed, printed, and sent through all the Paroches of *England*, to bee said in all Churches in Time of Divine Service, next after the Prayer for the Queene and roiall Progeny, against our Nation by Name of trayterous Subjects, having cast off all Obedience to our anointed Sovereigne, and comming in a rebellious Manner to invade *England*, that Shame may cover our Faces, as Enemies to God and the King.

Whosoever shall impartially examine what hath proceeded from himselfe, in these two Books of Canons and Common Praier, what Doctrines hath beene published and printed these Yeares by-past in *England*, by his Disciples and Emiffaries, what grosse Popery in the most materiall Points we have found, and are ready to shew in the posthume Writings, of the Prelate of *Edinburgh*, and *Dumblane*, his owne Creatures, his neereft Familiars, and most willing Instruments to advance his Counsells, and Projects, shall perceive that his Intentions were deepe and large against all the reformed Kirks, and Reformation of Religion, which in his Majesties Dominions was panting and by this Time had rendered up the Ghost, if God had not in a wonderfull Way of Mercy prevented us: And that if the Pope himselfe had beene in his Place, he could not have beene more Popish, nor could he more zealously have negotiated for *Rome*, against the reformed Kirks, to reduce them to the Heresies in Doctrines, the Superstitions and Idolatry in Worship, and the Tyranny in Government, which are in that See, and for which the reformed Kirks did separate from it, and come forth of *Babell*. From him certainly hath issued all this Deluge which almost hath overturned all. We are therefore confident that your Lordships will by your Meanes deale effectually with the Parliament, that this great Fire-brand be presently removed from his Majesties Presence, and that he may be put to Tryall, and put to his deserved Censure according to the Lawes of the Kingdome, which shall be good Service to God, Honour to the King and Parliament; Terror to the wicked,
and

and Comfort to all good Men, and to us in speciall, who by his Meanes principally have beene put to so many and grievous Afflictions, wherein we had perished, if God had not beene with us.

We do indeed confesse that the Prelates of *England* have beene of very different Humours, some of them of a more hot, and others of them, Men of a more moderate Temper, some of them more, and some of them lesse inclinable to Popery, yet what knowne Truth, and constant Experience, hath made undeniable, we must at this Opportunity professe, that from the first Time of Reformation of the Kirk of *Scotland*, not only after the Comming of King *James* of happy Memory into *England*, but before, the Prelates of *England*, have beene by all Meanes incessantly working the Overthrow of our Discipline, and Governement. And it hath come to passe of late, that the Prelates of *England* having prevailed, and brought us to Subjection in the Point of Governement, and finding their long waited for Opportunity, and a rare Congruity of many Spirits, and Powers, ready to co-opperate for their Ends, have made a strong Assault upon the whole externall Worship, and Doctrine of our Kirk. By which their Doing, they did not aime to make us conforme to *England*, but to make *Scotland* first (whose Weaknesse in resisting, they had before experienced, in the Novations of Governement, and of some Points of Worship) and thereafter *England* conforme to *Rome*, even in these Matters, wherein *England* had seperated from *Rome*, ever since the Time of Reformation. An Evill therefore which hath issued, not so much from the Personall Disposition of the Prelates themselves, as from the innate Quality and Nature of their Office, and Prelaticall Hierarchy, which did bring forth the Pope in ancient Times, and never ceaseth till it bring forth Popish Doctrine and Worship, where it is once rooted, and the Principles thereof fomented and constantly followed. And from that Antipathy and Inconsistency of the two Formes of Ecclesiasticall Governement, which they conceived, and not without Cause, that one Iland united also under one Head, and Monarch, was not able to beare; the one being the same in all the Parts and Powers, which it was in the Times of Popery, and now is in the *Roman* Church: The other being the Forme of Governement, received, maintained, and practised, by all the reformed Kirks, wherein by their owne Testimonies, and Confessions, the Kirk of *Scotland* had amongst them no small Eminency. This also wee represent to your Lordships most serious Consideration, that not only the Fire-brands may be removed, but that the Fire may be provided against, that there be no more Combustion after this.

The Charge of the SCOTTISH Commissioners against the Lieutenant of IRELAND.

IN our Declarations we have joyned with *Canterbury*, the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, whose Malice hath set all his Wits and Power on work, to devise and doe Mischiefe against our Kirke and Countrey.

No

No other Cause of his Malice can we conceive, but first his Pride and supercilious Disdain of the Kirk of *Scotland*; which in his Opinion, declared by his Speeches, hath not in it almost any thing of a Kirk, although the Reformed Kirks, and many worthy Divines of *England*, have given ample Testimony to the Reformation of the Kirk of *Scotland*.

Secondly, Our open Opposition against the dangerous *Innovation of Religion intended, and very farre improved in all his Majesties Dominions*; of which hee hath shewed himselfe, in his owne Way, no lesse zealous than *Canterbury* himselfe, as may appeare by his advancing of his Chaplain, D. *Bramble*, not onely to the Bishoptick of *Derry*, but also to be *Vicar Generall of Ireland*; a Man prompted for exalting of *Canterburian Popery, and Arminianism*; that thus himselfe might have the Power of both Swords, against all that should maintaine the Reformation; by his bringing of D. *Chappel*, a Man of the same Spirit, to the *University of Dublin*, for poysoning the *Fountaines*, and corrupting the *Seminaries of the Kirk*.

And *thirdly*, When the Primate of *Ireland* did presse a new Ratification of the Articles of that Kirke, in *Parliament*, for barring such Novations in *Religion*, hee boldly menaced him with the Burning, by the Hand of the *Hang-man*, of that Confession, although confirmed in former *Parliaments*.

When hee found that the Reformation begun in *Scotland*, did stand in his Way, he left no Meanes unessaied to rub Disgrace upon us, and our Cause. The Peeces printed at *Dublin*, *Examen conjurationis Scotticanæ*; The ungirding of the *Scottish Armour*; The Pamphlet bearing the counterfeit Name of *Lyfimachus Nicanor*; all three so full of Calumnies, Slanders, and Scurrilities against our Countrey and Reformation, that the Jesuits in their greatest Spite could not have said more; yet not onely the Authors were countenanced and rewarded by him, but the Bookes must beare his Name, as the great Patron both of the Worke and Workman.

When the Nationall Oath and Covenant, warranted by our generall Assemblies, was approved by Parliament in the Articles, subscribed in the Kings Name, by his Majesties high Commissioner, and by the Lords of Privie Counsell, and commanded to be sworne by his Majesties Subjects of all Rankes: and particular and plenary Information was given unto the Lieutenant, by Men of such Quality, as he ought to have beleaved, of the Loyalty of our Hearts to the King, of the Lawfulnessse of our Proceedings, and Innocency of our Covenant, and whole Course, that he could have no Excuse: yet his desperate Malice made him to bend his Craft and Cruelty, his Fraud and Forces against us. For first, he did craftily call up to *Dublin* some of our Countrymen, both of the *Nobility and Gentry*, living in *Ireland*, shewing them, that the King would conceive and account them as *Conspirers* with the *Scots*, in their rebellious Courses, except some Remedy were provided: and for Remedy, suggesting his own wicked Invention, to present unto him and his Councell a Petition, which he caused to be framed by the Bishop of *Raphoe*, and was seene and corrected by himselfe, wherein they petitioned to have an Oath given them, containing a formall Renuncia-

tion of the *Scottish* Covenant, and a deep Assurance never so much as to protest against any of his Majesties Commandements whatsoever.

No sooner was this Oath thus craftily contriv'd, but with all Hastie it is sent to such Places of the Kingdome where our Countrey-men had Residence: and Men, Women, and all other Persons, above the Yeares of sixteen, constrained either presently to take the Oath, and thereby renounce their Nationall Covenant as seditious and trayterous, or with Violence and Cruelty to be haled to the Jayle, fined above the Value of their Estates, and to be kept close Prisoners, and so far as we know, some are yet kept in Prison, both Men and Women of good Quality, for not renouncing that Oath, which they had taken forty Yeares since, in Obedience to the King who then lived. A Cruelty ensued, which may parallell the Persecutions of the most unchristian Times: For weake Women, dragged to the Bench to take the Oath, died in the Place, both Mother and Child: Hundreds driven to hide themselves, till in the Darknesse of the Night they might escape by Sea to *Scotland*, whither Thousands of them did flye, being forced to leave Corne, Cattel, Houses, and all they possessed, to bee a Prey to their persecuting Enemies, the *Lieutenants* Officers. And some indited and declared guilty of High Treason, for no other Guiltinesse but for subscribing our Nationall Oath, which was not onely Impiety and Injustice in it selfe, and an utter Undoing of his Majesties Subjects, but was a weakning of the *Scots* Plantation, to the Prejudice of that Kingdome, and his Majesties Service, and was a high Scandall against the Kings Honour, and intolerable Abuse of his Majesties Trust and Authority: His Majesties Commission, which was procured by the *Lieutenant*, bearing no other Penalty than a Certification of noting the Names of the Refusers of the Oath.

But this his restlesse Rage and insatiable Cruelty, against our Religion and Country, can not be kept within the Bounds of *Ireland*.

By his Meanes a Parliament is called, and although by the fixe Subsidies granted in Parliament not long before, and by the base Meanes which himsele and his Officers did use, as is contained in a late Remonstrance, that Land was extreemly impoverished, yet by his Speeches, full of Oaths and Asseverations, *that we were Traytors and Rebels, casting off all Monarchicall Government, &c.* he extorted from them foure new Subsidies, and *indicta causa*, before wee were heard, procured that a Warre was undertaken, and Forces should be leavied against us as a rebellious Nation, which was also intended to be an Example and Precedent to the Parliament of *England* for granting Subsidies, and sending a joynt Army for our utter Ruine.

According to his Appointment in *Parliament*, the Army was gathered, and brought downe to the Coast, threatning a daily Invasion of our Countrey, intending to make us a conquered Province, and to destroy our Religion, Liberties, and Lawes, and thereby laying upon us a Necessity of vast Charges, to keepe Forces on foot on the *West* Coast to waite upon his Comming.

And as the Warre was denounced, and Forces leavied before wee were heard; so before the denouncing of the Warre, our Ships, and Goods on the

Irish

Irish Coast were taken, and the Owners cast into Prison, and some of them in Irons. Frigats were sent forth to scoure our Coasts, which did take some, and burne others of our Barkes.

Having thus incited the Kingdome of *Ireland*, and put his Forces in Order there against us, with all Haste he commeth to *England*.

In his parting, at the giving up of the Sword, he openly avowed our utter Ruine and Desolation, in these or the like Words: *If I returne to that honourable Sword, I shall leave of the Scots neither Root nor Branch.*

How soone he commeth to Court, as before he had done very evill Offices against our Commissioners, clearing our Proceedings before the Point; so now he useth all Meanes to stirre up the King and Parliament against us, and to move them to a present Warre, according to the Precedent, and Example of his owne making in the Parliament of *Ireland*. And finding that his Hopes failed him, and his Designes succeeded not that Way, in his Nimbleness he taketh another Course, that the Parliament of *England* may be broken up, and despising their Wisdome and Authority, not onely with great Gladness accepteth, but useth all Means that the Conduct of the Army, in the Expedition against *Scotland*, may be put upon him; which accordingly he obtaineth as generall Captaine, with Power to invade, kill, slay, and save at his Discretion, and to make any one, or more Deputies in his stead, to doe and execute all the Power and Authorities committed to him.

According to the Largeness of his Commission, and Letters Patents of his devising, so were his Departments afterwards; for when the Scots, according to their Declarations sent before them, were Comming in a peaceable Way, farre from any Intention to invade any of his Majesties Subjects, and still to supplicate his Majesty for a settled Peace, he gave Order to his Officers to fight with them on the Way, that the two Nations once entred in Blood, whatsoever should be the Success, he might escape Tryall and Censure, and his bloody Designes might be put in Execution against his Majesties Subjects of both Kingdomes.

When the Kings Majesty was againe enclined to hearken to our Petitions, and to compose our Differences in a peaceable Way, and the Peeres of *England* convened at *Yorke*, had, as before in their great Wisdome and Faithfulness given unto his Majestie Counsels of Peace, yet this Fire-brand still smoaketh: and in that honourable Assembly, taketh upon him to breath out Threatnings against us as Traytors, and Enemies to monarchicall Government, that we be sent Home againe in our Blood, and he will whip us out of *England*.

And as these were his Speeches in the Time of the Treaty, appointed by his Majesty at *Rippon*, that if it had beene possible, it might have beene broken up. So when a Cessation of Armes, was happily agreed upon there, yet he ceaseth not, but still his Practises were for Warre, his under Officers can tell who it was that gave them Commission to drawe neere in Armes beyond the *Tees*, in the Time of the Treaty at *Rippon*.

The Governour of *Barwicke* and *Carlile* can shew, from whom they had their Warrants for their Acts of Hostility, after the Cessation was concluded. It may be tryed how it commeth to passe, that the *Ports* of *Ireland* are yet closed, our Countrey-men for the Oath still kept in Prison, Traffique interrupted, and no other Face of Affaires, than if no Cessation had been agreed upon.

We therefore desire that your Lordships will represent to the Parliament, that this great Incendiarie upon these, and the like Offences, not against particular Persons, but against Kingdomes, and Nations, may be put to a Tryall, and from their knowne, and renowned Justice, may have his deserved Punishment.

16 Decemb. 1640.

The SCOTTISH Commissioners Demand concerning their Sixt
ARTICLE.

Concerning our Sixt Demand, although it hath often come to passe, that these who have beene joyned by the Bonds of Religion, and Nature, have suffered themselves to be divided about the Things of this World: And although our Adversaries, who no lesse labor the Division of the two Kingdomes, than We doe all seeke Peace, and follow after it, as our common Happinesse, doe presume that this will be the Partition Wall, to divide us, and to make us lose all our Labours taken about the former Demand; wherein by the Helpe of God, by his Majesties Princely Goodnesse, and Justice, and your Lordships noble and equall Dealing, We have so fully accorded, and to keep us from providing for a firme and well grounded Peace, by the Wisdome and Justice of the Parliament of *England*, which is our greatest Desire expressed in our last Demand. We are still confident, that as we shall concerning this Article represent nothing but what is true, just, and honourable to both Kingdomes: So will your Lordships hearken to us, and will not suffer your selves, by any Slanders, or Suggestions, to be drawne out of that straight and safe Way wherein yee have walked since the Beginning.

It is now Wee suppose knowne to all *England*, especially to both the honourable Houses of Parliament, and by the Occasion of this Treatie, more particularly to your Lordships, That our Distresses in our Religion, and Liberties, were of late more pressing than We were able to beare, That our Complaints and Supplications for Redresse, were answered at last with the Terrours of an Army; That after a Pacification greater Preparations were made for Warre, whereby many Acts of Hostilitie were done against us, both by Sea and Land; The Kingdome wanted Administration of Justice, and Wee constrained to take Armes for our Defence; That we were brought to this extreame, and intollerable Necessity, either to maintaine divers Armies upon our Borders against Invasion from *England*, or *Ireland*, still to be deprived

prived of the Benefit of all the Courts of Justice, and not onely to maintaine so many thousands as were spoiled of their Ships, and Goods, but to want all Commerce by Sea, to the Undoing of Merchants, of Saylor, and many others who lived by Fishing, and whose Callings are upholden from Hand to Mouth by Sea Trade: Any one of which Evils is able in a short Time to bring the most potent Kingdome to Confusion, Ruine and Desolation; how much more all the three at one Time combined to bring the Kingdome of *Scotland* to be no more a Kingdome: Yet all these behoved Wee either to endure, and under no other Hope, than of the perfect Slavery of our selves, and our Posterity in our Soules, Lives, and Meanes; Or to resolve to come into *England*, not to make Invasion, nor with any Purpose to fight, except we were forced, God is our Judge, our Actions are our Witneses, and *England* doth now acknowledge the Truth, against all Suspitions to the contrary, and against the impudent Lyes of our Enemies, but for our Reliefe, Defence, and Preservation which we could find by no other Meanes, when we had essayed all Meanes, and had at large expressed our pungent, and pressing Necessities, to the Kingdome, and Parliament of *England*. Since therefore the War on our Part (which is no other but our Comming into *England* with a Guard) is defensive, and all Men doe acknowledge, that in common Equity, the Defendant should not be suffered to perish in his just and necessary Defence, but that the Pursuer, whether by way of legall Proceffe in the Time of Peace, or by way of Violence, and unjust Invasion in the Time of Warre, ought to beare the Charges of the Defendant. We trust that your Lordships will thinke that it is not against Reason for us to demand some Reparation of this Kind, and that the Parliament of *England*, by whose Wisdome and Justice wee have expected the Redresse of our Wrongs, will take such Course, as both may in Reason give us Satisfaction, and may in the notable Demonstration of their Justice serve most for their owne Honour.

Our Earnestnesse in following this our Demand, doth not so farre wrong our Sight, and make us so undiscerning, as not to make a Difference betweene the Kingdome, and Parliament of *England*, which did neither decerne nor set forward a Warre against us, and that prevalent Faction of Prelats and Papists who have moved every Stone against us, and used all Sorts of Meanes not onely their Counsells, Subsidies and Forces, but their Kirk Canons, and Prayers for our utter Ruine, which maketh them obnoxious to our just Accusations, and guilty of all the Losses, and Wrongs, which this Time past wee have sustained: Yet this wee desire your Lordships to consider, That the Estates of the Kingdome of *Scotland* being assembled, did endeavour by their Declarations, Informations, and Remonstrances, and by the Proceedings of their Commissioners, to make knowne unto the Counsell, Kingdome, and Parliament of *England*, and to forewarne them of the Mischiefe intended against both Kingdomes, in their Religion, and Liberties, by the Prelates, and Papists, to the End, that our Invasion from *England* might have beene prevented, if by the Prevalencie of the Faction it had beene possible. And therefore wee may now with the greater Reason, and Confidence presse our Demand, That your Lordships, the Parliament, the Kingdome, and the
King

King himselfe may see us repared in our Losses at the Cost of that Faction by whose Meanes we have sustained so much Dammage, and which, except they repent, will find Sorrow recompenced for our Griefe, Torments for our Toyle, and an infinite greater Losse for the temporall Losses, they have brought upon a whole Kingdom, which was dwelling by them in Peace.

All the Devices and Doings of our common Enemies were to beare downe the Truth of Religion, and the just Liberties of the Subjects in both Kingdomes. They were confident to bring this about one of two Wayes: Either by blocking us up by Sea and Land to constraine us to admit their Will for a Law both in Kirk, and Policy, and thus to make us a Precedent for the like Miserie in *England*, or by their Invasiō of our Kingdome to compell us furiously, and without Order, to break into *England*, that the two Nations once entred into a bloody Warre, they might fish in our troubled Waters, and catch their desired Prey. But as wee declared before our Comming: Wee trusted that God would turne their Wisedome into Foolishnesse, and bring their Devices upon their owne Pates, by our Intentions, and Resolutions to come into *England* as among our Brethren, in the most peaceable Way that could stand with our Safety, in Respect of our common Enemies, to present our Petitions for settling our Peace, by a Parliament in *England*, wherein the Intentions and Actions, both of our Adversaries, and ours might be brought to Light, the Kings Majesty, and the Kingdome rightly informed, the Authors, and Instruments of our Divisions, and Troubles punished, all the Mischiefes of a nationall, and doubtfull Warre prevented, and Religion, and Liberty with greater Peace, and Amity than ever before established, against all the Craft and Violence of our Enemies. This was our Declaration before wee set our Foot into *England*, from which our Departments we since have not varied. And it hath bin the Lords wonderfull Doing, by the wise Counsels, and just Proceedings of the Parliament, to bring it in a great Part to passe, and to give us lively Hopes of a happy Conclusion: And therefore wee will never doubt, but that the Parliament in their Wisedome and Justice, will provide that a proportionable Part of the Cost, and Charges of a Worke so great and so comfortable to both Nations bee borne by the Delinquents there, that with the better Conscience the good People of *England* may sit under their owne Vines, and Figtrees, refreshing themselves, although upon our greater Paines and Hazard, yet not altogether upon our Cost and Charges, which we are not able to beare.

The Kingdome of *England* doth know and confesse, that the Innovation of Religion and Liberties in *Scotland*, were not the principall Designe of our common Enemies, but that both in the Intention of the Workers, whose Zeale was hottest for settling their Devices at home: And in the Condition of the Worke, making us whom they conceived to be the weaker for Opposition, to bee nothing else but a leading Case for *England*. And that although by the Power of God, which is made perfect in Weaknesse, they have found amongst us greater Resistance, then they did feare, or either they or our selves could have apprehended: Yet, as it hath beene the Will of God that wee should endure the Heate of the Day; so in the Evening the pretious

pretious Wages of the Vindication of Religion, Liberties, and Lawes are to be received by both Kingdoms, and will enrich wee hope to our unspeakable Joy, the present Age, and the Posteritie with Blessings that cannot bee valued, and which the good People of *England* esteeme more than Treasures of Gold, and willingly would have purchased with many Thousands. Wee doe not plead that Conscience and Piety have moved some Men to serve God upon their owne Cost, and that Justice and Equity have directed others, where the Harvest hath been common, to consider the Paines of Labouring, and the Charges of the Sowing, yet this much may we say, that had a forraine Enemy, intending to reduce the whole Island into Popery, made the first Assault upon our Weaknesse, Wee nothing doubt, but the Kingdome of *England*, from their Desire to preserve their Religion, and Liberties, would have found the Way to beare with us the Expense of our Resistance, and lawfull Defence, how much more being invaded, although not by *England*, yet from *England*, by common Enemies, seeking the same Ends, wee expect to be helped and relieved.

Wee will never conceive that it is either the Will, or the Well and Honour of *England*, that wee should goe from so blessed a Worke after so many grievous Sufferings, bearing on our Backs the insupportable Burdens of worldly Necessities, and Distresses, return to our Countrey empty, and exhausted, in which the People of all Rankes, Sexes, and Conditions, have spent themselves. The Possessions of every Man, who devoted himselfe heartily to this Cause, are burdened, not onely with his own personall, and particular Expense, but with the publike and common Charges; of which, if there bee no Reliefe, neither can our Kingdome have Peace at Home, nor any more Credit for Commerce Abroad: Nor will it bee possible for us, either to aide, and assist our Friends, or to resist and oppose the restlesse, and working Wickednesse of our Enemies: The best Sort will lose much of the Sweetnesse of the enjoying of their Religion, and Liberties; and others will run such Wayes, and undirect Courtes, as their desperate Necessities will drive them into. Wee shall be but a Burthen to our selves, a Vexation unto others, of whose Strength we desire to be a considerable Part, and a fit Subject for our Enemies to worke upon, for obtaining their now disappointed, but never dying Desires.

Wee will not alledge the Example of other Kingdomes, where the Losses of necessarie and just Defence had been repaired by the other Party; nor will wee remember what Helpe wee have made according to our Abilities to other Reformed Kirks; and what the Kingdome of *England* of old, and of late hath done to *Germany*, *France*, and *Holland*; nor doe we use so many Words, that *England* may be burthened, and we eased, or that this should be a Matter of our Covetousnesse, and not of their Justice and Kindnesse; Justice, in respect of our Adversaries, who are the Causes of the great Misery and Necessity, to which wee have been brought: Kindnesse, in the Supply of our Wants, who have beene tender of the Welfare of *England* as of our own, that, by this Equality and mutuall Respect, both Nations may be supported in such Strength, and Sufficiencie, that wee may bee the more serviceable

viceable to his Majesty, and abound in every good Work, both towards one another, and for the Comfort and Reliefe of the Reformed Kirks beyond the Seas, that we may all blesse God, and that the Blessing of God may be upon us all.

The ENGLISH Peeres Demand concerning the Preceeding Articles.

Whether this be a positive Demand, or onely an Intimation of the Charge, thereby to induce the Kingdome of *England*, to take your distressed Estate into Consideration, and to afford you some friendly Assistance.

The SCOTTISH Commissioners Answer to this Demand.

Wee would be no lesse willing to bear our Losses if wee had Abilitie, than wee have beene ready to undergoe the Hazard; but because the Burthen of the whole doth farre exceed our Strength, Wee have (as is more fully conceived in our Papers) represented to your Lordships, our Charges, and Losses, not intending to demand a totall Reparation, but of such a proportionable Part, as that wee may in some Measure beare the Remanent, which wee conceive your Lordships (having considered our Reasons) will judge to bee a Matter, not of our Covetousnesse, but of the said Justice, and Kindnesse of the Kingdome of *England*.

Proposition of the PEERES to proceed to the other Demands during the Debate of the SCOTTISH Losses.

That in the Interim whilst the Houses of Parliament take into Consideration, your Demand of Losses, and Dammages, you proceed to settle the other Articles of the Peace, and Incurse betwixt the two Kingdomes.

Answer to the PEERES Demand.

Wee have represented our Losses, and thereby our distressed Condition ingenuously, and in the Singlenesse of our Hearts, with very great Moderation, passing over many Things which to us are great Burthens, that there might be no Difficulty, nor Cause of Delay on our Part, hoping that the honourable Houses of Parliament, would thereby be moved at their first Conveniencie to take the Matter to their Consideration.

We doe not demand a totall Reparation, nor doe we speake of the Payment, till wee consult about the settling of a solid Peace, at which Time the Wayes of lifting and paying the Money, may be considered; Wee doe onely desire to know what Proportion may be expected. That this being once determined, and all Impediments, arising from our by-past Troubles, removed, Wee may with the greater Confidence, and more hearty Consent on both Sides proceed to the establishing of a firme and durable Peace for Time to come.

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It is not unknowne to your Lordships, what desperate Desires, and miserable Hopes our Adversaries have conceived of a Breach upon this Article; and we doe foresee what Snares to us, and Difficulties to your Lordships may arise upon the postponing and laying aside of this Article to the last Place.

And therefore that our Adversaries may be out of Hope, and we out of Feare, and that the settling of Peace may be the more easie: We are the more earnest, that as the former Articles have bin, so this may be upon greater Reasons considered in its owne Place, and Order.

Your Lordships upon the Occasion of some Motions made heretofore of the transposing of our Demands, doe know, that not onely the Substance, but the Order of the propounding of them, is contained in our Instructions. And as we can alter nothing without Warrant, the craving whereof will take more Time than the Houses of Parliament will bestow upon the Consideration of this Article, so are wee acquainted with the Reasons yet standing in Force, which moved the ordering of this Demand. And therefore let us still be earnest with your Lordships, that there be no halting here, where the Adversaries did most, and we did least of all, by reason the Justice, and Kindnesse of the Houses of Parliament expect it.

Answer of the PARLIAMENT to the preceding Demand.

Resolved upon the Question,

That this House thinke fit, that a friendly Assistance and Reliefe shall be given towards Supply of the Losses, and Necessities of the *Scots*, and that in due Time this House will take into Consideration the Measure and Manner of it.

The SCOTTISH Commissioners Answer.

As wee do with all Thankfulnesse receive the friendly, and kind Resolution of the Parliament, concerning our Sixt Demand; and doe therein acknowledge your Lordships noble Dealing, for which wee may assure that the whole Kingdome of *Scotland* will at all Occasions expresse themselves in all Respect and Kindnesse; so doe we entreat your Lordships to represent to the Parliament our earnest Desire, that they may bee pleased, how soone their Conveniencie may serve, to consider of the Proportion, wishing still, that as wee expect from our Friends the Testimonies of their Kindnesse and friendly Assistance, so the Justice of the Parliament may be declared, in making the Burden more sensible to the Prelats, and Papists (our Enemies, and Authors of all our Evills) than to others, who never have wronged us; which will not only give unto us, and the whole Kingdome of *Scotland*, the greater Satisfaction, but will also (as wee doe conceive) conduce much to the Honour of the Kings Majesty and Parliament. Wee doe also expect that your Lordships will bee pleased to report unto us the Answer of the Parlia-

ment, that wee may in this, as in our former Articles, give Accompt to those who sent us.

The PEERES Demand upon the above written Answer.

Wee desire to understand, since (as wee conceive) the Particulars are like to require much Time, whether wee may not from you let the Parliament know, that (whilest they are debating of the Proportion, and the Wayes how their kinde Assistance may bee raised) you will proceed to the agreeing of the Articles of a firme and durable Peace, that thereby both Time may bee saved, and both Sides proceed mutually with the greater Cheerfulnesse and Alacrity.

The SCOTTISH Commissioners Answer to the preceding Demand.

As we desire a firme Peace, so it is our Desire that this Peace may bee with all mutuall Alacrity speedily concluded. Therefore let us entreat your Lordships to shew the Parliament from us, that how soone they shall be pleased to make the Proportion knowne to us, that wee may satisfie the Expectation of those who have entrusted us, (which we conceive may be done in a short Time, since they are already acquainted with all the Particulars of our Demand) wee shall stay no longer upon the Manner and Wayes of raising the Assistance, which may require a longer Time: And yet wee trust will be with such Conveniencie determined, as may serve for our timous Reliefe: But remitting the Manner and Wayes to the Opportunities of the Parliament, shall most willingly proceed to the Consideration of the following Articles; especially to that which wee most of all desire, a firme and blessed Peace.

Januar. 16.

Resolved on the Question,

That this House doth conceive, that the Summe of three hundred Thousand Pounds is a fit Proportion for that friendly Assistance and Reliefe, formerly thought fit to bee given, towards the Supply of the Losses and Necessities of our Brethren of *Scotland*. And that this House will, in due Time, take into Consideration the Manner how, and the Time when, the same shall be raised.

Answer of the SCOTS Commissioners.

We intreat your Lordships, whose Endeavours GOD hath blessed in this great Work, to make knowne to the Parliament, that We doe no lesse desire to shew our Thankfulnesse for their friendly Assistance and Reliefe, than We have been earnest in demanding the same. But the Thankfulnesse which
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We conceive to be due, doth not consist in our Affections or Words at this Time*; but in the mutuall Kindnesse, and reall Demonstrations to bee expected from the whole Kingdome of *Scotland* in all Time comming: and that not onely for the Measure and Proportion, which the Parliament hath conceived to bee fit; and which (to begin our Thankfulnesse now) We doe in Name of the whole Kingdome cheerfully accept of, but also for the Kinde and Christian Manner of granting it unto us, as to their *Brethren*, which addeth a Weight above many thousands, and cannot bee compensated but by paying their reciprocall Love and Duty of *Brethren*; and for the Resolution to consider in due Time of the raising of the same for our Reliefe, which also maketh the Benefit to be double. This maketh us confident that God (whose working at this Time hath been wonderfull) hath decreed the Peace and Amity of the two Kingdomes, and will remove all Rubbes out of the Way, that our Enemies will at last despaire to divide us, when they see that God hath joyned us in such a Fraternity; and that divine Providence will plentifully recompence unto the Kingdome of *England*, this their Justice and Kindnesse, and unto *Scotland* all their Losses, which shall not by these and other Means amongst our selves be repaired, but by the rich and sweet Blessings of the Purity and Power of the Gospell, attended with the Benefites of an happy and durable Peace under his Majesties long and prosperous Reigne, and of his royall Posterity to all Generations.

The Passionate Remonstrance of the P O P E in his Conclave at *ROME*, upon the disastorous Disappointments given to the *Roman* Cause, by the late Proceedings and great Covenant of *SCOTLAND*. With a Reply of Cardinall DE BARBARISME, in the Name of the *Roman* Clergy. 1641.

Together with a Letter of Intelligence from the Apostolicke Nuntio (now residing in L O N D O N) to Pope *URBAN* the Eighth.

Ridentem dicere verum nil vetat.

YOU that are the Light of the World, the Beauty of Truth and Zeal (Most holy Assembly, to which the Title of Candor doth properly belong) You Fathers of Integrity, Sons and Heirs, as well of my Institutions, as Designes, whom my holy Benediction hath erected to be the Ornament of the Church, throned in all Catholick Graces; If naturall Compunction touch you truly, you have found how your most deare Primitive Mother's Heart hath received a late Wound from the Adversaries, and how a Number of Impostors are risen up, preaching a new Sedition, and drawing

her very Life-blood, her Blood of Honour from her sweet tender Sides : The fearfullest Blow our Cause ever felt, the lowdest Tempest that ever Hereticall Schisme could rouse, doth now rage most furiously, and threatens to pull up our Sacred Throne by the very Roots ; it hath made *S. Peter's* tremble, shook the very Altars and Statues, and affrighted the Ashes of sleeping Popes : We have certainly gotten a Master check, never felt Extremity like this ; Amazement covers us, our infallible Staffe doth faile us, and for very Feare our mysterious Miter is turned Paralytick ; thick Darknesse dwells upon this Houre : Integrity, like one of Heaven's bright Luminaries, by Error's dull Element interposing, suffers a black Eclipse ; the Locusts of Hell are let loose, and if they be not swept away, we may resolve to make Bonfires of all the Books of the Vaticane, and let all the Religious turne Knights errant : It is to be feared (my Disciples) lest this new-fangled Heresie pervert Nations, and Realmes, to an open Revolt from our spirituall Scepter, and these Innovators spread over the World, cover the Earth's Face, and make dark the Land like *Egyptian* Grasshoppers.

The Affront which our Holinesse receives, doth the more afflict us, because it comes from that Kingdome of *Scotland*, the most infortunate and inconsiderable Angle in the World, a People not worthy to be beloved nor sought after : Yet our Conscience beares Us Witnesse, how affectionatly we have offered unto them our apostolicall Embracements, but they hated to be reformed. And to the End that rebellious Nation, might be brought under, You know, how I have most laboriously bestirred the Strength of *Machiavell*, and diligently solicited *Ignatius* Subtilties, who, like a glittering Serpent with his resplendent Poysons, can most divinely creep into the very Souls of the most impregnable Common-wealths and teach them how to deprive Life and Motion from Us ; what great Proofes we have had of their Dexterities in such Convoys, the whole Christian World can this Day bear Record ; how nimbly likewise those Emisseries, (fraughted with the same Excellencies) went about the great Work called *The Possession of the World*, to make it Ours, you have learned by the Informations of our Secretaries, and Addresses of our Nuncio's, and may likewise judge by the Records of the Articles and Assurances which they duly dispatch from these Parts. The continuall Current of that Primate's Intelligence, who for his active Zeale deserveth well to be called, The *Genius* of the distressed Church in *England*, did sweetly refresh our longing Soules with glad Tydings, and conceived faire Hopes in our Hearts. We have justly ripened him with the Beames of our Favour, and we must all confesse, that howsoever We laid our Commands both thick and fast upon him, his Allegiance notwithstanding was ever devoted to Us in a boundlesse Obedience, the humblest, yet mightiest of all filiall Duties ; full well he knew the Language of my Intent, and moved by my sanctimonious Breath, He hath propined most abundantly to that Nation (and I hope effectually too ; for the Businesse of the Universall Monarchy went well on, I saw it in an *Egyptian* Glasse) the most pure Waters which run from the Threshold of *S. Peter's* Sanctuary : Which makes this good ghostly Father, amongst those yet unhallowed Heretiques, to be branded as great and prime
Incen.

Incendiary of all Christendome, who with the *French* Cardinall tosseth Kingdomes like Tennisbals: We heard he can negotiat most handsomely, and factiously, with pleasant Subtilty, and bewitching Courtship, abuse the infatuate State with Delight; he muzzles the barking Tongue-men of the Time; and as cunningly as ever the *Florentine* Monster could poyson the fairest Common-wealth of *Europe* with his Politicks, so hath he most Episcopally exalted our Church Hierarchy, and established a spirituall Government there, and now happily, advanced the Opinion of our Glory, to that Eminency, that the two tutelar Angels of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, stick not almost to maintaine the Myter, of equall Dignity with the Scepter; nay, so good Proficients were they in his apostolicall Canons, that as boldly durst they kick against the one, as spurn at the other: Thus were we hopefull to see the old Quarrell of the *Gwelfes*, and *Gibellines*, * enflame the Swords of Potentates, and die the Copes of *English* Cardinals, with the Blood of Hereticks; for the Course which he ran, seemed to be infallible, as the Prophecies of the Old Testament, immoveable as Fate, and tollerat by Heavens Conivance: And thus like a cunning Catholick, burning with Zeal of the great Cause, and desirous to bring that fatall, and neighbouring Nation under our Banner, and within the Bosome of the Church Catholick, he fastned upon the most promising and apparant Meanes, which our Conclave could teach him, and put the same to as assured Execution, as if *Ignatius* Spirit, had made Pythagoricall Transmigration to his venerable Brains. For the truly Æquivocall Father of that Church, with his Fellow-labourers, the *Scottish* Prelates, caused compyle a Service Book, (to the great Service of our Church) wherein were most divinely couched, the true Orthodox Tenets, of the Ancient, Apostolick, and Catholick Faith; but ever opposed by the Enemies of the Truth in that Land; and in this Web of their Composure, they had so ingeniously interlaced, (for though the Generals were given out from Us, yet we committed the Particulars to their owne Discretion, *respectivè* in Times and States,) the sweet Embellishments of our Art, and the Majestie and Decency of our Missall, that none could well discover at the first Glance, the Girnes of our Holy Treason, by which we would have surprised the Heretick Soules, nor the Mysterie of the Work, unlesse they had the Benefit of *Gregory* the Great, and *Bedae's* Spectacles, or *Calvine's* Perspective, by which he saw the Antichrist say Masse within the Walls of *Rome*. And those Reverend Presbyters of these Northerne Churches, who sought not themselves, nor the Glory of this present World, that they might elude the People alwayes jealous of Novations, and dally with Princes, they advocate Authority, and caused animat the Book with the strong Influence of a secular Power.

*S'il est vray
peut bien est
re.*

* Two Germain Brethren; the one whereupon they fought, and the one killing the other, their Quarrell was spread throughout all *Italie*.
the Emperours Dignitie above the Popes:

This

This Drift walkt apace uncensured, never questioned but in Thought, with a Whistle or Whisper, and what ever Disappointment it hath met with since, what ever Misfortune hath stopped the Current, and very Spring of these Advancements, and Over-flowings, it ought not to be imputed to that never-enough deserving Prelate, who is of the true Champ, and perfectly sincere: But these other of *Scotland*, who were but his *κατεχόμενοι*, and Neophytes, have given a little weake Evidence of their good Breeding in their Profession. For the politick Institutor had shown them the true and Catholick Paths, and mounted them on the Chariots of Dignity and Power. But once elevate to a Sphere too high, and not able to sustaine such Happinesse, Powder was not more ambitious when the Match met it, than their Mindes to mount; which emboldened them to presse our holy Will a little immaturely: Their preposterous Zeal, blown up with Supererogation of Obedience, did anticipate the Maturity of our Designes, with an unluckie Discovery, to the eternall Disaster of those Politicians, and back sliding of the great Cause; had they gone more softly, they had come more swiftly to *Rome*; but (good Soules) presuming on the faire Path of their Meaning, went a little rashly on, and brought within the Wildernes of an Heretical, though National Law, by some Lines or Words dropt unadvisedly out, did innocently hurt the good Cause, and gave the Adversary Advantage by it; had they with an insinuating Distance, played a while with the Eare, and grop't the Peoples Mindes, and found to what Point their Blood most inclined, and by strong Episcopall Reasons violented their Soules; had they prepared them with Purgatives, before they adhibited the Book of Misall, too strong for the Puritanicall Complexion of the *Scots*, this Day we might have gone in Procession, and sung *Te Deum*, whereas we now shrink under an abortive Wound, and are met to celebrate the Funerals of the most important Members of our Church, and most considerable Souldiours of that Northern Conquest. The sooner they dispersed their Novations, and the more imperiously they urged Obedience, the sooner they hastened to the displaying of all, and loosed the fair Advantages of Times and Plots. If they had not tempted the Eye of Jealousie too much, they should quickly have gained, no Question, the Laicks, Sons and Daughters, of their meritorious Seducements.

But when, before the Fulnesse of Time, the Book pointed out his unknowne Head, O how it was most profanely persecute; and how the sharpe Invectives, like Points of Spears, have rent and discovered his Bowels! It was abhorred as a leprous Brood, and every Parrot in the Land was taught to raile Reproaches, the very Children to preach against it, and every Mouth could most profusely vomit forth his Blasphemies. The uncatholical Multitude, like the spectacled Inquisitors of *Venice*, durst pick out Syllables of Heresie, against the Canonickall Liberties of our Church Discipline: The Laicall Judgements durst canvase the Mysteries of our Conclave, and question our Infallibility: But if our Holinesse had doubted their Skill in Cheating of Soules; If we had not thought they had been more spaniolized Gamesters, We should have taught them the Times and Secrets of State, and wrought
out

out our holy Purposes more softly, and at length found Means to make them swallow it over as greedily, and with as implicate Obedience, as ever the *Turks* did their Alcoran: but we thought, it was no Matter of Difficulty to reconcile that silly Lunatick Church with ours, especially since they began to have a Communion of Words with Us, and used familiarly that Idiom, which once heard of before amongst them, would have made a whole Church fall into a Swound, so much did we confide the continuall Assurances of our Attourneyes amongst them as the Cabinet of my Intelligences can well instruct: And therefore our diseased Prelates would have done well, sometimes to have throwne into the Peoples Eares, out of Pulpits, the Authority of Councils, and guilded over the Rudenesse of their Pillules with the Homilies of Fathers; yet faithfull Soules, we know their Intentions were meerly and purely Catholick; but the affectionat Passion to approve themselves obsequious to our holy Desires, made them prove too Herculean, that offered to strangle Serpents in their Craddles; for sooner could the Segniory of *Geneva*, embrace the Misfall, and the abject *Valdenses* assent to our Supremacy, than that cursed Crew, could be moved to welcome that Book of Reformation, which we out of our holy and fatherly Care, as supream Head of the Church on Earth, conceived to be the Sovereigne Way to convey the Beames of our Purity, through the Darknes of those Islands: but they had all drunk in such a mortall Dislike against it, as no Authority was able to restrain the strong inward Thoughts of the disloyall Subjects, and the hot Murmurings, from coming to outward Resistances, which all the Ecclesiasticall Canons could not beat down, nor secular Power overcome; Thus being a People without Wisdome, given over to the Spirit of Delusion, and Heresie, which wrought most powerfully in them, and laying aside all Subjection of their execrable Wills and Judgements, infected with that Leprosie which they sucked from the Arch-Enemies of the Truth with an immovable Resolution, they combine against their own Anointed, and those likewises whom by the Oyl of Purity we have consecrate to be the Bishops of their Soules; and not knowing the Principles of implicate Obedience, they begin to sift those undoubted Verities, which are as old as the Sunne and Starres, and doe arraigne our Catholick Apostolicke Truths before their Tribunall; where our venerable Clergy (being the Character of our own Image) in whose Hands we have absolutely put the Raignes of Ecclesiasticall and Secular Government, must stand to their Determination, and wait upon the Discretion of an usurped and hereticall Censure. O high Impiety! The last of all Nations, (whose Revenues could hardly afford Us Oyle to our Salads) Is it to them we owe Account of our Infallible Wayes? Shall not they take of our Hands, which Multitudes, Nations, Peoples and Tongues, more regarded by Heavens than they, have kindly accepted? Shall they refuse to drink of that Cup wherewith we have inebriate the Powers of the World?

No, Counsellors and Rulers of the Earth, though hitherto we have sailed with a very prosperous Wind, and were hopefull to arrive at the Port of our Desires,

*Hinc dolor,
hinc lachry-
mæ.*

Desires, yet now certainly our Designs seeme to be scattered by a Thing which they call a *COVENANT*, even as the fired Ship put in, severed the Fleet in 88. For when this black Heresie had displayed the Ensignes of that Covenant, then whole Squadrons, Legions, and Numbers of Hereticks, like Frogs, were so espoused in their Soules to the Devotion thereof, that sooner might you blow away the Light from the Sunne, than pull them from their Covenant, or work up their festered Judgements to right Reason. This accursed Covenant, the King of all Monsters in Religion (which is able to make all other Monsters to be unadmired, and draw all Number to this only) out of whose Wombe, like the *Trojane* Horse, are like to come a furious Crew of undaunted Hereticks to brash the Walls of *Rome*) gives Name to a Sect, which no Nation ever heard of, and if we were to translate, we could not finde a Word to expresse the same in any Language. The Strength of our Confidence, and Life of our Hopes, all those rank Insinuations and alluring Snares wherewith we had enlived, and informed that Book of Service, like a Serpent hath got his Head bruised with a Bolt shot from that Covenant; Nature seemes to debarr us of all Meanes of Helpe; and if the sublimated Inventions of our Policies could serve to restore, yet Fortune likewayes seemes to thunder all, and threatens to shiver our Machinations; for out of the Gates of Hell doe all the Infernall Powers rush like a River, whose Current cannot be stopt; and who can stay their Course? Indeed as the God of Truth, in all the Exigencies of the Church, doth stir up the Spirit of Truth, to vindicate his Purity from the Aspersions of the wicked, who love Darkness better than Truth, so have we found a most gracious and true Witnesse amongst themselves; for

*Un brave
homme tout a
faict, & mi-
roir qui ne
flatte point.*

their owne Countreyman (in whom all courtly and catholick Graces doe reign and throng most eminently) hath with a very good Successe drawne his victorious and triumphing Pen against them and their Covenant; We had sufficient Hopes that his magnifick *MANIFESTO* should have curbed the Insolencies of these phanatick Covenanters, laid open their Shame to the

World, or restored their diseased Judgements; but he hath fallen so many Bowes short of his reforming Intentions, that like Oyl throwne into the Flame it hath begotten whole Generations of Covenanters, who will impeach the Advancement of our Kingdome, more than ever *Mahomet*, and his Fellow *Sergius*, did obscure *Boniface*; yet the Man hath put forth great Strength

*Honor. est
præmium
virtutis.*

of Wit, his Reward doth most duely attend him, he must have some round Preferment and corpulent Dignity, that he may leade a Lordly Life, and raile at Ease: We must let a Beame fall upon him, by which our Highnesse useth to keep Desert warm, and entertain the Life of a Holy Zeale to the great Cause. Certainly he must be *Exalted*, a Master-piece of Man, composed by

*This may
turn Pro-
pheticall.*

Heavens for a great Prince's Favour, and Kingdome's Love: Exact Envie cannot finde a Place, to stick a Blot on his Person or Fame; We do ordaine that never-enough admired Book, The Whip and Shame

Shame of Covenanters, for the Glory of his most doctorall Indowments, and Reverence of his loyall Pains in our Service, be translated in all Tongues and Languages, that his Renowne may passe from one End of Heaven to the other; for truly he hath most valiantly stood in the Gap to hold out this Schisme and Heresie from encroaching and prevailing: But the Practises of these Demoniacques are without Exemple, and all Language is too narrow to expresse their virulent and aculeat Humour; for they have torn these reverend Names of Arch-bishops, Prelates, and Presbyters, which ought to be used with holy Ceremony. They have lybelled, arraigned, sentenced, banished, and O! I'm drunk with Rage, that their Impiety might appeare in its perfect Dye to all After-ages, they have *excommunicat* the Right Reverend Fathers in God. Now my Episcopall Dignity lyes panting at this Wound; here Modesty suffers, and all that's Virtuous blushes, and Truth's self, like the Sunne vext with Mist, looks red with Anger: Mine Honour is cast off, as the Olive shakes off her Flower; it is all swept away at one Cast: My refined Nostrils doe smell a distracted Hurry, great Things are a-working either in Heaven or Hell: Here is a State puzzell, this execrable Impudency hath given a damnable Check to our Apostolicke Designes; it hath damped up the Way of our Catholick Stratagems; And if our undaunted Power, with the Helpe of our Sonnes, and Executioners, the Princes of the Earth, doe not obviate the Thunder-cracks of this glorious Ostentation, and ushering Storme of Truth's Triumph, it will certainly advance with a shrewd Insolency to our own Throne, and confound the Glory of our great Name: Nay, we may make our selves ready for Perdition, lay by our Purple Robes, let Kings and Emperours returne to their own sacrilegious Possessions, and drink in the Honour of Martyrdome with open Throat.

*Sic erat in
fatis.*

They have placed also Prophetical Confidence in that their Covenant, as *David* did in his little Stone which he sunk in *Goliaths* Braines, and do certainly beleieve (such is the Strength of the Spirit of Delusion) that it shall prove like *Daniels* Stone, hewen out of the Mountaine without Hands, which filled the Earth with the Greatnesse thereof: We doe not dissemble, but the Fame of it hath made the whole Members of our Hierarchie tremble and shiver. And if the adjacent Parts to the affected Places be not timely anointed with the Baulme of *Gilead*, which flowes most luxuriously (both for our Service and Pleasure) from all the Common-wealths of *Europe*, to our Cabinet, as the Center of their Tribute; it may fortune to endanger, the whole Body of the Church; For it is a most usurping Poyson, mortally searching into all the Veines; We doe not esteeme that desperate Church of *Scotland*, We abhorre to waste a Thought upon that Losse, which we value no more, than the Carbuncle which *Clement* the Fifth, transferring the Seat from *Avignon*, did lose by a Fall from his Horse. But these our holy Children, Paterns of Piety and Sanctitie, the Hope of our Consolations in these Northerne Ilands, the great Officers of our Church, ordained before Time to propagate the saving Light to a Land that dwelt in Darknesse, these loyall and faithfull Ministers of the Truth, who have devoted their Lives, and neglected the

World for our Service; these We do justly bewaile with our Apostolick Teares: It cuts our Hearts, that those Holy Patriarches should have received the Crowne of Martyrdome in so dangerous a Way; for now We do, as it were, stand over a Vault of Powder, where the Match lyes a-kindling below. And which is the Bane of our Grudgings, we begin almost to apprehend, that the Businesse of the Covenant shall prove a Leviathan Scandall, to lye rolling and troubling the Chrystall Waters of other Nations Devotions, and to the *English* especially (which was wont to be our *Puteus inexhaustus*) prove as great a Stumbling-block as the Altars and Idols of *Rome* are to the *Jewes* Conversion. Here is the true Matter of Grief, and here lies equally ingaged the Life and State of our Church. These Tragedies will fill the Adversaries

*Perniciosa
consilia ple-
rumque in:
Authores re-
dundant.*

Mouths, and blow the *Lutherans* Cheeks till they crack againe:

Now the whole Liberty of our Church doth suffer; the Hope of absolute Monarchy begins to be Eclipsed; all Things move portentuously a strange Way: For what ever gracious Services, and worthy the fair Reverences of their Places these venerable Soules

*Magni viri,
& bene me-
riti de Re-
publ. tandem
obruuntur
magnis pro-
cellis.*

have done, yet have they nothing effectuat, but wrought out their own Death, even as the blind Moall in casting his ambitious Hills up, is often taken and destroyed in the Midst of his advanced Work. Thus while they were raising the Glory of the House of Candor, they are suddenly throwne downe, and their Building levelled to the Dust: And that Iniquity might ruine them with a more plentiful Confusion, and waste the Treasure of Revenge upon their harmlesse Soules, they have excommunicat them, and delivered them up to be buried under the Heap of Shame, never to appear again.

Yet all Peace be multiplied upon their most Episcopall Soules, We heartily accept their unfeigned Zeal, and pronounce them the well beloved Children of the Roman Church, though they did not well know how to personate the Businesse intrusted to them, and worke out the Salvation of the Cause with Subtiltie and Patience. * And here by the Power given to Us from above, as the Universall Bishop of the Catholicke Church, Wee doe absolve them from all Dangers of such impious Sentences gone forth against them, wherwith they would labor to staine the Face of Truth, which they call Excommunication; and upon the contrary, as really and truly, as ever *Constantine* the Great gave to *Sylvester* the Citie of *Rome*, with the Territories thereof; so in all sincere Profession, fatherly and effectual Love, doe we most heartily bestow a free and plenarie Indulgence, for all their veniall and mortall Sinnes, to their departed Soules, and ordaine them by the Authoritie of the Keyes of the Kingdome of Heaven, to be related amongst the Number of canonized, who have lost their Life, for the Libertie of our Kingdome; and wee doe solemnly appoint Dayes of Commemoration to be set apart, wherein a *Requiem* to be chaunted in all the Cathedralls of

* They ought not to lose their Soules in his Holinesse Service, though they have spoiled their Fortunes.

our See to their blessed Soules, though the whole Artizans of *Italy* should starve: Never had the Calendar of Saints a more noble Accession; never had the Adversaries more just Reason to erect Trophies upon our Disasters: Let the Spirit of Division, of Shame, and Confusion, rage amongst them unmercifully. Wee doe absolve that indocile People from all Oath of Allegiance, and proclaime a free Libertie to any Catholike King or Republick whatsoever, to invade that Kingdome securely. That it may be *Primi occupantis*; for certainly we have as just Reason to powr out the Phials of our Indignation, and fulminate our extorted Excommunication, against both Prince and People, as ever *Alexander* the Third our Predecessour of holy Memory had, when he excommunicat his stubborne Vassall, *Henrie* the Second of *England*, and brought his Royall and haughtie Pride to that Ebb, that he was constrained to receive his Crowne and Confirmation thereof from Us.

But what? (invincible Souldiours in our spiritual Warfare) though there be a deadly Overthrow given to our best Resolutions; though the King of that scurvie covenanting Land, like a Lyon Rampant, with a daring Courage, holds out his inexorable Sword for the Advancement of that fatall Reformation (as they call it) though those wanton Hereticks do now insupportably insult to see him an arrant Covenanter, and glory more therein than all the Gold of *India*; though now they triumph most prophanely, and think they have victoriously banished all Novations and barr'd out all Dislikes, with the Rampart of an everlasting civill Sanction, and have enthroned their Heresie by a Municipall Law to be idolized for ever: And though likewayes it were almost as easie to blow up the whole Isle of *Brittaine* to the Moone with a Powder Traine, as to divorce the Princes abused Soul, from those inward and malignant Heresies which have been propagate to him from his Uncatholick Ancestors; though the most pregnant Insinuations have proved almost ineffectuall; and though the dazeling Pompe of the neighbouring Churches and Kingdomes of the World, can nothing invite him to be mollified, and, sweetned toward Us; but, like an Adder, he still stops his Eare at the Voice of the Charmer; and though the Alliance with the most Potent and Christian *French* King can nothing serve to inveigle the Eyes of his Mind; though (my dearly beloved) all these heaveie Verities discover to Us, many and huge Mountaines of Impediments, which will be hard to remove, let us gird up our Loynes notwithstanding.

*Consiliario-
rum impetus,
sæpè abripi-
unt bonos &
moderatos
Principes.*

Let not Us, who are the Soule and Light of the World, submit our selves and our Cause to the Tyrannie of Despair: Recover our Game: that handfull of Heretickes are but as a Schismatick Pawne in the Play: High Impietie and Blasphemie it were against the Apostolick Seat, to think the Splendor and Honour thereof could be interessed and clouded by any Thing from these Parts; for though ordinarily all Evil flowes from these turbulent Climats, and the *Goths* and *Vandals* have fundry Times made Inundation upon our Patrimony, and most profanely troden under Foot our Domicell, *Italy*, the Lady and Mistris of the World, though oftentimes Emperours and Kings of the Earth, have shaken their

*Omne malum
ab Aquilone.*

Scepters upon Us, and offered to set Bounds to our unlimited Powers and Desires, yet I hope, we are as able to wind about the sacrilegious Designs of secular and hereticall Factions, as ever any of our holy Predecessors.

Wee know perfectly how to begger Kingdomes by Dissimulation, unjoint the faire Frame of Peace, and Traffick, poyson Alleageance too: And the transferring of Empires, the Ruines of Kingdomes, the Excommunication and Deposition of Kings, and Devastations by Fire and Sword, are the ordinary Marks and Characters (you know) of the great Statesmen of our Order, who doe indeed most canonically hold, that these Practises are most lawful for them, conducing to the Growth of the Church, and vindicating our temporall Jurisdiction over Princes. Let us not therefore faintly give over, but solace our selves, with Memory of great Policies past, wherewith we have chastised Emperours, Kings, and Princes, and redacted them to the Obedience of the Mother Church: What ever we shall happen to lose by Battell (as *Matchiavel* records of the *Venetians* who know all the Removes of their Game) Let us labour to recover the same by Treatie, and be still Labourers in the great Worke; Let us assemble all the Powers of our Soules, and combat the Cause.

I'll alambique the *Sorbone* Genius, and squeeze the Substance of all the Common-wealthes of *Enrope*, ere I finde not a *Catholicon*, and Sovereigne Elixar for this new sprung Poyson, which, if the Pride thereof be not counter-checked, is able to defloure the Glory of our whole Church: No, no, those who will not gentlie resigne themselves, to the Embracements of the ancient Apostolicke Truth, which we are sent to offer and preach to the World, as the great Pastor of the Church, must certainly be broken: And before our Miter be not adored by all, amongst Nations, Tongues, and People, I will first thresh the Mountaines and Islands of the World with a Fleale, I will beat them to Powder, and fanne them before the Wind of my Wrath, I will arme the Princes of the Earth, and cause them to over-turne them, that they never appeare more than the Monasteries which are sunk about *Venice*.

An Answer to His Holinesse's Remonstrance: By Cardinall ANTONIO DI BARBIRIM, in the Name of the rest of the *Roman* Clergy, in the Consistory at *ROME*.

MOST HOLY FATHER, to whom we convert our humblest Duties and Sacrifices of our devorest Thoughts, Great Monarch of the Church, to whose Glory do all our Actions bend as the last Scope of their Advantage. We do most passionately condole the just Anguish of your afflicted Heart; certainly our Imaginations are so strongly seazed, by the shaking of these turbulent Times, that wee have almost resigned the whole Powers of our Soule to Feare and Wonder; our Tongues are captived, and chayned up without a Sound.

Wee can beare Record, that your Holinesse, like Heaven's glorious Luminarie, hath bountifully diffused the warme Beames of Puritie through the whole

whole Church Catholicke, and every Place thereof: You have not onely guilded the Tops of the Mountaines and made the tall Cedars of *Lebanon* to laugh, swelling them with the Graces of your nursing Favours; but have likewise daigned to visit the humble Vallies, and made the Marjoline and Myrrhe finde the Benignitie of your favourable Aspect, and the Influence of your Apostolicke Entertainments.

Thus like the Sovereigne Good, who delights to communicate his all embracing Sweetness, you would extend the Skirts of your Favour upon the most neglected Parts of the World, even that fatall Kingdome of *Scotland* buried in Darkenesse and Ignorance. Wee that are the Cabinet and Depositary of your secret Workings in the Misterie of your Episcopizing, doe well know how you have beene (as it were) hotly courting that silly People, and with what a fatherly Zeale you have wooed that rebellious and gaine-saying Nation, which hath answered the Hopes of your long-wished Joy, with the high Anatheme of a cruell Covenant, and a furious Combination never to bee dissolv'd against your Holinesse, the great Officer of the Church, Christ's Vicegerent on Earth, and all the Maintainers of the Articles and Ceremonies of the *Romain* Faith. We wish our Heads were Waters, and our Eyes Fountaynes of Teares, to weep for the Calamities of our Mother. The Fears of Heresies encrease, and all our disastrous Disappointments, which your Holinesse out of the Plenitude of your Wisedome, and Spirit of Sagacitie, hath most divinely laid open to our weary Soules. Wee are fallen into the Ends of the World, and Persecution must come for the Elect's Sake. Now the Wicked and Hereticks doe hold the Church by the Throat, and now wee must move every Oare, straine all Assistances, sollicite all our devoted Crownes, and send forth the Kings of the Earth like victorious *Hercules*, to destroy the pullulating Heads of this terrible and heretrical Serpent, and to suppress that all-spreading Covenant of *Scotland*, the most horrible Invention, and usurping Monster that ever Hell hatched: It hath appeared like a blazing Comet in the North (with themselves may the Event dwell of the portentuous Presage) and hath in many, who were otherwaies in a pretty Aptitude, and Maturity to be good Catholicks, stirred the Spirit of Curiosity, which may marre implicate Obedience, the Subversion of which Article will make the whole Frame of our Mystery to crack: A dangerous Perspective for Laicks to looke into our Consistory *Per Madonna santissima di Loretta*. When we fall upon the Buffinnesse of that Northerne League, and the Ensign of the Covenant displayed, wee loose our selves, and cannot plumb that Deep, it hath affrighted us like a Lightning, made all the Christian Kings start up on their Feet with an, What is it? It is surely a Thunderbolt, broke upon the very Head of *S. Peters*, and proudly entring, hath overturned the Alters, throwne downe the Images, dismantled the Beauty of the Church, astonished the whole Ligators of our Mosaick Workes, and profained the whole Glory of the Temple. A Speare it is, which thrust through the Bowells of State Catholicke, hath dared the very Heart of spirituall Monarchy.

*Qui male
facit, odit
lucem.*

Your

Your Holinesse, whose vigilant Eye, doth most laboriously survey the Conditions of Times and States, and with a fatherly Care watch over the Crowns and Scepters of Nations, hath in Trueth and Strength of Passion, most Episcopally discovered the Monster begotten by the nimblest witted Divell, nurst up in these Northern Desarts, and destinat to measure the World with his quaint Paces. Wee doe feare that by the Sting and Tayle of a Scorpion, it shall naile the tender Church throw with Shame and Torment. Let us provide it cast no Venome beyond Seas, for then shall it mount over the *Alpes*, and with his poysonable Attempts, presume to assault your Holinesse's own Domesticks: Neither shall the proud *Pirennees* keepe it from thrusting in to *Spayne*, the most intemperate and immaculate Place of the Church Body: It will mock the spectacled Fathers of the Inquisition, and creepe there invisiblie like *Fratres Rosae Crucis*. And no *Index Expurgatorius* (which, like the *Purgatory* Fire, we have ever with Cathollicall Lenitie used, either for mollifying, or eradicating other Monsters) will serve to correct or banish this one. Truly, those diseased Prelates (Holie Father) have spun us no fair Thread, nor have they proven Grand Sophies, when by the Conquest of that poor Kingdom (which would never make any considerable Accession to your Revenues, but was like the Drop to the Bucket) and promoting immature Novations, they have occasioned too innocently the Losse of our Game, and endangered the Myters Reputation.

If these *Perturbations* doe once come unto a deepe Working, and beginne to extend their prophaine *Petulancies*, We feare your Holinesse, whose all adored Miter made prostrate Crowns to tremble, and Scepters shake, may bee glad to bee sheltered in *S. Angeloes* Castle, or run to the Hornes of the *Altar*; and wee the Suns of *Harmonie*, who are the Carbuncles which adde Splendour to your Spirituall Crowne, must betake our selves to the Favour of *Times* and *Fortunes*, and leave our goodly Dignities, with the Fat of their corpulent Affluence, to the Devotion of sacrilegious Souldiers.

Nay, certainly, if this swelling Combustion do but offer to staine the Serenity of our *Heavens* with any *Smoake*, and stifle our *Purity*, wee are all confounded, wee are all blowne up, and the Kings of the *Earth*, the Powers of the *World*, and every Soule of Man, even the begging *Capuchine*, who can glory of nothing but his venerable Beard, his Chapplet, and torne Breviarie, shall regard your Holinesse no more, shall give you no more bended Knees, nor Sacrifices of real and spirituall Tribute, than to the Man of the Moone. And you knowe, most *Catholicke Monarch* of BBs, if those golden Floods, which doe most proudly play upon the philosophal Stones of your Vatican, be once withdrawne and call'd back to their Tributary Sources, (to which you have as undoubted and irredeemable a * Right, as to those very omnipotent Keyes which you carry, and to the Monopolie of all Benefices, which you have happily engrossed to your most *Archiepiscopall* Person) Wee cannot but faint, who are fed by the Refreshments of those Streames: Our

* By the Right of *Merite*, and the Salique Law.

Cardinall Caps, bestowed upon us by your *Holineffe* as Garlands of our *Honour*, and *Eminencie*, must needs wither and fall away, and remove the Suns Beames; Where shall his Glory be? If we, as so many Earth-treading Starres, who adorne the Sky of your State be stript of our Beautie, if wee shutt and fall, in what *Primum Nobile* shall your Sanctity shine? Wee are set about the Seate of your Majestie, as Summers speckled flowry Garment, and if wee bee blasted by the Injuries of tempestuous Times, what shall embellish your Holinesse: These are heavy Trueths: but under the Rose be it spoke *Sanctissimo Padre*. Some Blowes wee have received, more are feared: *Heavens* and *Earth* doe know, and all *Courts*, all *Churches* are filled with the Fortune or Misfortune of the great *Businesse*; that abortive *Service Booke*, and those *Canons*, have shamefully disoblged the *Church Catholick*, and with their roaring, have awaked and disturbed all *Christendome*, and turned their sulphurous Throates against their Makers. There are certainly some ungracious uncatholick Planets raging, who have powred forth the Malignitie of their venomous Influence upon your reforming and *fatherly Undertakings*. The *Heavens* distill their sterner Frownes, and threaten us with their baddest *Aspects*. Wee were ready to teare the Clouds with Bells ringing, and Priests singing, and thought the Smoake of our *Bonfires* should shortly ascend to *Heaven*, and staine the *Sunnes Face*: But, *holie Father*, it's no Time for quaint Speaking; wee ought not *dissemble*, nor use *Indulgence* to our *Wound*. Let us *mitigate* and rectifie our *Woes* as *cunningly* and *quietly* as wee may, the Spate of *disastrous Calamitie* hath almost drowned our *faire Hopes* in *Despaire*. A cold *Feare* sits black on each of our *Hearts*; we have not beene *well inward* with the Minde of *Destinie* in the *Businesse* of these *Northerne Negotiations*. It seemes we have not beene sufficiently assisted, but deserted in this Particular: *Consult the Prophecies*, set your *Astrologitians* a *Worke*; may be you finde (but *Heavens* blesse the *Church Catholicke*, and avert) that some of these *Northerne Princes* have *Capricornum ascendentem in Horoscopo*, which is, and hath ever beene the most *fatall* and *malevolent* Signe to the *Roman Empire* in all the *Zodiaque*: And for the Trueth heereof, Wee call the *Times* † never to bee forgotten, and *Histories* of all *Ages*, to witnesse: From thence, indeed, doe the first Cloudes appeare: And as in your *Holinesse Remonstrance* was piously observed, all *Propagations* of *Empyres*, all *Irruptions* and *Effusions* of *People*, are ever found to have beene from the || North to the South. If this bee the Inclination of our averse Spheares thus unkindely to use Us; if this be the Purpose of him who beholds the Ends of the World, to present this Cup to the *Romane Prelacie*, and put our spirituall Kingdome, which wee beleeeve shall prosper so long as the *Heavens* cover the *Earth*, thus in *Jeopardie*; certainly those uncircumcised Lyons will teare Us to Pieces, and make Banners

Uno dato absurdo, multa sequuntur.

Tout bellement Messieurs.

† *Imp. Carolus V. Frans. Rex Gallia, Medi: Graci Persas: Romani Paenos: Carolus Corbonius. Cosmus Med. Florentiae Dux. Gothi Romanos: Turcae fregerunt Arabes: Tartari Turcas: Angli Gallos: Scoti An-*
|| *Affyrri vicerunt Chaldeos. Affyrios glos.*

of our Catholicke Skinnes, and scratch your Myter (whose Shaddow was revered by Princes of the Earth) to very contemptible and forgotten Atomes, and powder your supream selfe in *Luthers* Barrell: They will sacke your Citie, the Queene of the Earth, treade upon the Worlds Trophees, and fill the holiest Place with Abomination of Desolation.

Where ever wee send forth our enquiring Eyes, they report nothing from all the Corners of the World, but sad Entertainments of these Feares, and Appearances of Mutations from that Kingdom of *Scotland*, (which is now most desperately diseased of a swelling Tympanie or some Pluresie, incurable but by the voiding of that prevayling Bloud which over-rules or offends the Head, and choakes the Heart,) as the Source of our Reproach, the Fountaine of our Shame, doe wee deryve, the Streames of our Injuries and Calamities, and to those all-despised Hereticks likewayes do we justly impute the Advancements of the same. Your Holinesse ever sollicit to gain that which is lost, had emitted your faithfull Labourers, and planted a Vine, * which for the Time was very luxuriant, and did proudly spring like *Jonas* Gourd, but alas, that unexpected poysonable Worme of the Covenant, hath encroached upon the Heart thereof, and vowed to suck out the very Soule of it.

Eheu quam levibus pereunt ingentia causis!

Nay, this Worme is like to bee metamorphosed in a flying Dragon, and infest the whole Christian World. Your Holinesse did mercifully elance a saving Beame upon that Cimmerian Land; which was kindly welcommed by those who had submitted themselves to bee doctriate by our fomenting † Suggestions, and it did most effectually animate them to great Performances, Wee were made hopefull to see the Day break forth gloriously, for the Cockes fell a crowing, which told us the Nights Departure, yet have they maliciously closed their Eyes, ‖ rejected the Lights Comfort, and most bitterly banished those faithfull Evangelists, nay with a more perfect Hatred and meritorious Violence than ever *Loyala's* Tribe was turned out from among the straight-lac't *Venetians*; and now they thinke (reprobate Soules) that they have reproachfully mounted them as it were on the Asses of Indignitie, and send them to the Land of *Nod* with an *Ecco la fico*, yet nothing so, but the pale Horse of a Civill, and Temporall Death at worst; upon which, triumphing Martyrs, they have entred Paradise, and necessary it was, blessed Father, that they should bee removed from the Contagions, and Conversation of the Wicked, that when the deserved Devastations and Devourings shall break forth in the Fulnesse of their Rage, they might laugh at their Persecutors in the Day of their Destruction: Thus was the good *Josias* called to his eternall Home before *Babylon's* Captivitie, and the most Catholicke Bishop *S. Augustine's* Death, like a gentle Starres Fall, did fore-run and point out the Subversion of the City of *Bone*. Those are the Ramparts of the Church, which must be taken down, that the Inundation of Desolation may burst in

* The Service Booke, which produced nipotent Baulme.
m. ft soveraign, and generous Grapes.

† Their Eyes were anointed with om-

‖ Light is sown for the Righteous.

and swallow the Trophees of insulting Heresie; for even as the sagacious Swallow, doth retire her young Ones, before the approaching Fall of the crasie Vault: so are the blessed Souls, Heaven's Minions promiscuously confounded with the tumultuous Heretickes, singled by, and lift above the Reach of Danger, before the publicke Ruines. All these Impieties and Oppressions have no more harmed, than if a Man out of his Fury and Anger would thinke to afflict and drowne the harmelesse captived Fish by throwing it in a River; For wee are bold to perswade in the Courage of victorious spirituall Souldiers, that all these Sentences, Excommunications, Extrusions, and other Furies, whereby sacrilegious Blasphemie hath exerced the Height of Tyrannie against Trueths Heraulds, shall prove in End like *Sampson's* Lyon, out of the strong shall come sweet, their Righteousnesse shall spreade as the Morning, and their Glory shall be terrible as an Armie with Banners: though they now sleepe, yet it is not to the Death. Indeed Fortune for all this, hath dealt Us a very bad Game at this Tour, but yet a little, and the Cards shall bee shuffled; they have refused our saving and Catholick Curtesies, and kickt againe, they have affrighted Us with Lightnings; but may bee, wee shall crush those terrestriall Heads with Thunder, and blow away their Designes as Chaffe before the Winde: And though the *Lutherans* and our Adversaries doe fatten themselves with their Insultings over Us, and thinke we have so deeply tasted the Bitternesse of that last Overthrow, which our Catholick Friends, * your Holinesse's nimble Executioners, and those likewayes of your Holinesse's owne Familie did latelie suffer by Sea, in advancing your Evangelicall Intentions; and though they stick not to flatter their abused Souls with this Confidence, that now there are no more *Constantines* to be found, who dare hold up the Banner of the Crosse, nor any to march under the same, yet must we be espoused to new Resolutions of Recovery, and let the triumphing Snakes duly find that our Arms are not shortned, our Wings are not clipt, and that neither are the Kingdoms subjected to our two all-commanding Swords, exhaust of the true Faith's Defenders; nor *India* and *Peru*, yet prompt of red and white Earth, which shall produce Us Children to maintain Truth's Garland, even in the Midst of our Enemies, for our Chymists are excellent Operators, and can extract the soveraign Baulm, and very effectually apply it to the suspected Places, which being cunningly adhibite with the Concurrence of your Apostolike Benedictions and Encouragements, wee have seene have such a powerfull Operation, that it hath never ceased till awaking an intestine Discord, at length it hath cast out all redundant and noxious Humours, and expelled the Root of the Disease. And as to that little Shuffle which our Apostolicke Navy hath received, partly by the Indiscretion of the Sea, and Uncurtesie of the Windes, (for among these *Hugenotes*, the very Aire and Water are Puritans) and partly by the Neglect and Connivance of Princes: Be it knowne wee have already digested that little tickling Pill of Misfortune, as clearly as wee have eclipsed the Memorie of the † Crescent in 88.

* The *Spaniards* and *Italians*.

† The Armado which came displayed in Forme of the Moone Crescent.

But here we spare to stretch our selves on these Regates, your Episcopall Providence will smell the Storme afaire, looke to the prevailing thereof, and find out the most powerfull Meanes to elude the Dangers of these tumbling Times, that the afflicted Church, as the Lilly among Thornes, may looke sweet and glorious as the Moone in her full Pride: Yet by the Presumptions of Times, one Thing seemes to bee sure, if wee might see Fates Booke, the Senate House of Planets hath at no Time beene more unfriendly yet for the acting of some strange Trage-comedie in *Europe*.

Which makes Us call to Minde the pernicious Prophecies of those Unchristian Dames, those *Sybilles*, who like phanatick *Syrenes*, have intoxicate the World, and so strongly posselt the Soules of those who are conversant with Curiosity, that many good Catholickes, and of high Endowments, poysoned with their *Greek* Musick, doe entertaine secret Opinions and Fears of a very fatall Period, ordained for our spirituall Kingdome; for in those their prophane Invectives, and hell-blowne Satyrs, wherewith they have persecuted your Holinesse's Throne (as the Spirit of Delusion doth cheate the Worlds Beliefe) and your Seate; this Citie likewayes (which looks like the Moone amongst the lesser Starres) though shee bee stellified to Heaven, yet those unpure Spirits, with their usurping uncatholickall Pens, have presumed to lay her Horne in the Dust; and they have presented the Map * of after-times (to those who will idolize their Oracles) so farre to the Disadvantage and Shame of your Holinesse's high Calling, that all the resplendant Rayes of our dazeling Pomp, wherewith wee have obfuscaed, even at a great Distance, the rest of Nations, must bee drowned for sooth in the Smoake of an utter Ruine and endlesse Confusion, Your Holinesse's Purple, and our scarlet Roabes wherewith wee darkned the Eyes of Beholders, and enamoured the admiring Stranger, by a prophane and poetickall Fury they have turned over our Heads, and rejoyce to have our Nakednesse display'd to the World. Surely a strange Enthusiasme in these Feminine Braines; yet these Times may fortune to renew the Ideas, which those chimerick Impressions have given to the more facile Soules, who are easily carried about with every Winde of Beliefe; for now there is a great Unconstancie and certayne Kinde of Branktings in many Parts, even amongst the Sons of your Institutions, Heires of Spirituall and Temporal Counsellors. your unmeasured Designes, Expectants of the Blessed Chaire, and those, on whom *Ignatius*, and *Matchiavell*, the two Genius of the Myter, had powred a double Measure of their Spirits.

Every Alteration in States, even to the better, your Holinesse knowes is dangerous: And whether the Newes of this great Change, of a Patriarch to bee set up in *France*, have arrived at your Holinesse ghostly Eares, or not, wee are ignorant: You may descend to view what Face the Purpose hath, and try the Pedigree from whom it came, and whether it goes. Out of the Profundity of your infallible Judgement, your Holinesse can obviate the Im-

* In the second Book of the Oracles of *Sybilla*, at this Part — *hominum tu denique seculum, existes decimum.*

pertinencie of any Event, and devance the Consequence of this springing. You best know, what conduceth both to the Glory, Growth, and Indemnity of the Church, and for the Honour and Majesty of your owne Throne: But truly, Wee the Fathers of the Conclave, doe thinke it to bee a very strange Boutade, and a labouring Designe, pregnant with many monstrous Productions; and that his vehement and polypragmaticke Spirit, through the Insolencie and Indulgence of a swelling Fortune, cannot rest, but making Eruption beyond the Limits of his Vocation, with an inordinate Appetite of Glory, shall aspire to the Top of the Pyramide. Such exorbitant Humours are most apt to confound the Order of Geometrick Proportion; and being voyde of a politique Mansuetude, indocile or blinde Obedience, Lovers of Mutations, are most fertile of Emulations, and Civill Warres, and oftentimes involve all in a dolefull Conflagration. This (as many other Emergencies of these Times) seemes to bee the Beginning of a Deviation, which cannot end but in Apostasie, especially among that Nation, which doth ever please it selfe in Changes: Could not, Holie Father, all the Crownes in *France* serve, to stay his vast Ambition, unlesse he had something above his Cardinall's Coronet likeways? Presse into the inner Cabinet of these Designs, there your Holinesse may well finde something, which cannot bee consistent with your Myter.

For though your Holinesse hath now obscured the Brightnesse of the Patriarches of the East, and hath erected your Apostolick Crest to that unparallel'd Height of Pre-eminencie, from whence you doe stately overlooke them, and all other Churches, even as the Mountaines of *Ararat*, whereupon the Arke rested, lifted up their welcome, and triumphing Tops, above the decreasing Waters, yet the appearing of this Patriarch, as of a new unknown Starre, may beget a Desire in the Laicks, to study the Motion of our Heavens too officiously, and so run the Hazard of revolting Heresies, in their supererogatory Contemplations. For your Holinesse cannot forget to remember, that howbeit by the *Florentine* and *Laterane* Councells it was unanimously and canonically concluded, that the foure Patriarches of *Constantinople*, *Antiochia*, *Alexandria*, and *Jerusalem* should receive their Mantle, the Signe of Plenitude of their pontificall Dignitie, from your holy Hands, and after the Order of the assigned Precedencie, tender the Oath of Allegiance to the Romane Prelate, at whose Appearance in his fullest Grace, they must put up their Beames and disappare; yet they have alwayes had Protestations of Reluctancie, and rebound to the Title of their patriarchall Dignitie, holding themselves iso-Presbyters, composed of that same Stuffe whereof Popes are said to bee made, and can hardly bee induced to humble themselves to the Dependance of a Derivation, or restrayned from transcending the Category of Subordination: Nay certainly, it doth relish too much of an Exemption from the *Romane* Sea and Studie of Monarchie: Wee should not have wondred so profusely to have seene such Hierarchicall Ambition, point out his presumptuous Head, in the remoter Parts of *Brittain*, and *Ireland*, being so farre distant from the Influence of your pacificke Scepter, (the Advancements being there but very greene as yet) not attained their flourishing Lustre;

For even as the Windes and Raines doe exerce a mutuall Rage, shooting forth their Luxuries in the lower Parts of the Ayre, where they raigne in their turbulent Kingdome, but in the higher Regions thereof, nigh to the Fire's Orbe, and approaching the Sunne, no Motion, no Agitation, but a gentle Calme doth continually dwell; So certainly in those forgotten and barbarous Places, not apt for the Spirit of Obedience, the true Author of Peace; no Wonder there bee Commotion and Scandals: but in *France* the very Myter's Eye to build Altars of Offence, may beget a Storme, which will force Us to pull downe our Sailes, if wee escape Shipwracke: And if the Pagan Souldiers, made Scruple to use Christ's Reverend Roabe so rudely, as to teare the same; how deservedly ought they to bee redargued, who prepare the renting of his sacred Bodie, the Church, with their ambitiously swelled Zeale?

The crying Necessities of these Times which looke too fullen, and the Exigences of the affronted Church, if there bee Pitty amongst us, and holy Zeale to vindicate her Credite, would wring from us Poyson to kill all the Policies of *Europe*. Yet (holie Father) though the Powers of Heresie should combine and concentrate their Malice, though the Frame of the Universe should be disjointed, we have a never-failing Promise, that the Gates of Hell shall not prevaile against us. Heavens great Substitute, absolute Father of the Church, if ever Power did shew a Masterie in you, let it now appeare, and make the redacted World stand amazed.

O nimium dilecte Deo cui militat aether,

Et conjuratæ curvato poplite gentes

Succumbunt ———

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.

*Ecclesiastæ
volunt esse
Monarchæ.*

There's Elixir of Braine and Spirit amongst Us, and the God of Riches lies imprisoned in our Cabines and Monasteries. Let Us doe any thing to rule alone, though it bee very rare to see the World ruled by one: The most proud and obstinate Resistances are aloft, and now a-dayes Women's soft Soules are wrought up to a masculine Malice and Resolution, for persecuting Truth, and hugging Error; therefore make your Wrath likewise to swell. Extend your mighty Armes, call up the Princes of the Earth, let the Sounds of your Alarum be heard from one Ende of Heaven to the other, and straight behold the Kings and Potentates, like Children of Obedience, shall forsake their Palaces out of a filiall Submission, and leave their stately Magnificence to bee possesst of Solitude, inhabited by Bats and Owles, and entrust their dearest Queenes to the Benevolence of Church-men and Eunuches: Then will they muster their Forces, employ their Scepters, and straine all the Nerves of their Kingdome for the well of the Cause Catholicke.

*Flectere si
nequeunt su-
peros Ache-
ronta move-
bunt.*

Let it alwayes be the chiefeft of our Cares, the first of our Desires, to hold up Warre immortall, ever to trouble the Calme of Peace, to shut up the Seas, to disable, to disjoyne, to inspire our Emissaries, and Incendiaries, with the Spirits of Dissimula-

tion

tion and Division, to infold all State Policies in Confusion, to choake all, to inflame all with a most Catholike Combustion; for certainly some Cruelties are better and more necessary, than silly improfitable Mildnesse, which like a cold and barren Quality, can never mature the Churches Growth. No, no, the braying of Canons, the dawbing of Drums are good Catholike Musicke, by which our Apostolick Expeditions use to advance the spirituall Kingdome, and goe in Proceffion through the World; Our Motions must be restlesse and busie, like that of the Heavens, every one bestirring himselfe in his owne Spheare; and your Holinesse with most grave, and venerable Alacritie, will give the strong Impulse. Wee in the Consistorie, and those ministring and subtile Spirits of that rich Seed-plot of *Sorbone*, shall come such Riddles, and shall so inveagle the Heretick Soules and Churches, that Kings shall find themselves enough puzzled. From this holy Citadell, this impregnable Capitoll, our spirituall Engineeres, who are most Canonically bred, and authentically practised, shall throw such fierie Balls among Nations and People, as those that dare oppone Truth's Candor, shall bee put in a terrible Damp.

From the
Conclave.

Go to (holy Father) move strongly, as becomes the State of your Courage, and in a high sweld Metropolitan Confidence, blow downe the strong Holds of Errour; Remove the Isles out of the Sea, and shake the Mountaines that stand up so heretically against the promised, the prophesied Reformati-
ons to the Faith *Catholike*; never unbend your infallible Bow, till you have hit the conquered Marke of your most *Evangelick* Intentions, our Adversaries must not erect the Trophees of their Ambition upon the Ruines of our Reproaches. Wee will first fetch the Compasse of the *World*, and *conglomerate* our undaunted Forces, like a destroying and inexorable Tempest, to sweep away Truths Enemies. All our Convents shall first be turned into Fencing-Schooles, before the great Cause be disgraced. We will defend mainly, engage our very *Crucifixes*, and hypothecat our *Cardinals Caps* before the *Mitre's* Honour be any whit touched.

But now because many Incumbrencies advertise us to dissolve, and some strange Embassadors attend your Holinesse from whose Bosome they come to receive *Apostolick* Directions, to lead them as a Starre in the Way to the Hill of Greatnesse, where the *Laurells* of Triumph doe condignly attend them: We forbear to presume on this Time's Importance, onely daring represent to your Holinesse, how necessary it is to imploy Pens, Policies, and Power, to rack all our Might for advancing our holy Intentions, and breaking the Clouds of Errour and Heresie, which are like to over-spread the whole World: Consider how the crying Necessities of our bleeding Primitive Mother doe implore the same: In the mean Time (till your Holinesse have more precious Leisure to bestow upon further Catholike Resolutions) let there bee a grand Apostolick *Nuncio* dispatched upon the Wings of Speed to the Isle of *Britain*, (if there bee any Courtesie to receive him there worthily) even strongly assisted with the Spirit of Truth, which your Holinesse's Predecessors did usually send to the *Tridentine* Councell for the
actuating

Well blown Seignior. actuating of those infallible Members, and extirping of Heresie. Instruct him deeply how to proclaime to the World, and write it on the Skie with Letters of Gold never to be forgotten, and print it in the Records of Histories to all After-ages, that though Religion bee the common Pretence of Discontent amongst these untamed Hereticks, wherewith they use to maske their unbridled Licence, their affronted Boldnesse, their high Contempt of Soveraigntie, and dare commit any Impiety, guiled with the Lustre of Sanctity: Yet nothing is so strongly desired, nothing so truly intended by them, abhorring the Order of Subjection, than to shake off the Yoke of Monarchie, and breake the Cords of Spirituall and Temporall Jurisdiction, with the Spring of their desperate Frenzie.

It will not bee inexpedient likewise to cause some others, who are enriched with the Strength of more subtile Abilities, and do cunningly know how to creep into the Mindes and Cabines of Princes, and take Dominion there, be sent forth with all Convenience, for subverting the Machinations of these *Matchiavilian Calvinists*: Let Authority, Lords of Power, and Masters of Time be taught (for Clemencie is the Nurse of Rebellion) how to presse them downe with Weight, though the conspiring Crew that breaths nothing but Fire, and vomits Blasphemie, who hath consecrate their Estates, and espoused their neglected Lives to the Lust of Revolting, should crie out Violence, and Rigour, and Crueltie, and Tyrannie, and Craft, and Malice; for those Things have been the soveraigne and effectuall Wayes of our Enlargings, and it is the Mysterie of Greatnesse to hold the Inferiors still ignorant of it, and strike like Lightning and Thunder.

Moreover, Because the seditious Furie of the unruly Multitude (even as a tumbling Flood acquiring Strength to it selfe by moving, carryes all it meets before it in a Precipice) doth waxe to such a prevailing Strength as none can hold out against the Bitternesse of the Tempest; Therefore let us worke wisely, and as Men use to disappoynt the over-flowings of undaunted Rivers, by branching them in little weake Rivulets, thus to extenuate the Impetuositie of the maine Streame, by diverting the Fulnesse of indocile Waters, and turning them aside. So must wee (in a Degree more than becomes Supremacie to stoope) flatter a while, and nourish the Hopes, and entertaine the Desires of Conspirers, distract the Mindes of the Multitude, weaken them by the Breach of Union, and delude them most egregiously; for so long as those Conventions rule, whereby the Consent of the abused People receives most poisonable Aliment, and they become fortified in their Errour, then each provokes another, even as the Billowes of the intraged Sea are driven forward by their urging and importune Fellowes.

Well remembered. Therefore must it bee amongst the first of the Articles of your Attourneyes Instructions, exceedingly to labour this Point, that those their great Councels, infallible Assemblies, and unwarranted Synagogues of Hypocrites, bee most divinely impeded; and that Parliaments bee broke up, and crushed in the Bud both in *Scotland*, and *England*, for those Confluences of demure Divells, have ever given Us the greatest Dash, and beene the very Bane of our Agonies.

Wee

Wee hope withall, your Holinesse out of the Bowels of Pittie, cannot forget the miserable Prelates, your faithfull Labourers. It is indeed their Fortune; (through too eager and unadvised Zeale, to the Glory of raising Altars to your Holinesse's Purposes, in that Land where they lived) and not their Fault, that thus they are left in the Wildernesse of Times and Povertie, make them taste therfore of the Sweetnesse of your Remembrances; for it were high Indignitie to your Holinesse, the Prince of Bishops, to let those filly Soules engage their Surplis, and Service-Books, for the Maintenance of their laborious Lives.

Amongst all other Expediences, here is one likewayes which cries extreamely, that since we had very justly anchored our best Expectations upon the Northerne Cities of that rigid and infortunate-Iland of *Scotland*, where indeede the Religion pretended was never perfectly welcommed, and that by our last Intelligence wee have learned they * have likewise joyned Hand with Impietie, and divorcing themselves from the Loyaltie of the great Worke, have entred the Dance with the rest of the giddy Hereticks, neglecting our Resentments of most Catholick Services done, and our Encouragements to persevere, that yet notwithstanding there might be some zealous Invention and spirituall Stratagem found how to regaine them, and to redeeme them from that deserved Perdition which followes Heresie.

And as to the Parliamentary Stage-men, who do now personat The Lords so bravely, we hope before they come to the last Act of the of the Parliament. Play, where they trust to bring in your Holinesse as a Mytred Boufoone, if there be any Soule amongst us, we shall do our best to make their dalliance Epilogue in a Tragedy, and overturn the Stage upon the Actors.

Intelligence from the Apostolicke Nuncio, *Il Conte di ROZETTI*, now residing at *London*, to Pope *URBAN* the Eighth.

May it please your Holinesse,

THE humble Zeale to acquit my selfe loyall to your Apostolick Employments, and the Perfection of that great Worke for which I was sent hither, made me hasten with my trembling Pen in Hand to drop out some Advertisements to you, in Behalfe of Truth's Candor, who never in greater Extremity than this, doth make her pittifull Adresse to your Holinesse, by whose Protection she is secured from the insolent Affronts of the Vulgar: Being distressed, she makes you her faire Sanctuary; being wounded, shee makes you her soveraigne Balme. I know this infortunate Paper of Intelligence shall swell your vext Soule mightily, and affright all *Italy* with Feare and Wonder. Yet if your Heart bee not split asunder with Griefe, and Terrour; or if there be any Counsell, or Courage left in your *Conclave*,

* The City of *Aberdeene* honoured by embracing the Covenant.

looke to the Agony of the Miter, which is now sicke, even sicke to the Death : Lift up your weeping Eyes, consider the Times, and Seasons ; and let the Spirit of Prudence preserve us from utter Perdition, least this reprobate indocile Iland make us very quickly a Reproach and Opprobry to the World.

It would certainly burne the Hearts of all true Catholicks with consuming Anguish to looke upon the present Distempers, and to thinke how glorious your Kingdome had lookt by this Time, like a *Colossus* upon the Columnes of Strength and Policy ; scorning Thunder, and out-lasting Tempests ; O ! that wee had never angled in that abominable Kingdome of *Scotland*, nor solicited the Return of that stubborn People to us so hotly : for surely belike they will awake all Christendome, and pervert the World. Your Holinesse did behold them with the Eye of Disdaine, lookt asquint upon them (as the Sun doth) and conceived these Northernes to be but dull, and halfe spirited Soules ; who could not discover Plots, resist the Majesty of your Intentions, nor mount to their Wishe in a direct Line without Stop, or Hinderance ; but let mee tell your Sanctity, they resolve to goe on (armed with their Princes Smile) and destroy your very Naue, your Memory, your Ashes, with as easie a Freedome, as rough Winds demolish crasie Buildings.

Not content with that great Disgrace they have done your Apostolick Dignity, in their owne Church, (now indeed deserted, and desperate) by that Covenant, (which Wee thought a silly Shrub, but is now growne a sturdy Oake ; and waxeth stately like the proud Cedar) they have mov'd a Banner against the Residue of our Hopes in *England* : for the Episcopall Expedition, and holy War against the Hereticks, and Rebels most damnably succeeding (which will make a black, and shamefull History to embellish the *Vatican* Library) they have come forward incensed, and with strange Pretences (as brave Men, who in their awfull Palmes doe beare about bitter Destinies, and command even Fate it selfe) advance our Destruction strongly ; for albeit Wee did little regard their harmelesse Simplicity, and mocked all their Sayings, which they distilled soft as Oyle ; yet Wee have now found their Sting, sharper than two edged Swords ; for they have so poysoned the World, with their Pamphlets, their Papers, and new Tricks of a Reformation as they call it ; (a Thing as contrary to the Mystery of your Kingdome, as Light to Darknesse) that now nothing can compose the Fury of the obstinate People, nor smoothe the Commotions, unlesse Episcopacy first of all be throwne over boord ; and then having given the Swinge to the Wheele of their Fancy, no Hopes of Rest.

Your Holinesse had wisely, and effectually too established your Right, and continued your Possession in those Parts, by that Hierarchy ; But now the Glory is departed from those mighty Champions ; they are chased to and fro as a forsaken Leafe before the Wind, and know not where to pitch ; and he also that ere while was the great Primate of *England*, *alterius Orbis Patriarcha*, for a Throne of Eminency, is like to be brought upon the Scaffold of Delinquency ; and the rest of the holy Fathers of this Church, Lovers of Peace, and most religious Observers of the old Apostolick Eminency, for the Honour

Honour of the Church, and Glory of the Gospell, are likewise trembling, every Day ready to be offered up as a Sacrifice to the publick Hate. The valorous Pens of your Emissaries, and faithfull Labourers are now discouraged, lulled asleepe, and turned against themselves. The Authors of the most meritorious Peeces are now arraigned before the hereticall Tribunals, and shall hardly be brought off, if the Strength of your Policy, and Assiduity of your Prayers doe not prepare their Safety. Their shining Vertues, by which they ought to have beene so deare to the Church of *Rome*, are now wrapt in Clouds of Shame. All Things move crossly; and now when our Affaires were even ripening, and our just Hopes pregnant with Conceit of Wreaths, and Tryumphs, behold We are filled with nothing but Disappointments, and Apprehensions of farther reaching Woes.

I know the portentuous Newes of the *Scottish* and *English* Treaty (which fills all Courts, and Kingdomes) hath long ere now afflicted your most sacred Eares: for the Estates of *Scotland* (which we can never name without Shame and Anger) have given Order to their Commissioners (Embassadours of our Overthrow) to treat with the Peeres of *England* for the Production of an established Peace betwixt the two Nations, and so consequently for preparing worse Dayes to us, than the Miseries of the most disastrous War: They are linked together like two malignant powerfull Planets in Conjunction, who have such forceable Influence in the Times, that they cast forth a Flood of Fire, and animate every Thing against us with a dangerous Temper. By the Conference of this Treaty (which joynes their interlaced Minds in an individuall League) and by the prophane canvassing and supercilious Contractation of the highest Mysteries of State, We see how they have over-done us, and over-witted us in all our Policies: It shall bee found (most holy Father) true as the eternall Verities, that their Union will prove our infallible Confusion, and that ordinary Remedy of a Division, which has oftentimes proved so effectually, in such Exigencies will likewise now forsake us; for all their Purposes, their Judgments, their Affections,

*(Like as a nimble smiling Flame
Meeting another, grows the same.)*

Are now but all one, pointing upward with their Heads, not to Heaven, but to the Top of their execrable Hopes, being no other than to see your Venerable Miter (which so long hath beene the Terrour of Princes) buried in the Dust; never did Plots thrive like theirs; every Day, and every Circumstance of Time adds a new Degree of Strength to their Machinations; fortifying themselves against us most sensibly, even as by the continuall Revolution of the approaching Sun We find the Day is enlengthned, and the Summer begotten. There be greater Considerations in Hands than the curious Rules of Ceremonies, which I confesse did most multiply egregiously, after the Majesty, and Decency of the *Italian* Splendour: certainly their Actions doe carry an unusuall Weight, and sutable to themselves doe flye at an unusuall Height. Their Progresse is swift, and powerfull, as is the Progresse of

unlimited Fire in a populous City; or like Winds, whose Force doe at their Birth rend ope the stubborne Wombe of the dull Earth.

I have skrewed my selfe as cunningly as I could in the Bosome of their Intelligence, and found the Pulse of the Businesse; but I declare my Sagacity failes me, if they do not thirst after the very Heart-blood of your Honour, and combine for your finall Fall; and all this under the gallant Name of Loyalty to their King, and specious Pretext of Defending the Faith. Oh the cunning Hereticks the *Scots*! they have besieged us most subtilly, and sprung a Mine as it were under your Holinesse's own Throne.

Amongst other inveagling Devices, they have coined such a blasphemous Way of argumenting against venerable Episcopacy, that it will prove most destructive of that heavenly Hierarchy, by which your Holinesse had anchored on the Beauty of this Church; and this Malignancy is followed with Congruity of Humours so easily elemented, that I doubt the miserable torne Thing cannot escape Shipwracke in this Hell-blowne Tempest. They laugh at the Authority of our Church; they scorne the Arguments of Antiquity, saying, that Truth did precede Errour; and all the Considerations of Pompe and State, and externall Magnificence, they hold lighter than Vanity.

As to the Assembly of the high Court of Parliament, here (upon which all hereticke Churches doe gaze more superstitiously than the *Indians* looke upon the Sun which they adore) 'tis more terrible than many Armies with Banners, and by unmercifull Wayes intends a mighty Vengeance against the *Romish* and Prelate Faction. They are in a strange Motion, and run a Tyde cleane contrary to our standing; some wonderfull Assistance must prompt the Times dangerously, and the great Body of this justly redoubted Parliament, is like to have a Vertue too immense for one Region to containe, and moves with greater Majesty than as it were resolved to confine its Revolutions within the narrow Limits of this Iland; for the Policies are so many and transcendent, their Resolutions so firme and immoveable, that they are easily powerfull not onely to banish the Catholicks out of their owne Land, but doe Violence to the *Romish* Faith in the Heart of *Italy*, and perswade the *Turkes* and *Barbares* to become hereticall Impostors. It is able to make your Ancestors breake their mabre Lodgings, come forth and quarrell this superlative Fury, which riots so boundlessly. Hee that would dis-compose this Parliament, must first overthrow a Kingdome, a Prince, a Law; nay else as easily might hee commixe with Lightnings, or call backe a Thunder-bolt, as offer to restore it: for it is diseased in Mind, diseased past Recovery. All the Canons, and Constitutions of that sacred Synode (which were truly the Magazin of our spirituall Strength) are here bitterly pestered, and swept away; and the Children of Policy, who made the Advancement of your Estate and Honour the greatest Part of their Study, are now most dangerously censured, and made the deplored Subject of the Times. They take as little Notice of your Offspring, the reverend Prelats, as the surly North does of the Snow; which when it has engendered, its wild Breath scatters through the Earth forgotten. If Businesse take so hot a working, truly for what I can conjecture by the Purposes of Heaven, or Earth, all the Lawrels growing on your Holinesse's Crest

Crest, will bee turned to Cypresse, serving to no Use but to adorn your Funeralls; and the Cardinalls, Arch-bishops, and Bishops of *Italy* shall bee shortly sent to visite their cold Urnes, and the Nunnes left to keepe warme their Ashes with their dearest Teares.

Your Arch-officers, and Friends, can be no more usefull to your Holinesse; though they were indeed your ministring and faithfull Spirits, yet are they now shut up in Prisons, and groane under the martyring Hand of impious and corrupt Justice; resolve to compose their funerall Anthemes, and make ready condigne Places for them in the Calender: for the blackest Crime in their Charge is, that they have befriended the *Romish* Cause (trusty Soules!) and laboured to rectifie a stubborne State too imperiously. The Persecution is so hot here, and the winnowing of Men so exact, that sundry (out of Conscience of humbling, and weakening the State, to make it more capable of Alterations, and apt to obey) not able to stand before such a sophisticat Light, as is their Parliament (which notwithstanding of our light Esteem, has melted them as Snow) have embraced a voluntar Banishment, and transplanted themselves beyond Sea, where they may enjoy the Safety of a more gracious Shade, and under your Holinesse's Beames grow fat. Wee have not yet seene all the Links of this Chaine of Providence, till the unwearied Spheares, the Dispensers of Time, spin them out one after another; but if your Holinesse will cast your Eyes about you, and looke to the Commotions, and Earthquakes in Kingdomes, and Common-wealths, Wee dare almost be bold to say, that your Kingdome is now at the Age of Consistence, and can grow no further. Your Sun-beames have past the Meridian, and chased with the stifling Mists of Errour, like Smoake out of the Pit, are swiftly declining, and that without Hopes to arise againe; so they take it universally for granted, and beleeve with strong Confidence, that now upon the Stage of *Europe* there is a strange Comedy acting, whose Epilogue shall be in *Rome*; for Matters cannot stand at this Point, but our Enemies who have their Desires strengthened, will strive to encompasse what yet remaines.

May it not well be feared that the *English* Majesty, with his two puissant Armies in the Fields (ready for all Undertakings) shall espouse the Cause of the *Hugenots* in *France*, and now when the *French* King is offering to set his Foot upon that little Republicke of *Geneva*, shall appeare most terribly for their Reliefe, and lift up the Hereticks Horne, now lying in the Dust, and finally confound all the pioning Policies of the Cardinall *Richilieu*, who has so prosperously triumphed in his Garlands of Lillyes, and Floure-de-luces. What should hinder him from becomming the Head of all these pretended Reformed Churches? and display an uncontrolled Banner, till he have sprung over the *Alpes* upon the Wings of Renowne, and as full of Success, as Hopes spread Feare and Love through the World; and having forgotten your Right to the Patrimony of the Church, by the Benevolence of *Constantine* the Great, hee strip you naked of all your Riches, and Eminence; making you miserable as the poorest *Capuchin*: and armed with Zeale, teare downe the Walls of *Rome* like a ramping Lyon? I think Wee should be sufficiently puzzled, and the most generous Armies your Holinesse could command,

mand, would take them to their last Abilities, and have use of all their Counsell, and Strength, if these Motions should bee followed.

It is here likewise reported to the great Encouragement of our Enemies, that there be strange and dangerous Novations in *France*, which leade to an open Revolt, and the powerfull prevailing of Heresie; for if their Church Service be received in a known Tongue against the Practises, and Constitutions of the Church (as the Fame flies) and that by the Advice of the *Hugenots*, who will never move beyond their Line, to meet us (not a Haire-breadth) certainly you may then make the Myter's Epitaph, and perswade your selfe of greater Inundations of Evills than ever were thought cou'd have sprung from the Covenant of *Scotland*, or the Trienniall Parliaments in *England*; you may see then the Combustion which began in *Scotland*, and threatned but weakely at a great Distance, is now come to the Skirts of the holy Land almost, and that you had Need to looke to your owne Building.

Our Evills multiply, as the Heads of *Hydra*; for what Consequence may Wee apprehend from the Marriage of the Daughter of *England*, with those who bee Arch-enemies to your most Catholicke Sonne, the right Hand of your Execution? And can the Prince *Palatine* be arrived here for any Thing which will bring either Happinesse to the common Cause, or divert the Calamities which are daily emergent, like swolne Clouds of Infection arising upon the Horizon and darkening the Skie? No, our Evills are preparing as the Arrowes are ready to bee sent from the bended Bow.

Through this Beliefe, the prophane World doe glory in most sacrilegious Insolencies; for the dis-mantling of Churches, the pulling up of the Railes (which make the comely Distance from the holy Place) nay, the over-turning of Altars, (which in all the Corners of the Kingdome did rise most bravely after the *Italian* Mode) are but the daily Practises of the undaunted, and undistinguishing Vulgar. Wee are come to such Height of Contempt, that Boyes sing our Scandale in the Streets; they tune Ballads to our Infamy: and hee that can reproach us most handsomly, and deeply informe against us, has most strongly demerited Church and State. I like not the Complexion of our Affaires; strange Symptoms of a most dangerous Consumption, and many pregnant Reasons for the Encrease of our Feares! The Pulpits have forgotten that gracious Sound, with which they were of late most entirely acquainted; the Bookes dare not appeare in the *Romish* Dye, but come forth in Squadrons; in strange Habit, and hereticall Colours. Our Possession heere is gone, it seemes; and our Hopes to recover it, wholly blasted: nay if the pernicious Counsells, and the Opinions of the daring *Scots* prevaile, Wee may as easily thinke to entice the Sun from his Ecliptick, as work an Alteration of their Humours, or shake them from these new Grounds to which they are now so miserably wedded.

I dare not forget to shew your Holinesse, what great Expressions of Joy have bin heere in the City of *London*, tearing the Clouds with the Musicke of their Bells, and condensing the Aire with the Smoake of their Bonetires, as if they had already seene their furthest Desires crowned, and had bin ringing our funerall Knels; because the Prince has granted to the Estates a
Triennall

Triennall Parliament, wherewith the People have beene as strongly affected, as if they had beene delivered from Pest or Famine; or had received the Spoiles of most important Conquest: by this Meanes they resolve to hammer us so flat, that Wee shall never set up our Heads, nor bud againe.

If ever Affliction could awake the Sonnes and Daughters of the *Romane* Church, 'tis now, when the angry Winds are let loose from the Corners of the Earth. Wee have not indeed slept our Time here, but practised very laboriously, and according as the Churches Exigency did call us to a double Care, so likewise have We attempted all Expediencies for deluding the Purposes of our Enemies, and strengthening our selves. We have stretched our Wit, and studied fitting Policies in all the Latitude of a Catholick Conscience; there remains nothing in the Treasure of Invention which We have not solicited, and now in these bleeding Times with greater Strength of Wit; but I know not what has interposed betwixt your Holinesse's Influence, and a good Effect: some thing of late has made Obstructions in the effectuall Derivations of your Apostolick Benedictions; all has proved unprofitable: And (not to offend your Holinesse) I feare least the Tyde of your Sorrowes be but yet growing; for whereas Wee have ever magnified, and exalted Tradition above the Scripture, yet we know not how to fasten on these Impostures, for they adhere so close to their Scriptures, in their Reasons, and Opinions, that sooner may you divorce the Light from the Sun, than pull them from their grand Purpose of slighting the Traditions and Customes of the *Romish* Church with as much Disdaine, as we neglect the *Alchoran*; and ever when they oppone Scripture to our Traditions, We know not what to say, and have not bin acquainted with other Authority than the Churches: therefore your Holinesse would doe well to hearken to this, and consider that the Times in Likelyhood are comming, when the Scriptures (which have bin so highly esteemed by the Simplicity of that pretended Religion) will bee the Rule of Faith, and Church-Government, and overthrow our Subtilties: I hope your Holinesse, as the great Ghostly Father of the Church, will see that your Building be firmly seated upon permanent Foundations; for if they be not sure and able for all Assaults, it may happily fall, and crush us all: And I assure your Holinesse, if your Affronts encrease, your Strength do not convalesce, and this bad Fortune of the Miter continue, a pannick Feare will invade all your devoted Kings, Princes, and Cardinals; they will betake them to the strongest Side, and leave you in the Mire.

It is now therefore high Time to summon up all that is Vertue about you; what ever any of the great Monarches of the Church could doe, let it now appeare by your Power most eminently displayed: your Holinesse would doe well to call a Counsell, and consult with Heaven, and learne how to stop these Hereticks Mouthes; convince them of the Truth, and heape Coales on their Heads: Seeke out the End of these Troubles, that afflict the World; for it is indeed to be feared, if Heresie become so insolent, and swell with so good Fortune, that shortly their Truth shall shine glorious as the Sun, and become as it were the Idole of the World, extinguishing the Life of our Misteries, under which Wee have had such Halcyonian Dayes.

Since

Since then all the Fabrick of our Religion, the standing of the Apostolick Empire, and all that is deare and splendid to the Glory of the Miter is now shaking; rise up from your Throne, put to your saving Hand to the Helme, and doe not neglect one Day, one Houre, one Minute to weare out with Toyle of Plot, and Practise of Conceit, your busie and fruitfull Wit; bestir like the first Mover, your inferiour, and obedient Spirits, every one in their owne Spheare; never take Rest, nor force a Smile which is not borrowed from a sacred and Papall Vengeance, such as becomes the State of your Disgrace, and unbounded Fate, till your Holinesse know what Way to fatisfie Fury and Revenge; till you and your Successors, the undoubted Inheritors of the World's metropolitall Throne, have touched the Ends of the Earth with your all-conquering Scepter, and hath led Truth in Proceffion, triumphing over the Ruines of Errour.

Fragmenta Regalia: Or, Observations on the late
 QUEEN *ELIZABETH*, her Times, and Favourites.

Written by Sir ROBERT NAUNTON, Master of the Court
 of WARDS. 1641.

To take Her in the Originall, She was

THE Daughter of King *Henry* the Eighth by *Ann Bullen* the second of six Wives which he had, and one of the Maydes of Honour to the divorced Queene *Katherine* of *Austria*, (or as the now stiled *Infanta* of *Spaine*) and from thence taken to the *Royall Bed*.

That she was not of a most noble and royall Extract by her Father, will not fall into Question, for on that Side was disimboynd into her Veynes by a Confluence of Blood, the very Abstract of all the greatest Houses in Christendome, and remarkeable it is, considering that violent Deserption of the royall House of the *Britaines*, by the Intrusion of the *Saxons*, and afterwards by the Conquest of the *Normans*: that through Vicissitude of Times, and after Discontinuance almost of a thousand Yeares, the *Scepter* should fall againe, and be brought back into the old regall Line and true Current of the *British Blood* in the Person of her renowned Grandfather King *Henry VII.* together with whatsoever the *German*, *Norman*, *Burgundian*, *Castilian*, and *French* Atchievements with their Intermarriages which 800 Yeares had acquired, could adde of Glory thereunto.

By her Mother she was of no Soveraigne Discent, yet noble and very antient in the Family of *Bullen*, though some erroneously branded them with a Citizen's Rise, or Originall, which was yet but of a second Brother, who as it was divine in the Greatnesse, and Lustre to come to his House, was sent
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into the City to acquire Wealth (*ad ædificandam antiquam domum*) unto whose Atchievements (for he was *Lord Major of London*) fell in as it is averred, both the Blood and Inheritance of the eldest Brother, for Want of Issue Males, by which Accumulation the House within few Discents mounted *In fulmen honoris*, and was sodainly delated in the best Families of *England* and *Ireland*: as *Howard*, *Ormond*, *Sackevile*, and others.

Having thus touched, and now leaving her Stipe, I come to her Person, and how she came to the Crowne by the Decease of her Brother and Sister.

Under *Edward VI.* she was his, and one of the Darlings of *Fortune*, for besides the Consideration of Blood, there was betweene these two Princes, a Concurrencie and Sympathy of their Natures and Affections, together with the Cœlestiall Bond (confirmative Religion) which made them one, for the King never called her by any other Appellation, but his sweetest and dearest Sister, and was scarce his own-Man, she being absent; which was not so betweene him and the Lady *Mary*.

Under her Sister she found her Condition much altered, for it was resolved, and her Destinie had decreed it, for to set her Apprentice in the Schoole of Affliction, and to draw her through that ardell Fire of Tryall, the better to mould and fashion her to Rule and Sovereignitie; which finished, and *Fortune* calling to Minde, that the Time of her Servitude expired, gave up her Indentures, and therewith delivered into her Custodie a *Scepter*, as the Reward of her Patience, which was about the 26th of her Age, a Time in which, as for her Externalls she was full blowne, so was she for her Internalls growne ripe and seasoned by Adversitie, in the Exercise of her Vertue: for it seemes, *Fortune* meant no more but to shew her a Peece of Varietie, and Changeablenesse of her Nature, but to conduct her to her Destinie (*id est*) Felicitie.

She was of Person tall, of Hayre and Complexion faire, and therewith well favored, but high nosed, of Limbs and Feature neate, and which added to the Lustre of these externall Graces, of a stately and majesticke Comportment, participating in this more of her Father, than of her Mother, who was of an inferiour allay-plausible, or as the *French* hath it, more debonaire, and affable, Vertues, which might well suite with *Majesty*, and which descending as Hereditary to the Daughter, did render her of a more sweeter Temper, and endeared her more to the Love and Liking of the People, who gave her the Name and Fame of a most gracious and popular Prince.

The Atrocitie of the Fathers Nature was rebated in her, by the Mothers sweeter Inclinations for to take, and that no more than the Character out of his owne Mouth, *he never spared Man in his Anger, nor Woman in his Lust*.

If we search further into her *Intellectualls* and *Abilities*; the wheele Course of her Government deciphers them to the Admiration of Posteritie, for it was full of Magnanimitie, tempered with *Justice*, *Pietie*, and *Pittie*, and to speake Truth, noted but with one Act of Staine, or Taint, all her Deprivations, either of *Life* or *Libertie*, being legall and necessitated, she was learned, her Sex and Time considered, beyond common Beliefe, for Letters about this Time, or some-what before, did but begin to be of Esteeme,

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and in Fashion, the former Ages being over-cast with the Mists and Fogs of the *Roman* Ignorance, and it was the Maxime that over-ruled the foregoing Times, that Ignorance was the Mother of Devotion: her Wars were a long Time more in the auxiliarie Part, and Assistance of forraigne Princes and States: than by Invasion of any, till common Policie advised it, for a safer Way, to strike first Abroad, then at Home to expect the War, in all which she was ever felicious and victorious.

The Change and Alteration of Religion, upon the Instant of her Accession to the *Crowne*, the Smoake and Fire of her Sister's Martyredomes scarcely quenched, was none of her least remarkeable Actions, but the Support and Establishment thereof, with the Meanes of her owne Subsistence, amidst so powerfull Enemies Abroad, and those many domestique Practises, were (methinks) Works of Inspiration, and of no humane *Providence*; which, on her Sister's Departure, she most religiously acknowledged, ascribing the Glory of her Deliverance to God above: for she being then at *Hatfield*, and under a Guard, and the *Parliament* sitting at the selfe same Time, the Newes of the Queene's Death, and her owne Proclamation by the generall Consent of the House, and the publique Sufferance of the People: whereat, falling on her Knees, after a good Time of Respiration, she uttered this Verse of the Psalme, *A domino factum est istud, & est mirabile in oculis nostris.* And this we find to this Day on the Stampe of her Gold; with this on her Silver, *Posui Deum adiutorem meum.* Her Ministers and Instruments of State, such as were *participes curarum*, and bore a great Part of the Burthen, were many; and those memorable, but they were onely *Favorites*, and not *Mynions*, such as acted more by her Princely Rules and Judgments, than by their owne Wills and Appetites; for we saw no *Gaveston*, *Vere*, or *Spencer*, to have swayed alone, dureing fortie foure Yeares; which was a well settled and advised Maxime, for it valued her the more, it awed the most secure, it tooke best with the People, and it staved off all Emulations, which are apt to rise and vent in obloquious *Acrimonie* even against the Prince, where such onely are admitted into high Administrations.

A Major Pallacii.

THE principall Note of her Raigne will be, that she ruled much by Faction and Parties, which she herselfe both made, upheld and weakened, as her owne great Judgement advised; for I do disassent from the common, and received Opinion, that my Lord of *Leicester* was absolute, and alone in her *Grace*; and though I come somewhat short of the Knowledge of these Times, yet, that I may not erre nor shoot at Randome, I know it from assured Intelligence that it was not so, for Proofo whereof (amongst many that could present) I will both relate a Story, and therein a knowne Truth, and 'twas thus: *Bowyer* the Gentleman of the *Black Rod*, being charged by her expresse Command, to looke precisely to all Admissions into the *Privy-Chamber*; one Day stayed a very gay *Captaine* (and a Follower of my Lord of *Leicester*) from Entrance, for that he was neither well knowne, nor a sworne Servant to the

the Queene: At which Repulse, the Gentleman (bearing high on my Lord's Favor) told him, that he might perchance procure him a Discharge. *Leicester* coming to the Contestation, sayd publikely, which was none of his wonted Speeches, that he was a Knave, and should not long continue in his Office; and so turning about to goe to the Queene, *Bowyer* (who was a bould Gentleman and well beloved) stept before him, and fell at her Majesties Feet, relates the Story, and humbly craves her Grace's Pleasure, and whether my Lord of *Leicester* was King, or her Majesty Queene? Whereunto she replied (with her wonted Oath) *God's Death*, my Lord, I have wished you well, but my Favour is not so locked up for you, that others shall not participate thereof; for I have many Servants unto whom I have and will at my Pleasure bequeathe my Favor, and likewise resume the same, and if you thinke to rule here, I will take Course to see you forth coming: I will have here but one *Mistress*, and no *Master*; and look that no ill happen to him, least it be severally required at your Hands: Which so quailed my Lord of *Leicester*, that his fained Humilitie was long after one of his best Vertues.

Moreover the Earle of *Suffex*, then Lord Chamberlaine, was his professed Antagonist to his Dying Day; and for my Lord *Hunsdowne*, and Sir *Thomas Sackevile*, after Lord Treasurer, who were all Contemporaries, he was wont to say of them, that they were of the Tribe of *Dan*, and were *Noli me tangere*; implying, that they were not to be contested with, for they were indeed of the Queene's nigh Kindred.

From whence, and in many more Instances, I conclude, that she was absolute and soveraigne Mistress of her Graces, and that all those to whom she distributed her Favors, were never more than Tennants at Will, and stood on no better Termes than her princely Pleasure, and their good Behaviour.

And this also I present as a knowne Observation, that she was, though very capable of Counsell, absolute enough in her owne Resolution, which was ever apparent even to her last; and in that of her still Averfion to grant *Tyrone* the least Drop of her Mercy, though earnestly and frequently advised thereunto, yea wrought onely by her whole Counsell of State, with very many Reasons; and as the State of her Kingdome then stood, I may speake it with Assurance, necessitated Arguments.

If we looke into her Inclination as it was disposed to Magnificence or Frugalitie, we shall find in them many notable Considerations, for all her Dispensations were so poyised, as though Discretion and Justice, had both decreed to stand at the Beame, and see them weighed out in due Proportion, the Maturitie of her Peaces and Judgements, meeting in a Concurrance; and that in such an Age as seldome lapseth to Excesse.

To consider them a part, we have not many Presidents of her Liberalitie, nor any large Donatives to particular Men: my Lord of *Essex* his Booke of *Parks* excepted, which was a Princely Gift, and some more of a lesser Size, to my Lord of *Leicester*, *Hatton*, and others.

Her Rewards chiefly consisteth in Grants, and Leases of Offices, and Places of Judicature, but for ready Money, and in great Summes, she was very sparing; which we may partly conceive, was a Vertue rather drawne out

of Necessity, than her Nature; for she had many Layings out, and as her Wars were lasting, so their Charge increased to the last Period. And I am of Opinion with Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, that those many brave Men of her Times, and of the *Militia*, tasted little more of her Bounty, than in her Grace and good Word with their due Entertainment, for she ever payd the Souldiers well, which was the Honour of her Times, and more than her great Adversary of *Spaine* could performe: so that when we come to the Consideration of her Frugality, the Observation will be little more, than that her Bounty and it were so woven together, that the one was stayned by an honorable Way of spareing.

The *Irish* Action we may call a Mallady, and a Consumption of her Times, for it accompanied her to her End, and it was of so profuse and vast Expençe, that it drew neare unto a Distemperature of State, and of Passion in herselfe, for towards her last, she grew somewhat hard to please her Armies, being accustomed to Prosperity, and the *Irish* Prosecution not answering her Expectation, and her wonted Successe, for it was a good while an unthrifty, and inauspicious War, which did much disturb, and mislead her Judgment; and the more, for that it was a President taken out of her owne Patterne?

For as the Queene by Way of Division, had at her Coming to the *Crowne*, supported the revolted States of *Holland*, so did the King of *Spaine* turne the Tricke upon her selfe towards her going out, by cherishing the *Irish* Rebellion, where it falls into Consideration, what the State of this Kingdome, and the *Crowne* Revenues were then able to indure and embrace.

If we looke into the Establishments of those Times with the best of the *Irish* Army, counting the Defeatures of Blackwater, with all the precedent Expences, as it stood from my Lord of *Essex*, his Undertaking of the Surrender of *Kingfale*, and the Generall *Mountjoy*; and somewhat after we shall find the Horse and Foote Troopes were for 3 or 4 Yeares together much about 20000, besides the Navall Charge which was a Dependant of the same War, in that the Queene was then enforced to keepe in continuall Pay a strong Fleete at Sea, to attend the *Spanish* Coasts and Parts both to allarum the *Spaniards*, and to intercept the Forces, designed for the *Irish* Assistance; so that the Charge of that War alone did cost the Queene three hundred thousand Pounds per Annum at least, which was not the Moiety of her other Disbursements, and Expences, which without the publique Aydes the State and the royall Receipts, could not have much longer endured; which out of her owne frequent Letters and Complaints to the Deputy *Mountjoy*, for casheering of that List as soone as he could, might be collected, for the Queene was then driven into a Straite.

We are naturally prone to applaude the Times behinde us, and to vilifie the present; for the Concurrent of her Fame carries it to this Day, how royally and victoriously she lived and dyed without the Grudge and Grievance of her People, yet the Truth may appeare without Retraction from the Honour of so great a Princeesse. It is manifest she left more Debts unpaid, taken upon Credit of her Privy-Seales, than her Progenitors did or could have taken

taken up that were an 100 Yeares before her, which was no inferiour Peece of State to lay the Burthen on that House which was best able to beare it at a dead Lift, when neither her Receipts could yield her Reliefe, at the Pinch, nor the Urgencie of her Affayres endure the Delayses of Parliamentary Assistance, and for such Aydes it is likewise apparant, that she received more, and that with the Love of her People, than any two of her Predecessors, that tooke most, which was a Fortune strayned out of the Subjects, through the Plausibilitie of her Comportment, and (as I would say without Offence) the prodigall Distribution of her Grace to all Sorts of Subjects; for I beleeve no Prince living, that was so tender of Honour, and so exactly stood for the Preservation of Soveraigntie, was so great a Courtier of the People, yea of the Commons, and that stooped and declined lowe in presenting her Person to the publique View, as she passed in her Progresse and Perambulations, and in her Ejaculations of her Prayers on the People.

And truely though much may be written in Praise of her Providence, and good Husbandry, in that she could upon all good Occasions abate her Magnanimitie, and therewith comply with the *Parliament*, and so alwaies come off, both with Honour, and Profit, yet must we ascribe some Part of the Commendation to the Wisdome of the Times, and the Choyce of *Parliament-men*, for I sayd not that they were at any Time given to any violent or pertinacious Dispute, the Elections being made of grave and discreet Persons, not factious and ambitious of Fame, such as came not to the House with a malevolent Spirit of Contention, but with a Preparation to consult on the publique Good, and rather to comply than to contest with Majesty, neither dare I finde that the House was weakned and pestered through the Admission of too many young Heades, as it hath beene of latter Times, which remembers me of the Recorder *Martin's* Speech, about the Truth of our late Soveraigne Lord King *James*, when there were Accompts taken of forty Gentlemen, not above twenty, and some not exceeding sixteen Years of Age, which made him to say, that it was the antient Custome for old Men to make Lawes for young Ones; but there he saw the Case altered, and that there were Children in the great Councell of the Kingdome, which came to invade and invert Nature, and to enact Lawes to governe their Fathers, such were in the House alwaies, and tooke the common Cause into Consideration, and they say the Queene had many Times just Cause, and Need enough to use their Assistance, neither do I remember that the House did ever capitulate, or preferre their private Interest to the publique, and the Queene's Necessities, but waited their Times, and in the first Place gave their Supply, and according to the Exigence of her Affaires, yet failed not at the last to attaine what they desired, so that the Queene and her *Parliaments* had ever the good Fortunes to depart in Love, and on reciprocall Termes, which are Considerations that have not beene so exactly observed in our last Assemblies. And I would to *God* they had beene for considering the great Debts left on the King, and into what Incombrances the House it selfe had then drawn him, his Majesty was not well used, though I lay not the Blame on the whole Suffrage of the House, where he had many good Friends, for I dare avouch it, had the House been freed of halfe a

Dozen popular and discontented Persons, such as with the Fellow that burnt the Temple of *Ephesus*, would be talked of, though for doing of Mischiefe, I am confident the King had obtained that which in Reason, and at his first Occasion he ought to have received freely and without Condition. But pardon this Digression, which is here remembred not in Way of Aggravation, but in true Zeale of the publique Good, and presented in Caveat of future Times; for I am not ignorant how the Genius and Spirit of the Kingdome now moves to make his Majesty amends, on any Occasion, and how desirous the Subject is to expiate that Offence at any Rate; may it please his Majesty to make Triall of his Subjects Affections, and at what Prise they value now his Goodnesse and Magnanimitie.

But to our Purpose: The Queene was not to learne that, as the Strength of the Kingdome consisted in the Multitude of the Subjects; so the Securitie of her Person consisted and rested in the Love and Fidelitie of her People, which she politiquely affects (as it hath been thought) some-what beneath the Height of her naturall Spirit and Magnanimitie.

Moreover it will be a true Note of her Providence, that she would alwaies listen to her Profit: for she would not refuse the Information of the meanest Personages, which proposed Improvement, and had learnt the Philosophie of (*Hoc agere*) to looke unto her owne Worke: of which there is a notable Example of one *Carmarden* an under-Officer of the *Custom-house*, who observing his Time, presented her with a Paper, shewing how she was abused in the under-renting of the Customs, and therewith humbly desired her Majesty to conceale him, for that it did concerne two or three of her great Counsellors whom Customer *Smith* had bribed with 2000*l.* a Man, so to loose the Queene 20000*l.* *per Annum*; which being made knowne to the Lords, they gave strict Order that *Carmarthen* should not have access to the back Staires; but at last her Majesty smelling the Craft, and missing *Carmarthen*, she sent for him back, and encouraged him to stand to his Information, which the poore Man did so handsomly, that within the Space of ten Yeares he was brought to double his Rent, or leave the Custome to new Farmers: so that we may take this also in Consideration, that there were of the Queene's Councel which were not in the Catalogue of Saints.

Now as we have taken a View of some particular Motives of her Times, her Nature and Necessities: It is not without the Text to give a short Touch of the Helps and Advantages of her Raigne, which were not without Parolles; for she had neither Husband, Brother, Sister, nor Children to provide for, who as they are Dependants on the *Crowne*, so do they necessarily draw Lively-hood from thence, and oftentimes exhaust and drawe deepe, especially when there is an ample Fraternity *Royall*, and of the Princes of the Blood, as it was in the Time of *Ed. III.* and *Hen. IV.* for when the *Crowne* cannot, the publique ought honourable Allowance, for they are the Honour and Hopes of the Kingdome, and the publique which enjoyes them hath the like Interest with the Father which begat them, and our Common Law, which is the Inheritance of the Kingdome, did ever of old provide Aydes for the *primo-genitus*, and the eldest Daughter; for that the Multiplicities of Courts,
and

and the great Charges which necessarily followes, a *King*, a *Queene*, a *Prince*, and *Royall Issue*, was a Thing which was not *in rerum natura*, during the Space of 44 Yeares; but worne out of Memory, and without the Consideration of the present Times, insomuch as the Aydes given to the late and right noble *Prince Henry*, and to his Sister, the Lady *Elizabeth*, which were at first generally received as Impositions for *Knight-hood*, though an ancient Law fell also into the Imputation of a Tax of Nobilitie, for that it lay long covered in the Embers of Division, betweene the Houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, and forgotten or connived at by the succeeding *Princes*; so that the Strangenesse of the Observation, and the Difference of those latter Raignes, is that the *Queene* tooke up much beyond the Power of Law, which fell not into the Murmur of People, and her Successors nothing but by Warrant of the Law, which neverthelesse was received through Disuse to be injurious to the Libertie of the *Kingdom*.

Now, before I come to any mention of her Favorites, for hitherto I have delivered but some oblivious Passages, thereby to prepare and smoothe a Way for the rest that followes.

It is necessary that I touch on the Religiousnesse of the others Raigne, I meane the Body of her Sister's Counsell of State, which she retained intirely, neither removing, nor discontenting any, although she knew them averse to her Religion, and in her Sister's Time, perverse to her Person, and privie to all her Troubles, and Imprisonments.

A Prudence which was incompatible to her Sister's Nature, for she both dissipated, and presented the Major Part of her Brother's Counsell; but this will be of certaine, that how complyable and obsequious soever she found them, yet for a good Space she made little Use of their Counsells, more than in the ordinary Course of the Board, for she had a dormant Table in her owne privy-brest, yet she kept them together, and in their Places, without any suddaine Change; so that we may say of them, that they were then of the Court, not of the Counsell; for whilst she amazed them by a kind of promissive Disputation concerning the Points controverted by both Churches; she did set downe her owne Ghests without their Privity, and made all their Progressions, Gradations, but for that the Tenents of her Secrets, with the Intents of Establishments were pitched before it was knowne where the Court would sit downe.

Neither do I finde that any of her Sister's Counsell of State were either repugnant to her Religion, or opposed her Doings. *Englefeild* Master of the *Wardes* excepted, who withdrew himselfe from the Board, and shortly after out of her Dominions; so pliable and obedient they were to change with the Times, and their Prince; and of them will fall a Relation of Recreation: *Pawlet* Marquesse of *Winchester*, and Lord *Treasurer*, had served then four *Princes* in as various and changeable Times and Seasons, that I may well say, no Time nor Age hath yeelded the like President: this Man being noted to grow high in her Favor (as his Place and Experience required) was questioned by an intimate Friend of his, how hee had stood up for 30 Yeares together, amidst the Change and Ruines of so many Chancellors, and great Personages; why, quoth

quoth the *Marquesse*, *Ortus sum e salice, non ex quercu*, I am made of pliable Willow, not of the stubborne Oake? And truly it seemes the old Man had taught them all, especially *William Earle of Pembroke*, for they two were alwaies of the *King Religion*, and alwaies zealous Professors: of these it is sayd, that being both younger Brothers, yet of noble Houses, they spent what was left them, and came on trust to the Court, where upon the bare Stocke of their Wits they began to traffique for themselves, and prospered so well, that they got, spent, and left more than any Subjects from *Normans Conquest*, to their owne Times: whereupon it hath beene pretily spoken, that they lived in a Time of Dissolution.

To conclude then, of all the former Raigne, it is sayd, that those two lived, and died, chiefly in her Grace and Favor, by the Letter written upon his Sonns Marriage with the Lady *Catharine Gray*; he had like utterly to have lost himselfe, but at the Instant of Consummation, as apprehending the Unsafety, and Danger of Intermariage with the Blood *Royall*, he fell at the *Queene's Feet*, where he both acknowledged his Presumption, and projected the Cause, and the Divorce together; so quick he was at his Worke, that in the Time of Repudiation of the sayd Lady *Gray*, he clapt up a Marriage for his Son, the Lord *Herbert*, with *Mary Sidney*, Daughter to Sir *Henry Sidney*, then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, the Blow falling on *Edward* the late Earle of *Hartford*, who to his Costs tooke up the divorced Lady, of whom the Lord *Beauchampe* was borne, and *William* now Earle of *Hartford*, is descended.

I come now to present them to her owne Election, which were either admitted to her Secrets of State, or tooke into her Grace and Favor, of whom in Order I crave leave to give unto Posteritie, a cautious Description, with a short Character, or Draught, of the Persons themselves; for without Offence to others, I would be true to my selfe, their Memories, and Merits, distinguishing those of *Militia*, from the *Togati*; and of both these she had as many, and those as able Ministers, as had any of her *Progenitors*.

LEICESTER.

IT will be out of Doubt, that my Lord of *Leicester* was one of the first whom she made Master of the Horse, hee was the youngest Sonne then living of the Duke of *Northumberland*, beheaded *primo Mariæ*, and his Father was that *Dudley* which our Histories couple with *Empson*: and both be much infamed for the Caterpillars of the Common-wealth, during the Raigne of *Henry* the Seventh, who being of a noble Extract, was executed the first Yeare of *Henry* the Eighth, but not thereby so extinct, but that he left a plentiful Estate, and such a Sonne, who as the Vulgar speakes, it would live without a Teate; for out of the Ashes of his Father's Infamy he rose to be a Duke, and as high as Subjection could permit, or Soveraigntie indure, and though he could not find out any Appellation to assume the Crowne in his owne Person: yet he projected, and very nearely effected it for his Sonne *Guilbert* by Entermariage with the Lady *Jane Gray*, and so by that Way to bring it into his Loynes.

Obfer-

Observations, which though they lie beyond us, and seeme impertinent to the Text, yet are they not much extravagant, for they must leade us, and shew us how the after Passage were brought about, with the Dependances on the Lyne of a collaterall Work-man-ship, and surely it may amaze a well fetled Judgment to look back into these Times, and to consider how the *Duke* could attaine to such a Pitch of Greatnesse, his Father dying in Ignominie, and at the Gallowes, his Estate confiscate for pilling and polling the People.

But when we better thinke upon it, we find that he was given up, but as a Sacrifice to please the People, not for any Offence committed against the Person of the *King*; so that upon the Matter he was a Martire of the Prerogative, and the *King* in Honour could do no lesse than give backe to his Sonne the Priviledge of his Blood, with the acquireing of his Father's Profession, for he was a Lawyer, and of the *King's* Counsell, at Law, before he came to be *ex interioribus Consiliis*, where besides the Licking of his owne Fingers, he got the *King* a masse of Riches, and that not with Hazard, but with the Losse of his Life and Fame, for the *King's* Father's Sake.

Certainely it is, that his Sonne was left rich in Purse, and Braine, which are good Foundations, and Fewell to Ambition, and it may be supposed, he was on all Occasions well heard of the *King*, as a Person of Marke and Compassion in his Eye, but I finde not that he did put up for Advancement, during *Henry VIII.* Time, although a vast Aspirer, and a provident Stayer.

It seemes he thought the *King's* *Raigne* was much given to the Falling-Sicknesse, but espying his Time fitting, and the Sovereignitie in the Hands of a Pupill Prince, he then thought he might as well put up, for it was the best for having the Possession of Blood, and of Purse, with a Head-peece of a vast Extent, he soone got to Honour, and no sooner there, but hee began to side it with the best, even with the Protector, and in Conclusion, got his, and his Brother's Heades, still aspiring till he expired in the Losse of his owne; so that Posteritie may by reading of the Father, and Grandfather, make Judgment of the Sonne, for we shall finde that this *Robert*, whose Originall we have now traced, the better to present him, was Inheritor to the Genius, and Craft of his Father, and *Ambrose* of the Estate, of whom hereafter we shall make some short Mention.

We tooke him now as he was admitted into the Court and the Queene's Favour, and here he was not to seeke to play his Part well, and dexteriously, but his Play was chiefly at the Foregame, not that he was a Learner at Latter, but he loved not the After-wit, for the Report is (and I thinke not unjustly) that he was seldome behind Hand with his Gamesters, and that they alwayes went with the Losse.

He was a very goodly Person, tall, and singularly well featured, and all his Youth well-favored, of a sweet Aspect, but high-foreheaded, which (as I should take it) was of no Discommendation, but towards his latter, and which with old Men was but a middle Age, he grew high coloured, so that the Queene had much of her Father, for excepting some of her Kindred, and some few that had handsome Wits in crooked Bodies; she alwaies tooke

Perfo-

Personages in the Way of Election, for the People hath it to this Day, *King Henry loved a Man.*

Being thus in her Grace, she called to Minde the Sufferings of her Ancestors, both in her Fathers and Sister's Raignes, and restored his, and his Brother's Blood, creating *Ambrose* the Elder, Earle of *Warwick*, and himselfe Earle of *Leicester*, and as he was *ex primiciis*, or of her first Choyce, so he rested not there, but long enjoyed her Favor, and therewith what he listed, till Time and Emulation, the Companions of Greatnesse, resolved of his Period, and to collour himself at his siting in a Clowde (at *Conebury*) not by so violent a Death, or by the fatall Sentence of Judicature, as that of his Father and Grandfather's was, but as it is supposed by that Poyson which he had prepared for others, wherein they report him a rare Artift.

I am not bound to give Credit to all vulgar Relations, or to the Libells of his Time, which are commonly forced and falsified, futable to the Wordes and Honours of Men in Passion, and Discontent, but which bindes me to thinke him no good Man amongst other Things of knowne Truth, is that of my Lord of *Essex* his Death in *Ireland*, and the Marriage of his Lady, which I forbear to presse, in Regard he is long since dead, and others living whom it may concerne.

To take him in the Observation of his Letters and Writings, which should best set him off, for such as have fallen into my Hands, I never yet saw a Stile or Phrase more seemingly religious, and fuller of the Straines of Devotion, and were they not sincere, I doubt much of his well Being, and I feare he was too well seene in the Aphorismes, and Principles of *Nicolas the Florentine*, and in the Reaches of *Cæsar Borgias*.

And hitherto I have onely touched him in his Courtships. I conclude him in his Lanuce. He was sent Governor by the Queene to the revolted States of *Holland*, where we reade not of his Wonders, for they say, he had more of *Mercury*, than he had of *Mars*, and that his Devise might have beene without Prejudice to the great *Cæsar*. *Veni, vidi, redivi.*

R A D C L I F E Earle of S U S S E X.

HIS Corrivall was *Thomas Radcliffe* Earle of *Sussex*, who in his Constellation was his direct Opposite; for indeed he was one of the Queene's Martialists, and did her very good Service in *Ireland*, at his first Accession, till she recalled him to the Court, whom she made Lord *Chamberlane*; but he play'd not his Game with that Cunning and Dexteritie, as the Earle of *Leicester* did, which was much the more, the fairer Courtier, though *Sussex* was thought much the honestest Man, and far the better Souldier, but he lay too open on his Guard; he was a godly Gentleman, and of a brave and noble Nature, true, and constant to his Friends, and Servants; he was also of a very ancient and noble Lyneage, honoured through many Discents, through the Tytle of *Fitzwalters*. Moreover there was such an Antipathy in his Nature, to that of *Leicester*, that being together in Court, and both in high Employments, they grew to a direct Frowardnesse, and

and were in continuall Opposition, the one setting the Watch, the other the Guard, each on the others Actions, and Motions, for my Lord of *Sussex* was of a great Spirit, which backt with the Queene's speciall Favor, and Support, by a great and ancient Inheritance, could not brooke the others Empire, in so much as the Queene upon sundry Occasions had somewhat to do to appease and attone them, untill Death parted the Competition, and left the Place to *Leicester*, who was not long alone without his Rivall in Grace, and Command: To conclude, this Favorite, it is confidently affirmed, that lying in his last Sicknesse, he gave this Caveat to his Friends.

I am now passing into another World, and I must leave you to your Fortunes, and the Queene's Grace and Goodnesse, but beware of the Gipsy, meaning Leicester, for he will be too hard for you all, you know not the Beast so well as I do.

Secretary WILLIAM CECILL.

I Come now to the next, which was Secretary *William Cecill*, for on the Death of the old Marquesse of *Winchester*, he came up in his Roome, a Person of a most subtile, and active Spirit.

He stood not by the Way of Constellation, but was wholly intente to the Service of his Mistres, and his Dexterity, Experience, and Merit therein, challenged a Roome in the Queene's Favor, which eclipsed the others over-seeming Greatnesse, and made it appeare that there were others steered, and stood at the Helme besides himselfe, and more Stars in the Firmament of Grace, than *Ursa Major*.

He was borne as they say, in *Lincolne-shire*, but as some aver, upon Knowledge of a younger Brother, of the *Cecills* of *Hartford-shire*, a Family of my owne Knowledge, though now private, yet of no meane Antiquitie; who being exposed, and sent to the Citie, as poore Gentlemen use to do their Sons, who became to be a rich Man on *London-bridge*, and purchased in *Lincoln-shire*, where this Man was borne.

He was sent to *Cambridge*, and then to the *Innes of Court*, and so came to serve the Duke of *Summerset*, in the Time of his Protector-ship as Secretary, and having a Pregnancie to high Inclinations, he came by Degrees, to a higher Conversation, with the chiefeft Affaires of State and Councells, but on the Fall of the Duke, he stood some Yeares in Umbradge, and without Imployment, till the State found they needed his Abilities, and although we finde not that he was taken into any Place, during *Marie's Raigne*, unlesse (as some say) towards the last, yet the Councell severall Times made use of him, and at the Queene's Entrance, he was admitted Secretary of State, afterwards he was made Master of the Court of Wards, then Lord Treasurer, a Person of most excellent Abillities, and indeed the Queene began to need and seeke out Men of both Guards, and so I conclude to ranke this great Man, this great Instrument amongst *Togati*, for he had not to doe with the Sword, any more than as the great Pay-master, and Contriver of the War, which shortly followed, wherein he accomplished much, through his

theoricall Knowledge at home, and his Intelligence abroad, by unlocking of the Councells of the Queene's Enemies.

We must now take it, and that of Truth, into Observation, that untill the tenth of her Raigne, the Times were calme and serene, though sometimes over-cast, as the most glorious Sunne-rising is subject to shadowings and dropings, for the Clowdes of *Spaine*, and the Vapers of the holy League began to disperse and threaten her Felicitie. Moreover, she was then to provide for some intestine Strangers, which began to gather in the Heart of her Kingdome, all which had Relation, and Correspondency, each one to the other, to dethrone her, and to disturbe the publique Tranquillitie, and therewithall, as a principall Marke, the established Religion, for the Name of *Recusant* then began first to be knowne to the World, untill then the *Catholiques* were not more than Church Papists, but now commanded by the Popes expresse *Catholique-Church* their Mother, so it seemes the Pope had then his Aymes to take a true Number of his Children, but the Queene had the greater Advantage, for she likewise tooke Tale of her opposite Subjects, their Strength, and how many they were, that had given up their Names to *Baal*, who then by the Hands of some of his Profolites, fixed his Bulls on the Gates of *Pauls*, which discharged her Subjects of all Fidelitie, and received Faith, and so under the Vaile of the next Successor, to replant the *Catholique Religion*, so that the Queene had then a new Taske and Worke in hand, that might well awake her best Providence, and required a Muster of new Armes, as well as Court-ships, and Counsells, for the Time then began to grow quick, and active, fitter for stronger Motions than them of the Carpet, and Measure, and it will be a true Note of her Magninimitie, that she lov'd a Souldier, and had a Propention in her Nature to regard, and alwaies to grace them, which the Courtiers taking into their Consideration, tooke it as an inviteing to winne Honour; together with their Majestie's Favor, by exposing themselves to the Wars, especially when the Queene and the Affaires of the Kingdome stood in some necessity of the Souldiers, for we have many Instances of the Sallies of the Nobilitie, and Gentry, yea and of the Court, and of her privy Favorites, that had any Touch or Tincture of *Mars* in their Inclinations, and to steale away without Licence, and the Queene's Privitie, which had like to cost some of them deare, so predominate were their Thoughts, and Hopes of Honour growne in them, as we may truly observe in the Exposition of Sir *Philip Sidney*, my Lord of *Essex*, *Mountjoy*, and diverse others, whose Absence, and the Manner of their Irruptions, was very distastfull unto her; whereof I can hereunto add a true, and no impertinent Story, and that of the last: *Mountjoy*, who having twice, or thrice, stolen away into *Brittany*, where under Sir *John Norris*, he had then a Company without the Queene's Leave and Privitie; she sent a Messenger unto him, with a strict Charge to the Generall, to see him sent Home.

When he came into the Queene's Presence, she fell into a kind Rayling, demanding of him how he durst goe over, without her Leave; Serve me so (quoth she) once more, and I will lay you fast enough for running; you will never leave till you are knock't over the Head, as that inconsiderate Fellow

Sidney

Sidney was, you shall goe when I send you; in the meane Time, see that you lodge in the Court, (which was then at *Whitehall*) where you may follow your Booke, read, and discourse of the Warres: but to our Purpose: It fell out happily to those, and as I may say, to these Times, that the Queene during the calme Time of her Raigne was not idle, nor rock't asleepe with Security, for she had beene very provident in the Reparation, and Augmentation of her Shipping, and Ammunition, and I know not whether by a fore-sight of Policy, or any Instinct it came about, or whether it was an Act of her Compassion, but it is most certaine she sent no small Troopes to the revolted States of *Holland*, before she had received any Affront from the King of *Spaine*, that might deserve to tend to a Breach of Hostilitie, which the Papists maintaine to this Day, was the Provocation to the after Wars; but omitting what might be sayd to this Point, these *Netherland* Wars, were the Queene's Seminaries and Nurseries, of very many brave Souldiers, and so likewise were the Civill Wars of *France*, whither she sent five severall Armies.

They were the *French* Scollers that inured the Youth, and Gentry of the Kingdome, and it was a *Militia* wherein they were daily in Acquaintance with the Discipline of the *Spaniards*, who were then turned the Queene's inveterate Enemies.

And thus have I taken in Observation her *Dies Halcionii*, these Yeares of hers, which were more serene and quiet, than those that followed, which though they were not lesse propitious as being touched more with the Points of Honour, and Victory, yet were they troubled and loaded ever, both with domestique and forraigne Machinations, and as it is already quoted, they were such as awakened her Spirits, and made her cast about her to defend, rather by offending, and by Way of Provision, to prevent all Invasions than to expect them, which was a Peece of the Cunning of the Times, and with this I have noted the Causes, and *principium* of the Wars following, and likewise Points to the Seed-plots, from whence she took up these brave Men, and Plants of Honour, which acted on the Theatre of *Mars*, and on whom she dispersed the Rayes of her Graces, which were Persons in their Kindes of Care, Vertues, and such as might out of Merit pretend Interest to her Favors, of which Ranke the Number will equall, if not exceed that of the Gowne-men, in Recompt of whom, I will proceed with Sir *Philip Sidney*.

Sir P H I L I P S I D N E Y.

HE was the Sonne of Sir *Henry Sidney*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and President of *Wales*, a Person of great Parts, and of no meane Grace with the Queene; his Mother was Sister to my Lord of *Leicester*, from whence we may conjecture, how the Father stood up in the Sphere of Honour, and Employments, so that his Descent was apparantly noble on both Sides; and for his Education, it was such as Travaile, and the *Universitie* could afford none better, and his Tutors infuse, for after an incredible Proficiencie in all the Spheres of Learning, hee left the *Academicall*, for that of the Court, whither he came by his Uncle's Invitation, famed after by noble Reports of

his Accomplishments, which, together with the State of his Person, framed by a naturall Propension to Armes, soone attracted the good Opinions of all Men, and was so highly praised in the Esteeme of the Queene, that she thought the Court deficient without him: and whereas through the Fame of his Desert, he was in Election for the Kingdome of *Pole*, she refused to further his Preferment: It was not out of Emulation of Advancement, but out of feare to loose the Jewell of her Time. He married the Daughter, and sole Heire of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, the Secretary of State; a Lady destinated to the Bed of Honour, who after his deplorable Death at *Zutphen*, in the *Low Countries*, where he was at the Time of his Uncle *Leicester's* being there, was remarried to the Lord of *Essex*, and since his Death, to my Lord of Saint *Albones*, all Persons of the Sword, and otherwise of great Honour, and Vertue.

They have a very quaint Concept of him, that *Mars*, and *Mercury*, fell at Variance, whose Servant he should be, and there is an *Epigrammist* that saith, that *Art*, and *Nature*, had spent their Excellencies in his fashioning, and fearing they could not end what they had begun, they bestowed him up for Time, and *Nature* stood mute, and amazed to behold her owne Marke: But these are the Particulars of Poets.

Certaine it is, he was a noble and matchlesse Gentleman, and it may be sayd justly of him without these Hiperboles of Faction, as it was of *Ca. Ubicensis*, and that he seemed to be born onely to that which he went about *Vir subtilis Ingenii*, as *Plutarch* sayth it, but to speake more of him, were to make them lesse.

WALSINGHAM.

SIR *Francis Walsingham*, as we have sayd, had the Honour to be Sir *Philip Sidney's* Father in Law; he was a Gentleman at first, of a good House, and of a better Education, and from the Universitie travelled for the rest of his Learning; doubtlesse he was the onely Linguist of his Times, how to use his owne Tongue, whereby he came to be imployed in the chiefe Affaires of State.

He was sent Ambassador to *France*, and stay'd there Legate long in the Heate of the Civil Warrs, and at the same Time that Mounfier was here a Tutor to the Queene, and if I be not mistaken, he played the very same Part there, as since *Gundamore* did here: at his Returne he was taken principall Secretary, and for one of the great Engines of State, and of the Times, high in his Mistres the Queene's Favor, and a watchfull Servant over the Safety of his Mistres.

They note him to have certaine Curtesies and secret Wayes of Intelligence above the rest, but I must confesse, I am to seeke wherefore he suffered *Parry* to play so long as he did, hang on the Hooke before he hoyed him up: and I have been a little curious in the Search thereof, though I have not to doe with the *Arcana Regalia imperii*, for to know it's sometimes

a Bur-

a Burthen; and I remember it was *Ovid's* criminant Error, that he saw too much, but I hope these are Collateralls, and of noe Danger.

But that *Parry* having an Intent to kill the Queene, made the Way of his Accessse, by betraying of others, and in appeaching of the Priests of his owne Correspondency, and thereby had Accessse to conferre with the Queene, as oftentimes private and familiar Discourse with *Walsingham*, will not be the Quere of the Mystery, for the Secretary might have had an End of a further Discovery and Maturity of the Treason, but that after the Queene knewe *Parry's* Intent, why she would then admit him to private Discourse, and *Walsingham* to suffer him, considering the Conditions of all the Designes, and to permit him to goe where and whither he listed, and onely under the Secrecy of a darke Sentinell set over him, was a Peece of Reach and Hazard, beyond my Apprehension: I must againe professe that I have read many of his Letters, for they are commonly sent to my Lord of *Leicester*, and of *Burleigh*, out of *France*, containing many fine Passages, and Secrets; yet if I might have been beholding to his Cyphers, they would have told pretty Tales of the Times, but I must now close him up, and ranke him amongst the *Togati*: yet Chiefe of those that layd the Foundations of the *French* and *Dutch* Warres, which was another Peece of his Finenesse of the Times, with one Observation more, that he was one of the greatest alwaies of the *Austrian* Imbracements, for both himselfe, and *Stafford*, that preceded him, might well have beene compared to him in the Gospel, that sowed his Tares in the Night; so did they their Seedes in Division, in the Darke, and as it is a likely Report, that they father on him at his Returne, the Queene speaking to him with some Sensibility of the *Spanish* Designes on *France*; Madam, he answered, I beseech you be content, and feare not, the *Spaniards* have a great Appetite, and an excellent Digestion, but I have fitted him with a Bone for these 20 Yeares, that your Majesty should have noe Cause to doubt him, provided that if the Fire chance to shake, which I have kindled, you will be ruled by me, and cast in some of your Fewell, which will revive the Flame.

W I L L O U G H B I E.

MY Lord *Willoughbie* was one of the Queene's first Swordmen; he was of the ancient Extract of the *Bartewes*, but more ennobled by his Mother, who was Dutcheß of *Suffolk*; he was a great Master of the Art Military, and was sent Generall into *France*, and commanded the second Army of five, the Queene had sent thither, in Ayde of the *French*: I have heard it spoken, that had he not slighted the Court, but applyed himselfe to the Queene, he might have enjoyed a plentifull Portion of her Grace; and it was his Saying, and it did him no good, that he was none of the *Reptilia*; intimating, that he could not creepe on the Ground, and that the Court was not his Element; for indeed as he was a great Souldier, so he was of a suitable Magnanimitie, and could not brooke the Obsequiousnesse and Assiduitie of the Court, and as he was then somewhat descending from Youth, happily he had an *Animam revertendi*, and to make a safe Retreate.

B A C O N.

BACON.

AND now I come to another of the *Togati*, Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, an Arch-peece of Wit, and of Wisdome; he was a Gentleman, and a Man of Law, and of great Knowledge therein; whereby, together with his after Part of Learning and Dexteritie, he was promoted to be Keeper of the Great Seale; and being of Kin to the Treasurer *Burleigh*, and also the Helpe of his Hand to bring him to the Queene's great Favor, for he was abundantly factious, which tooke much with the Queene, when it suited with the Season, as he was well able to judge of the Times: He had a very quaint Saying, and he used it often to good Purpose, *that he loved the Jest well, but not the Losse of his Friend*; and that though he knew that *verus quisque suæ fortunæ faber*, was a true and a good Principle, yet the most in Number were those that numbred themselves; but I will never forgive that Man, that loseth himselfe to be rid of his Jest.

He was Father to that refined Wit, which since hath acted a disastrous Part on the publique Stage; and of late fate in his Father's Roome as Lord Chancellor: Those that lived in his Age, and from whence I have taken this little Modell of him, give him a lively Character; and they decipher him to be another *Solon*, and the *Synon* of those Times, such a one as *Ædipus* was, in dissolving of Riddles; doubtlesse he was an able Instrument, and it was his Commendations that his Head was the Mallet, for it was a very great one, and therein kept a Wedge, that entred all knotty Peeces that came to the Table.

And now againe I must fall back to smoothe, and plane a Way to the rest that is behind, but not from my Purpose. There have been about this Time two Rivalls in the Queene's Favor; old Sir *Francis Knowles*, Comptroler of the House, and Sir *Henry Norris*, whom she called up at Parliament, to sit with the Peeres in the higher House, as *Henry Norris* of *Rycot*, who had married the Daughter and Heire of the old *Henry Williams* of *Tayne*, a Noble Person, and to whom in her Adversite the Queene had been committed to his safe Custodie, and from him had received more than ordinary Observances: Now such was the Goodnesse of the Queene's Nature, that she neither forgot the good Turnes received from the Lord *Williams*; neither was she unmindfull of this Lord *Norris*, whose Father in her Father's Time, and in the Businesse of her Brother, died in a noble Cause, and in the Justification of her Innocency.

NORRIS.

MY Lord *Norris* had by this Lady an apt Issue, which the Queene highly respected, for he had sixe Sonnes, and all martiall and brave Men; the first was *William* the eldest, and Father to the late Earle of *Barke-shire*, Sir *John* vulgarly called Generall *Norris*, Sir *Edward*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Henry*, and *Maximilian*, Men of hauty Courage, and of great Experience in the

the Conduct of Military Affayres; and to speake in the Character of their Merit, they were Persons of such Renowne and Worth, as future Times must out of Duty owe them the Debt of an honourable Memory.

K N O W L E S.

SIR *Francis Knowles* was somewhat neare in the Queene's Affinitie, and had likewise noe incompetent Issue; for he had also *William* his eldest Sonne, and since Earle of *Banbury*, Sir *Thomas*, Sir *Robert*, and Sir *Francis*; if I be not a little mistaken in their Names, and Marshalling: and there was also the Lady *Lettice*, a Sister of those, who was first Countesse of *Essex*, and after of *Leicester*; and those were also brave Men in their Times and Places, but they were of the Court and Carpet, and not by the Genius of the Camp.

Betweene these two Families, there was as it falleth out amongst great Ones and Competitors of Favor, no great Correspondency, and there were some Seedes either of Emulation, or Distrust, cast betweene them, which had they not beene disjoyned in the Residence of their Persons, as that was the Fortune of their Employments, the one side attending the Court, and the other the Pavillion, surely they would have broken out into some kind of Hostilitie, or at least they would have intwinde and wrestled one in the other like Trees circuled with Ivy; for there was a Time, that when both these Fraternities being met at Court, when there passed a Challenge betweene them at certaine Exercises, the Queene and the old Men being Spectators, which ended in a flat Quarell amongst them all: one I am perswaded, though I ought not to judge, that there were some Reliques of this feyned, that there were long after the Causes of the one Families almost utter Extirpation, and the others in Prosperitie, for it was a knowne Truth, that so long as my Lord of *Leicester* lived, who was the maine Pillar on the one Side, for having marryed the Sister, the other Side tooke no deepe Root in the Court, though otherwise they made their Waies to honour by their Swords, and that which is of more note, considering my Lord of *Leicester's* use of Men of War, being shortly after sent Governor to the revolted States, and no Souldier himselfe, is that he made no more Accompt of Sir *John Norris* a Souldier then deservedly famous, and trained from a Page under the Discipline of the greatest Captaine in Christendome, the Admirall *Castilliau*, and of command in the *French*, and *Dutch* Warres, almost 20 Yeares; and it is of further Observation, that my Lord of *Essex*, after *Leicester's* Decease, though addicted to Armes, and honoured by the Generall, in the *Portugall* Expedition, where out of Instigation, as it hath beene thought, or out of Ambition and Jelousie eclipsed by the Fame and Splendor of this great Commander, never loved him in Sincerity.

Moreover, and certaine it is, he not onely crushed, and upon all Occasions quailed the Youth of this great Man, and his famous Brethren, but therewith drew on his owne fatall End, by undertaking the *Irish* Action, in Time when he left the Court empty of Friends and full fraught with his professed Enemies.

Enemies. But I forbear to extend my selfe in any further Relation upon this Subject, as having lost some Notes of Truth in these two Nobles, which I would present, and therewith touched somewhat, which I would not, if the Equity of the Narration, would have omitted.

P E R R O T.

SIR *John Perrot* was a goodly Gentleman, and of the Sword, and he was of a very ancient Discant, as an Heire to many Substracts of Gentry, especially from *Guy De Brian*, of *Lawborn*, so was he of a very vast Estate, and came not to Court for want, and to these Advancements; he had the Endowments of Carriage, and Height of Spirit, had he alighted on the Ally and Temper of Discretion, the Defect whereof, with a native Freedome and Bouldnesse of Speech, drew him on to a clouded Sitting, and layd him upon the Spleene and Advantage of his Enemies, of whom Sir *Christopher Hatton* was professed; he was yet a wise Man, and a brave Courtier, but rough and participating more of active, than sedentary Motions, as being in his Instellation destined for Armes, there is a Quære of some Denotations, how he came to receive the Foyle, and that in the Catastrophe, for he was strengthened with honourable Alliances, and the prime Friendship in Court; my Lord of *Leicester*, and *Burleigh*, both his Contemporaries, and Familiars, but that there might be (as the Adage hath it) Falstie in Friendship, and we may rest satisfied, that there is no Dispute against Fates, and they quit him for a Person that loved to stand too much alone on his Leggs, of too often Regresse and Discontinuance from the Queene's Presence, a Fault which is incompatible with the Waies of Court and Favor. He was sent Lord Deputy into *Ireland*, as it was then apprehended, for a Kind of Hautinesse and Repugnancie in Counsells; or, as others have thought, the fittest Person then to bridle the Insolencies of the *Irish*; and probable it is, that both considering the Sway that he would have at the Board, and Head in the Queene's Favor, concurred, and did alike conspire his Remove and Ruine: But into *Ireland* he went, where he did the Queene very great and many Services, if the Surplusage of the Measure did not abate the Value of the Merit, as after Time found to be no Paradox, to save the Queene's Purse; but both her selfe and my Lord Treasurer *Burleigh*, ever tooke for good Service: He imposed on the *Irish* the Charge for bearing their own Armes, which both gave them the Possession, and taught them the Use of Weapons, which proceeded in the End to a most fatall Worke, both in the Profusion of Blood and Treasure.

But at his Returne, and upon some Accompt sent Home before, touching the Estate of that Kingdome, the Queene powred out assiduous Testimonies of her Grace towards him, till by his Retreate to his Castle of *Cary*, where he was then building, and out of a Desire to be in Command at Home, as he had beene Abroad, together with the Hatred and Practise of *Hatton*, then in high Favour, whom he had not long before bitterly taunted for his Dancing; he was accused for High Treason, and for high Wordes, and by a forged Letter, condemned; though the Queene, on the Newes of his Condemnation, swore

swore by her wonted Oath, that the Jury were all Knaves; and they delivered it with Assurance, that on his Returne to the Towne, after his Triall, he said with Oathes, and with Fury, to the Lieutenant Sir *Owen Hopton*, what will the Queene suffer her Brother to be offered up as a Sacrifice to the Envy of my flattering Adversaries? Which being made knowne to the Queene, and somewhat enforced, she refused to signe it, and swore he should not die, for he was an honest and faithfull Man: And surely, though not altogether to set our Rest and Faith upon Tradition, and old Reports, as that Sir *Thomas Perrot*, his Father, was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, and in the Court married to a Lady of great Honour, which are Presumptions in some Implications; but if we goe a little further, and compare his Pictures, his Qualities, Gesture, and Voyce, with that of the King, which Memory retaines yet amongst us, they will plead strongly that he was a subreptitious Child of the *Blood Royall*.

Certaine it is, that he lived not long in the Tower; and that after his Decease, Sir *Thomas Perrot*, his Sonne, then of no meane Esteeme with the Queene, having before married my Lord of *Essex* his Sister, since Countesse of *Northumberland*, had Restitution of his Land, though after his Death also (which immediately followed) the *Crowne* resumed the Estate, and tooke Advantage of the former Attainder; and to say the Truth, the Priest's forged Letter was at his Arraignement thought but as a Fiction of Envy, and was soone after exploded by the Priest's owne Confession; but that which most exasperated the Queene, and gave Advantage to his Enemies, was, as Sir *Walter Rawleigh* takes into Observation, Words of Disdaine; for the Queene by sharpe and reprehensive Letters had netled him; and thereupon sending others of Approbation, commending his Service, and intimating an Invasion from *Spaine*; which was no sooner proposed, but he sayd publicly, in the great Chamber at *Dublin*, Loe now she is ready to bepisse her self, for Feare of the *Spaniards*, I am againe one of her white Boyes: which are subject to a various Construction, and tended to some Disreputation of his Sovereigne; and such as may serve for Instruction to Persons in Places of Honour and Command, to beware of the Violences of Nature, and especially the Exorbitance of the Tongue. And so I conclude him with this double Observation; the one of the Innocency of his Intentions exempt and cleare from the Guilt of Treason and Disloyaltie, therefore of the Greatnesse of his Heart, for at his Arraignement he was so little dejected with what might be alledged, that rather he grew troubled with Choller, and in a Kind of Exaspiration, he despised his Jury, though of the Order of Knighthood, and of the speciall Gentry, claiming the Priviledge of Tryall by the Peeres, and Barronnage of the Realme; so prevalent was that of his native Genious and Hautinesse of Spirit, which accompanied him to his last, and till without any Diminution of Change therein, it brake in Peeces the Cords of his Magnanimitie, for he died suddainely in the Tower, and when it was thought the Queene did intend his Enlargement, with the Restitution of his Possessions, which were then very great, and comparable to most of the Nobilitie.

HATTON.

SIR *Christopher Hatton* came to the Court as his Opposite: Sir *John Perrot* was wont to say by the Galliard, for he came thither as a private Gentleman of the Innes of Court, in a Maske; and for his Activity, and Person, which was tall and proportionable, taken into her Favor: He was first made Vice Chamberlain; and shortly after, advanced to the Place of Lord Chancellor: A Gentleman that, besides the Graces of his Person and Dancing, had also the Endowment of a strong and subtile Capacitie, and that could soone learne the Discipline and Garbe, both of the Times and Court, and the Truth is, hee had a large Proportion of Guifts and Endowments, but too much of the Season of Envy, and he was a meere Vegetable of the Court, that sprung up at Night and sunke againe at his Noone.

Flos non mentorum, sed sex fuit illa virorum.

EFFINGHAM.

MY Lord of *Effingham*, though a Courtier betimes, yet I find not that the Sunshine of his Favor brake out upon him, untill she tooke him into the Ship, and made him *High Admirall of England*; for his Extract it might suffice, that he was the Sonne of a *Howard*, and of a Duke of *Norfolke*.

And for his Person as goodly a Gentleman as the Times had any, if Nature had not been more intentive to compleat his Person, than Fortune to make him rich; for the Times considered, which were then active, and a long Time after lucrative, he dyed not wealthy, yet the honestest Man, though it seemes the Queene's Purpose was to tender the Occasion of his Advancement, and to make him capable of more Honour, at his Returne from *Cadiz* Voyage, and Action she conferred it upon him, creating him Earle of *Nottingham*, to the great Discontent of his Colleague my Lord of *Essex*, who then grew excessive in the Appetite of her Favor; and the Truth is so exorbitant in the Limitation of the Sovereigne Aspect, that it much allienated the Queene's Grace from him, and drew others together with the *Admirall* into a Combination, to conspire his Ruine; and though as I have heard it from that Party (I meane the old *Admirall's* Factions) that it lay not in his proper Power to hurt my Lord of *Essex*, yet he had more Fellowes, and such as were well skilled in the setting of the Trayne: but I leave this to those of another Age; it is out of Doubt, that the *Admirall* was a good, honest, and brave Man, and a faithfull Servant to his Mistress, and such a one as the Queene out of her own princely Judgement knew to be a fit Instrument for her Service, for she was a Proficient in the reading of Men aswell as Bookes, and as sundry Expeditions as that aforementioned, and 88, do better expresse his Worth, and manifest the Queene's Trust, and the Opinion she had of his Fidelitie, and Conduct.

Moreover,

Moreover, the *Howards* were of the Queene's Alliance, and Consanguinitie by her Mother, which swayed her Affections, and bent it towards this great House; and it was a Part of her naturall Propention, to grace and support ancient Nobilitie, where it did not intrench, neither invade her Interest, from such Trespasses she was quicke and tender, and would not spare any whatsoever, as we may observe in the Case of the Duke, and my Lord of *Hartford*, whom she much favoured, and countenanced, till they attempted the forbidden Fruit; the Fault of the last being, in the severest Interpretation, but a Trespasse of Incroachment, but in the first it was taken as a Ryot against the Crowne, and her owne soveraigne Power; and, as I have ever thought, the Cause of her Averfion against the rest of that House, and the Duke's great Father-in-Law, *Fitz Allen*, Earle of *Arundell*, a Person in the first Ranke of her Affections, before these and some others Jelousies, made a Separation betweene them.

This noble Lord and Lord *Thomas Howard*, since Earle of *Suffolk*, standing alone in her Grace, and the rest in her Umbrage.

P A C K I N G T O N.

SIR *John Packington* was a Gentleman of no meane Family, and of Forme and Feature no Waies disabled, for he was a brave Gentleman, and a very fine Courtier, and for the Time which he staid there, which was not lasting, very high in her Grace; but he came in, and went out, through Diffiduitie, drew the Curtaine betweene himselfe, and the Light of her Grace, and then Death overwhelmed the Remnant, and utterly deprived him of Recovery; and they say of him, that had he brought lesse to her Court than he did, he might have carried away more than he brought, for he had a Time on it, but an ill Husband of Opportunitie.

H U N S D O W N E.

MY Lord of *Hunsdowne* was of the Queene's nearest Kindred, and on the Decease of *Sussex*, both he and his Sonne successively tooke the Place of Lord Chamberlaine: He was a fast Man to his Prince, and firme to his Friend, and Servants, and though he might speake big, and therein would be borne out, yet was he the more dreadfull, but lesse harmfull, and far from the Practise of the Lord of *Leicester's* Instructions, for he was downe-right; and I have heard those that both knew him well, and had Interest in him, say meerely of him, that his *Lattine*, and Dissimulation, were alike, and that his Custome of Swearing, and Obscoenitie, in speaking, made him seeme a worse Christian than he was, and a better Knight of her Carpet than he could be: as he lived in a roughling Time, so he loved Sword and Buckler Men, and such as our Fathers were wont to call Men of their Hands, of which Sort he had many brave Gentlemen that followed him, yet not taken for a popular and dangerous Person; and this is one that stood amongst the *Togati*, of an honest stout Heart, and such a one that upon Occasion

would have fought for his Prince and Country, for he had the Charge of the Queene's Person both in the Court, and in the Camp at *Tilbury*.

RAWLEIGH.

SIR *Walter Rawleigh*, was one that it seemes Fortune had picked out of Purpose, of whom to make an Example, and to use as her Tennis-Ball, thereby to shew what she could do, for she tossed him up of nothing, and to and fro to Greatnesse, and from thence downe to little more than that wherein she found him a bare Gentleman, and not that he was lesse, for he was well descended, and of good Alliance; but poore in his Beginnings: and for my Lord of *Oxford's* Jest of him for the Jacks and Upstarts, we all know it favored more of Emulation, and his Honour, than of Truth; and it is a certaine Note of the Times, that the Queene in her Choyce never tooke in her Favor a meere vew'd Man, or a Mechanicke; as *Comines* observes of *Lewis XI.* who did serve himselfe with Persons of unknowne Parents, such as were *Oliver the Barber*, whom he created Earle of *Dunoyes*, and made him *ex secretis consiliis*, and alone in his Favour, and Familiarity.

His Approaches to the University, and Innes of Court, were the Groundes of his Improvement; but they were rather Extrusions than Sieges, or Settings downe, for he stayd not long in a Place; and being the youngest Brother, and the House diminished in his Patrimony, he foresaw his Destiny, that he was first to roule through Want and Disabilitie, to subsist otherwise, before he came to a Repose, and as the Stone doth by long lying gather Mosse: He was the first that exposed himselfe into the Land Service of *Ireland*, a Militia which did not then yeild him Food and Rayment, for it was ever very poore; nor dared he to stay long there, though shortly after he came thither againe, under the Command of my Lord *Gray*, but with his owne Colours flying in the Field, having in the Interim cast a meere Chance both in the *Low-Countries*, and in the Voyage to Sea; and if ever Man drew Vertue out of Necessity, it was he, and therewith was he the great Example of Industry; and though he might then have taken that of the Merchant to himselfe, *Per Mare per Terras currit Mercator ad Indos*; he might also have said, and truly with the Philosopher, *Omnia mea mecum porto*, for it was a long Time before he could bragg of more than he carried at his Backe; and when he got on the winning Side, it was his Commendations that he tooke Paines for it, and underwent many various Adventures for his After-Perfection, and before he came into the publique Noate of the World: and that may appeare how he came up *per ardua*; *per varios casus per tot discrimina rerum*; not pulled up by Chance, nor by any great Admittance: I will onely describe his Nature and Parts, and these of his owne Acquiring.

He had in the outward Man a good Presence, in a handsome and well compacted Person, a strong naturall Wit, and a better Judgement, with a bould and plausible Tongue, whereby he could set out his Parts to the best Advantage, and these he had by the Adjuncts of some generall Learning, which by Diligence, he enforced to a great Augmentation, and Perfection,
for

for he was an indefallible Reader, where by Sea and Land, and none of the best Observors, both of Men and of the Times, and I am somewhat confident, that among the second Causes of his Growth, that there was Variance betweene him and my Lord Generall *Gray*, in his second Descent into *Ireland*, was principall for it, drew them both over to the Counsell Table, there to pleade their owne Causes, where what Advantage he had in the Case, in Controversie I know not, but hee had much the better in the Manner of telling his Tale, insomuch as the Queene and the Lords tooke no slight Marke of the Man, and his Parts, for from thence he came to be knowne, and to have Access to the Lords, and then we are not to doubt how such a Man would comply to Progression, and whether or no, my Lord of *Leicester* had then cast a good Word for him to the Queene, which would have done him no harme, I doe not determine, but true it is, he had gotten the Queene's Eare in a Trice, and she began to be taken with his Election, and loved to heare his Reasons to her Demands, and the Truth is, she tooke him for a kind of Oracle, which netled them all, yea those that he relied on, began to take this his suddaine Favor for an Allarum, and to be sensible of their owne Supplantation, and to project his, which made him shortly after sing, *Fortune my Foe, why dost thou frowne*; so that finding his Favor declining, and falling into a Recess, he undertooke a new Perigrination to leave that *terra infirma*, of the Court, for that of the Waves, and by declining himselfe, and by Absence to expell his and the Passion of his Enemies, which in Court was a strange Devise of Recovery, but that he then knew there was some ill Office done him, yet he durst not attempt to amend it, otherwise than by going aside thereby, to teach Envy a new Way of Forgetfulness, and not so much as thinke of him; howsoever he had it alwaies in Mind, never to forget himselfe, and his Devise tooke so well, and in his Returne he came in as Rams do, by going backward with the greater Strength, and so continued to the last, great in her Favor, and Captaine of her Guard, where I must leave him, but with this Observation, though he gained much at the Court, he tooke it not out of the Exchequer, or meerely out of the Queene's Purse, but by his Wit, and by the Helpe of the Prerogative, for the Queene was never profuse in delivering out of her Treasure, but payd most, and many of her Servants, part in Money, and the rest with Grace, which as the Case stood, was then taken for good Payment, leaving the Arrerres of Recompence due for their Merrit, to her great Successor, which payd them all with Advantage.

G R E V I L E.

SIR *Foulke Grevile*, since Lord *Brooke*, had no meane Place in her Favor, neither did he hold it for any short Time, or Term, for if I be not deceived, he had the longest Lease, the smoothest Time without Rubs of any of her Favorites, he came to the Court in his Youth and Prime, as that is the Time, or never; he was a brave Gentleman, and hopefully descended from *Willoughby*, Lord *Brooke*, and Admirall to *H. VII.* neither illiterate, for
he

he was, as he would often professe, a Friend to Sir *Philip Sidney*, and thereof is now extant some Fragments of his Penne, and of the Times, which do interest him in the Muses, and which shewes him the Queene's Election had ever a noble Conduct, and it motions more of Vertue and Judgment, than of Fancy.

I finde that he neither fought for, nor obtained any great Place, or Preferment in Court, during all his Time of Attendance, neither did he need it, for he came thither backt with plentiful Fortune, which as himselfe was wont to say, was then better held together by a single Life; wherein he lived, and dyed, a constant Courtier of the Ladies.

E S S E X.

MY Lord of *Essex*, as Sir *Henry Wotton* notes him, a Gentleman of great Parts, and partly of his Times, and retaine, had his Introduction by my Lord of *Leicester*, who had married his Mother, a Tye of Affinitie, which besides a more urgent Obligation, might have invited his Care to advance him, his Fortunes being then through his Father's Infelicitie growne low; but that the Sonne of a Lord *Ferrers* of *Chartly*, Viscount *Hartford*, and Earle of *Essex*, who was of the ancient Nobility, and formerly in the Queene's good Grace, could not have roome in her Favor, without the Assistance of *Leicester*, was beyond the Rule of her Nature, which as I have elsewhere taken into Observation, was ever inclinable to favour the Nobility, sure it is, that he no sooner appeared in Court, but he tooke with the Queene and the Countries, and I beleve they all could not chuse but looke through the Sacrifice of the Father, on his living Sonne, whose Image by the Remembrance of former Passages, was a fresh Leake, the bleeding of Men murdered, represented to the Court, and offered up as subject of Compassion to all the Kingdome.

There was in this young Lord, together with a goodly Person a Kinde of Urbanity innovate Curtesie, which both won the Queene, and too much tooke up the People to gaze on the new adopted Sonne of her Favour; and as I goe along, it will not be amisse to take into Observation, two notable Quotations; the first was a violent Indulgence of the Queene's, which is incident to old Age, where it incounters with a pleasing and fuitable Object towards this great Lord, which argued a Non-perpetuity; the second was a Fault in the Object of her Grace; my Lord himselfe, who drew in too fast like a Child sucking on an over uberous Nurse, and had there beene a more decent Decorum observed in both, or either of these, without doubt the Unity of their Affections had beene more permanent, and not so in and out as they were, like an Instrument well tuned, and lapsing to Discord.

The greater Error of the two, though unwilling, I am constrained to impose on my Lord of *Essex*, and rather on his Youth; and none of the least of the Blame on those that stood Sentinell about him, who might have advised better, but that like Men intoxicated with Hopes, they likewise had sucked in with the most of their Lord's Receipts, and so like *Cæsars*, would have

have all or none: a Rule quite contrary to Nature, and the most indulgent Parents, who they may expresse more Affection to one in the Abundance of Bequeathes, yet cannot forget some Legacyes, and Distributives, and Dividends to others of their begetting, and how hurtfull Partiality is, and proves, every Dayes Experience tells us, out of which common Consideration, might have framed to their Hands a Maxime of more Discretion, for the Conduct, and Managment of their new graved Lord and Master.

But to omit that of Infusion, and to do Right to Truth, my Lord of *Effex*, even of those that truly loved and honoured him, was noted for too bold an Ingrosser, both of Fame and Favor, and of this without Offence to the Living, or treading on the sacred Grave of the Dead, I shall present the Truth of a Passage yet in Memory.

My Lord of *Mountjoy*, who was another Child of her Favour, being newly come, and then but Sir *Charles Blunt*, (for my Lord *William* his elder Brother was then living) had the good Fortune to run one Day very well at Tilt, and the Queene was therewith so well pleased, that she sent him in Token of her Favor, a Queene at *Cbesse* in hold, richly enamelled, which his Servants had the next Day fastened unto his Arme, with a crymson Ribband; which my Lord of *Effex*, as he passed through the *Privy Chamber*, espying with his Cloake cast under his Arme, the better to command it to the View, enquired what it was, and for what Cause there fixed? Sir *Foulk Greville* tould him it was the Queene's Favour, which the Day before, and next after the Tilting, she had sent him: whereat my Lord of *Effex*, in a Kind of Emulation, and as though he would have limitted her Favour, said, Now I perceive every Foole must have a Favor. This bitter and publique Affront came to Sir *Charles Blunt's* Eare, at which he sent him the Challenge, which was accepted by my Lord, and they met neare *Marybone Parke*, where my Lord was hurt in the Thigh, and disarmed: The Queene, missing of the Men, was very curious to learne the Truth, but at last it was whispered out, she sware by *God's Death* it was fit that some one or other should take him downe, and teach him better Manners, otherwise there would be no Rule with him; and here I note the Imitation of my Lord's Friendship with *Mountjoy*, which the Queene her selfe did then conjure.

Now for his Fame we need not goe far, for my Lord of *Effex* having borne a Grudge to Generall *Norris*, who had unwittingly offered to undertake the Action of *Brittaine*, with fewer Men than my Lord had before demanded on his Returne with Victory, and a glorious Report of his Valour, he was then thought the onely Man for the *Irish* Wars, wherein my Lord of *Effex* so wrought by dispising the Number and Qualitie of the Rebels, that *Norris* was sent over with a scanted Force, joyned with the Reliques of the uttered Troopes of *Brittaine*, of set Purpose, and as it fell out to ruine *Norris*; and the Lord *Barrowes*, by my Lord's Procurement, sent at his Heeles, and to command in Chiefe, and to convay *Norris* onely to his Government at *Mounster*, which the great Heart of the Generall to see himselfe undervalued, and undermined, by my Lord and *Burrowes*, which was as the Proverb speakes, *juvenes docere senes*.

Now

Now my Lord *Burrowes* in the Beginning of his Prosecution dyed, whereupon the Queene was fully bent to send over my Lord *Mountjoy*, which my Lord of *Essex* utterly disliked, and opposed with many Reasons, and by Arguments of Contempt towards *Mountjoy*, (his then professed Friend, and Familiar) so predominate was his Desire to reape the whole Honour of closing up that War, and all other; now the Way being paved, and opened, by his owne Work-man-ship, and so handled, that none durst appeare to stand in the Place; at last, and with much adoe, he obtained his owne Ends, and therewith his fatall Destruction, leaving the Queene and the Court, where he stood impregnable, and firme in her Grace, to Men that long had fought, and wayted their Times to give him the Trip, and could never find any Oppertunity but this of his Absence, and of his owne Creation, and those are true Observations of his Appetite, and Inclinations, which were not of any true Proportion, but hurried, and transported, with an over Desire, and Thirstinesse after Fame, and that deceitfull Fame of Popularity, and to helpe on his Catastrophe, I observe likewise two Sorts of People that had a Hand in his Fall: First was the Souldary, which all flock unto him, as it were foretelling a Mortality, and are commonly of blunt, and too rough Councells, and many Times dissonant from the Time of the Court and State: the other Sort were of his Family, his Servants, and his owne Creatures, such as were bound by Safety and Obligations of Fidelity, to have looked better to the steereing of that Boate, wherein they themselves were carryed, and not to have suffered it to fleet and run on Ground with those empty Sales of Tumor, of Popularity, and Applause: me thinks one honest Man or other, which had but the brushing of his Cloathes, might have whispered in his Eare, My Lord looke to it, this Multitude that followes you, will either devoure you, or undoe you, do not strive to over-rule all, for it will cost hot-water, and it will procure Envy, and if needs your Genius must have it so, let the Court and the Queene's Presence be your Station, for your Absence must undoe you; but as I have sayd, they have suckt too much of their Lords Milke, and instead of withdrawing, they drew the Coales of his Ambition, and infused into him too much of the Spirit of Glory, yea, and mixed the Goodnesse of his Nature, with a Touch of Revenge, which is ever-more accompanied with the Destinie of the same Fate of this Number, there were some of insufferable Natures about him, that towards his last gave desperate Advise, such as his Integrity abhorred, and his Fidelitie forbad, amongst whom Sir *Henry Wotton* notes without Injury, his Secretary *Cusse*, as a vile Man, and of a perverse Nature: I could also name others, that when he was in the right Course of Recovery, settling to Moderation, would not suffer a Recease in him, but stirred up the Dregs of those rude Humors, which by Times, and his Affections out of his owne Judgement, he thought to repose, and give them all a Vomit. And thus I conclude this noble Lord, as a Mixture betweene Prosperity, and Adversity, once a Child of his great Mistresse's Favour, but a Sonne of *Bellona*.

B U C K H U R S T.

MY Lord of *Buckhurst* was of the noble House of *Sackviles*, and of the Queene's Consanguinity; or as the People then called him Fill-Sacks, by reason of his great Wealth, and the vast Patrimony left to his Sonne, whereof in his Youth he spent the best Part, untill the Queene, by her frequent Admonitions, diverted the Torrent of his Profusion: He was a very fine Gentleman, of Person and Endowments, both of Art and Nature, but without Measure magnificent, till on the Torne of his Honour, and the Allay that his yearely good Counsell had wrought upon those immoderate Courses of his Youth, and that Height of Spirit inherent to his House; and then did the Queene as a most judicious, indulgent Princeesse, who when she saw the Man growne settled, and stayd, gave him an Assistance, and advanced him to the Treasurer-ship, where he made Amends to his House for his mis-spent Time, both in the Increase of his Estate and Honour which the Queene conferred upon him, together with the Opportunity to remake himselfe, and thereby to shew that this was a Child that should have a Share in her Grace.

They much commend his Elocution, but more the Excellency of his Pen, for he was a Scholler, and a Person of a quick Dispatch, Faculties that yet run in the Blood; and they say of him, that his Secretaries did little for him, by the Way of Indictment, wherein they could seldome please him, he was so facete and choyce in his Phrases, and Style; and for his Dispatches, and for the Content he gave to Suitors, he had a Decorum seldome put in Practise, for he had of his Attendance that tooke into a Role, the Names of all Suitors, with the Date of their first Addresses, so that a fresh Man could not leape over his Head, that was of a more ancient Edition, excepting the urgent Affayres of the State.

I finde not, that he was any Way insnared in the Factions of the Court, which were all his Time strong; and in every Man's Note, the *Howards* and *Cecills* of the one Part, and my Lord of *Essex*, &c. on the other, for he held the Staffe of the Treasury fast in his Hand, which made them once in a Yeare to be beholding to him; and the Truth is, as he was a wise Man, and a stout, he had no Reason to be a Partaker, for he stood sure in Blood, and in Grace, and was wholly intente to the Queene's Service: and such were his Abilities, that she received assiduous Proofes of his Sufficiency; and it hath been thought she might have more cunning Instruments, but none of a more strong Judgment, and Confidence in his Wayes, which are Symptomes of Magnanimitie; whereunto methinks his Motto hath some Kind of Reference, *Aut nunquam tentes, aut perfice*; as though he would have characterized in a Word the Genius of his House, or expresse somewhat of a higher Inclination that lay within his Compasse, that he was a Courtier is apparent, for he stood alwaies in her Eye, and in her Favour.

MOUNTJOY.

MY Lord *Mountjoy* was of the ancient Nobility, but utterly decayed in the Support thereof; (Patrimony through his Grandfather's Excesse) his Father's Vanitie in Search of the *Philosopher's Stone*, and his Brother's untimely Prodigality; all which seemed by a joynt Conspiracie to ruinate the House, and altogether to annihilate it: As he came from *Oxford* he tooke the *Inner Temple* in the Way to Court; whither he no sooner came, but he had a pretty kind of Admission, which I have heard from a discreet Man of his owne, and much more of the Secrets of those Times; he was then much about twenty Yeares of Age, browne haired, of a sweet Face, and of a most neate Composure, tall in his Person; the Queene was then at *Whitehall*, and at Dinner, whither he came to see the Fashion of the Court, and the Queene had soone found him out, and, with a Kind of an affected Favour, asked her Carver what he was? he answered he knew him not; infomuch an Enquiry was made one from another, who he might be, till at length it was told the Queene, he was Brother to the Lord *William Mountjoy*; thus Enquirie with the Eye of her Majesty fixed upon him, as she was wont to doe, and to daunt Men she knew not, stirred the Blood of the young Gentleman, infomuch as his Colour went and came; which the Queene observing, called unto him, and gave him her Hand to kisse, encouraging him with gracious Words, and new Lookes; and so diverting her Speech to the Lords, and Ladyes, she sayd, that she no sooner observed him, but she knew there was in him some Noble Blood, with some other Expressions of Pitty towards his House; and then againe demanding his Name, she sayd, faile you not to come to the Court, and I will bethinke my selfe, how to do you good; and this was his Inlet, and the Beginning of his Grace; where it falls into Consideration, that though he wanted not Wit, and Courage, for he had very fine Attractives, as being a good Peece of a Scholler, yet were those accompanied with the Retractions of Bashfulnesse, and naturall Modesty, which as the Wave of the House of his Fortune then stood, might have hindred his Progression, had they not been reinforced by the Infusion of soveraigne Favour, and the Queene's gracious Invitation; and that it may appeare how he was, and how much that heritique Necessity, will worke in the Directions of good Spirits, I can deliver it with Assurance, that his Exhibition was very scant, untill his Brother died, which was shortly after his Admission to the Court, and then was it no more but a thousand Markes *per Annum*, wherewith he lived plentifully, and in a fine Garbe, and without any great Sustentation of the Queene, during all her Times.

And as there was in Nature, a kind of Backwardnesse, which did not befriend him, nor suite with the Motion of the Court, so there was in him an Inclination to Armes, with an Humor of travelling, and gadding Abroade, which had not some wise Man about him, laboured to remove, and the Queene layd in her Command, he would out of his owne native Propensity marred his owne Market, for as he was growne by reading, whereunto he

was

was much addicted to the Theory of a Souldier, so was he strongly invited by his Genius, to the Acquaintance of the Practise of the War, which were the Causes of his Excursions, for he had a Company in the *Low Countries*, from whom he came over with a noble Acceptance of the Queene, but somewhat restles in honourable Thoughts, he exposed himselfe again, and againe, and would presse the Queene with the Pretences of visiting of his Company so often, till at length he had a flat Denyall, yet he stroke over with Sir *John Norris* into the Action of *Brittaine*, which was then a hot, and active War, whom he would alwaies call his Father, honouring him above all Men, and ever bewailing his End, so contrary he was in his Esteeme, and Valuation of this great Commander, to that of his Friend, my Lord of *Essex*, till at last the Queene began to take his Degressions for Contempt, and confined his Residence to the Court, and her owne Presence, and upon my Lord of *Essex* Fall, so confident she was in her owne princely Judgment, and the Opinion she had conceived of his Worth, and Conduct, that she would have this noble Gentleman, and none other, to bring in the *Irish* Wars, to a propitious End, for it was a propheticall Speech of her owne, that it would be his Fortune, and his Honour, to cut the Thred of that fatall Rebellion, and to bring her in Peace to the Grave, wherein she was not deceived, for he atchieved it, but with much Paines and Carefulnessse, and without the Forces, and many Jealousies of the Court and Times, wherewith the Queene's Age, and the Malignitie of her setling Times, were replete; and so I come to his deare Friend in Court, Secretary *Cecill*, whom in his long Absence he adored as his Saint, and counted him his only *Mecenas*, both before and after his Departure from Court, and during all the Time of his Command in *Ireland*; well knowing that it lay in his Power, and by a Word of his Mouth, to make or marr him.

R O B E R T C E C I L L.

SIR *Robert Cecill*, since Earle of *Salisbury*, was the Sonne of the Lord *Burleigh*, and by degrees Successor of his Places and Favors, though not of his Lands, for he had Sir *Thomas Cecill*, his elder Brother, since created Earle of *Exeter*: He was first Secretary of State, then Master of the Court of Wards, and in the last of her Raigne came to be Lord Treasurer; all which were the Steps of his Father's Greatnesse, and of the Honour he left to his House: for his Person he was not much beholding to Nature, though somewhat for his Face, which was the best Part of his Outside: for his Inside it may be said, and wlthout Offence, that he was his Father's owne Sonne, and a pregnant President in all his Discipline of State: he was a Courtier from his Cradle, which might have made him betimes, but he was at the Age of twenty and upwards, and was far short of his after Prooffe, but exposed, and by Change of Clymat he soon made shew what he was and would be.

He lived in those Times wherein the Queene had most Need and Use of Men of Waight, and amongst many able Ones, this was Chiefe, as having taken his Sufficiency from his Instruction, which begat him the Tutorship of

the Times and Court, which were then Academyes of Art and Cunning, for such was the Queene's Condition from the Tenth or Twelfth of her Raigne, that she had the Happinesse to stand up, whereof there is a former Intimation, environed with many and more Enemies, and assaulted with more dangerous Practises, than any Prince of her Times, and of many Ages before, where we must not in this her Preservation, attribute too much to human Policies, for that in his owne omnipotent Providence, he ordained those secondary Meanes, as Instruments of the Worke, by an evident Manifestation of the same Worke which she acted, and it was a well pleasing Worke of his owne, out of a peculiar Care he had decreed the Protection of the Work-Mistris, and thereunto added his abundant Blessing upon all, and whatsoever she undertooke, which is an Observation of Satisfaction to my selfe, that she was in the Right, though to others now breathing under the same Forme and Frame of her Government, it may not seeme an Animadversion of their Worth, but I leave them to the Perill of their owne Folly, and so come againe to this great Minister of State, and the Staffe of the Queene's declining Age, who though his little crooked Person could not promise any great Supportation, yet it carried thereon a Head, and a Head-peece of a vast Content; and therein it seemes Nature was so diligent to compleat one, and the best Part about him, as the Perfection of his Memory and Intellectuals: she tooke Care also of his Sences, and to put him in *Linceos oculos*; or to pleasure him the more, borrowed of *Argos* so, to give unto him a prospective Sight, and for the rest of his sensitive Vertues, his Predecessor *Walsingham*, had left him a Receipt to smell out what was done in the Conclave.

And his good old Father, so well seene in Mathematicks, as that he could tell you throughout *Spaine*, every Part, every Port, every Ship with their Burthens, whither bound, what Preparations, what Impediments for Diversion of Enterprises, Counsel and Resolution: and that we may see, as in a little Mappe, how docible this little Man was, I will present a Tast of his Abillities.

My Lord of *Devonshire* upon Certainty that the *Spaniard* would invade *Ireland* with a strong Army, had written very earnestly to the Queene, and to the Councell, for such Supplies to be timely sent over, that might enable him both to march up to the *Spaniard*, if he did land and follow on his Prosecution, without diverting his Intentions against the Rebels, Sir *Robert Cecil*, besides the generall Dispatch of the Councell (as he often did) writ thus in private, for these two then began to love dearly.

My Lord, out of the Abundance of my Affection, and the Care I have of your well doing, I must in private put you out of Doubt of Feare, for I know you cannot be sensible, otherwise than in the Way of Honour, that the Spaniards will not come unto you this Yeare, for I have it from my owne, what his Preparations are in all his Parts, and what he can do; for be confident, he beareth up a Reputation, by seeming to imbrace more than he can gripe, but the next Yeare be assured he will cast over to you some forlorne Troopes, which how they may be reinforced beyond his present Abilitie, and his first Intention, I cannot as yet

yet make any certaine Judgment, but I beleeve out of my Intelligence, that you may expect the Landing in Munster, and the more to distract you in severall Places, as at Kings-sale, Beerehaven, and Baltimore; where you may be sure coming from Sea, they will first fortifie, and learne the Strength of the Rebells, before they dare take the Field: howsoever, as I know you will not lessen your Care, neither your Defences, and whatsoever lies in my Power to do you, and the publique Service: rest thereof assured.

And to this I could add much more, but it may (as it is) suffice to present much of his Abilities, in the Penn, that he was his Crafts Master in forraigne Intelligence, and for domestique Affaires, as he was one of those that sate at the Helme to the last of the Queene, so was he none of the least in Skill, and in the true Use of the Compasse, and so I shall onely vindicate the Scandall of his Death, and conclude him, for he departed at Saint Margarets, neare Marleborough, at his Returne from Bathe, as my Lord Vice Chamberlane, my Lord Clifford, and my selfe, his Sonne, and Sonne in Law, and many more can witnesse, but that the Day before he founded on the Way, and was taken out of his Litter, and layd into his Coach, was a Truth out of which that Falsehood concerning the Manner of his Death, had its Derivation, though nothing to the Purpose, or to the Prejudice of his Worth.

V E R E.

SIR Francis Vere was of that ancient, and of the most noble Extract of the Earles of Oxford; and it may be a Question, whether the Nobility of his House, or the Honour of his Atchivements, might most commend him; but that we have an authentique Rule:

Nam genus, & proavos, & quæ nos non fecimus ipsi; vix ea nostra voco.

For though he was an honourable Slip of that ancient Tree of Nobilitie, which was no Disadvantage to his Vertue; yet he brought more Glory to the Name of Vere, than he tooke of Blood from the Family.

He was amongst all the Queene's Sword-men inferrior to none, but superior to many; of whom it may be sayd, to speake much of him were the Way to leave out somewhat that might add to his Praise, and to forget more that would make to his Honour.

I finde not that he came much to the Court, for he lived almost perpetually in the Campe; but when he died, no Man had more of the Queene's Favour, and none lesse envied, for he seldome troubled it with the Noyse and Allarums of Supplications, his Way was another Sort of undermining.

They report that the Queene, as she loved marshall Men, would court this Gentleman as soone as he appeared in her Presence; and surely he was a Souldier of great Worth and Command, 30 Yeares in the Service of the States, and 20 Yeares over the English in Chiefe, as the Queene's Generall: And he that had seene the Battaile of Newport, might there best have taken him, and his noble Brother the Lord of Tilbury, to the Life.

WORCESTER.

MY Lord of *Worcester* I have here put last, but not least in the Queene's Favour; he was of the ancient and noble Blood of the *Beaufords*, and of Her Grandfather's Kin, by the Mother, which the Queene could never forget, especially where there was an Incurrence of old Blood with Fidelity, a Mixture which ever sorted with the Queene's Nature; and though there might hap somewhat in this House, which might invert her Grace, though not to speak of my Lord himselfe but in due Reverence and Honour, I meane Contrariety or Suspition in Religion, yet the Queene ever respected his House, and principally this noble Blood, whom she first made Master of her Horse, and then admitted him of her Councell of State.

In his Youth, part whereof he spent before he came to reside at Court, he was a very fine Gentleman, and the best Horseman and Tilter of the Times, which were then the manlike and noble Recreations of the Court, and such as tooke up the Applause of Men, aswell as the Prayse and Commendation of Ladyes, and when Yeares had abated those Exercises of Honour, he grew then to be a faithfull and profound Counsellor; and as I have placed him last, so was he the last Liver of all her Servants of her Favour, and had the Honour to see his renowned Mistresse, and all of them layd in the Places of their Rests; and for himselfe, after a Life of very noble and remarkable Reputation, and in a peaceable old Age, a Fate that I make the last, and none of my slightest Observations, which befell not many of the rest, for they expired like unto a Light blowne out with the Snuffe, stinking, not commendably extinguished, and with an Offence to the Standers by. And thus I have delivered up my poore Essay, or little Draught, of this great Princeesse and her Times, with the Servants of her State, and Favour: I cannot say I have finished it, for I know how defective and imperfect it is, as limbed onely in the originall Nature, not without the active Blessings, and so left it as a Talke fitter for remoter Times, and the Sallies of some bolder Pencill to correct that which is amisse, and draw the rest up to Life: As for me to have endeavoured it, I tooke it into Consideration how easily I might have dashed into it much of the Staine of Pollution, and thereby have defaced that little which is done; for I professe I have taken Care to master my Pen, that I might not erre *animo*, or of set Purpose discolour each or any of the Parts thereof, otherwise than in Concealment: happily they are, some which will not approve of this Modesty, but will censure it for Pusillanimitie, and with the cunning Artist, attempt to draw their Line further out at Length, and upon this of mine which Way (somewhat more Ease) it may be effected, for that the Frame is ready made to their Hands, and then happily I could draw one in the midst of theirs, but that Modesty in me forbids the Defacements in Men departed, their Posterity yet remaining, enjoying the Merit of their Vertues, and do still live in their Honour. And I had rather incur the Censure of Abruption, than to be conscious and taken in the Manner, sinning by Eruption, or trampling on the Graves of Persons at Rest, which living
we

we durst not looke in the Face, nor make our Addresses unto them, otherwise than with due Regard to their Honours, and Reverence to their *Vertues*.

A Letter written upon Occasion from the *Low-Countries*, concerning the Prince of *ORANGE*, and the *STATES*, shewing upon what Occasion it grew. Whereunto is added, Aviso's from severall Places, of the Taking of the Iland of *Providence*, by the *Spaniard*, from the *English*. 1641.

Hague, March the 20. Stilo Novo.

The Copie of a Letter written from CHARLES DE LA FIN, Page unto the young Prince of *ORANGE*, unto JAMES DE LA FIN his Brother, Secretary unto the Duke of *VALLETTE*, residing now in *Covent-Garden*, touching the Proceedings of the Prince of *Orange*.

Written from the Hague in Italian, and translated by WILLIAM UMFREVILE, Gent. March 14. 1641.

Brother,

AS I am acquainted from you with the State of Things in *England*, so let me impart unto you some Alterations here, that more near touch us: Grave HENRY our Prince, and Master, by some Information, from *Martin Van Trumpe*, the States Admirall, is fallen into some more than Distrust with the States, in Matter of his Proceedings in the Army, their Jealousies brake forth into open Discontent, upon Occasion of a Meeting of a great Crue of his Commanders, at a Supper in *Flushing*, upon the Arrivall of the Queene of *Great Brittain*, where his Health being drunke before the Lords Generall, the Bourgemaisters of the Towne, took great Exceptions at it, giving out that the Prince of *Orange* was but their Servant, and tooke pay of them, as well as the meanest Souldier in the Army; that it was disorderly done, to drinke his Health before his Betters: to whom replied *Mounfier de Varracaville*, a *French* Captaine of Horse; that he trusted the Prince his Master so well understood himselfe, that having married his Sonne to the eldest Daughter of the King of *Great Brittain*, he would scorne to be counted, much more to bee termed, the Servants of Brewers and Bakers, and Felt-makers: hereupon the Bourgemaisters furlily, and saucily replied, that taking their Allowance, he was either a true Servant, or a false Traytor.

Varracaville was rising to let fly at him: and some others were as ready as he; but Noise and Tumult arising, the Governour of the Towne came in, and

and commanded all to be quiet, great muttering was in the Towne, the next two Dayes about it: on the third, the Prince was summoned to the *Hague* to make his Appearance before the States Generall, to make Answer unto such Things, as should by *Martin Van Trumpe*, *John Van Eslerdort*, be laid against him. His Highnesse tooke such homely Dealing bad, and his Servants worse, his Army worst of all; who, summoning a Counsell of Warre to his Highnesse's Lodging, plainly told him, that except he would, he should not goe; and that they should know, that if they had Money, they had Swords; and that they having Command of the one, would not be long without the other, and that should shortly appeare; hereupon we all, as well Servants as Commanders, tooke an Oath to his Highnesse, and his Sonne, to serve them towards all, and against all; which taken upon mature Deliberation, it was ordered by his Highnesse himselfe, because of the Queene of *Great Brittaines* Presence, to goe to the *Hague*, but not to take Notice of any Summons, and with such a Company with him, that he should not greatly need to fear them; and here we are in that Posture, not caring for those that looke so big upon us: I trust the Army is wholly made for his Highnesse; not being desired of their Service, but freely offering it: We his Servants, and those of my young Master's, are resolved to see our End shortly accomplished, or to die every Man of us: I trust there are no false Parties in the Armie, then before *May Day* I hope we shall see an Alteration; and those that hold themselves our Masters, shall be glad to give us all fitting Respect: the King of *Denmarke* is assuredly for it, and hath promised both Coine, Men, and Shipping: *France* hearkens to it, and *Spaine*, upon some Conditions, will yeeld Assistance: it is more honourable for a Prince to be tyed in some ceremonious Concernments unto a Monarch, than to any other, either by Democrastically, or Aristocraticall Government. More pleasant Tydings I hope to write to you, at the Queene's Returne, if not before; for this must not be long in doing, and it is here thought, that she will not stay long here, by Reason that these Atchievements cannot long remaine without a Period, nor without some bickering, we hold it not fit, shee should be Eye Witnesse of it: His Highnesse, although he is counselled to send away speedily his young Sonne, and our Hope, into *France*, yet he will not, but is resolved, that he shall partake of his Fortune, what ever it be; I hope we shall shortly cry, *Vivez Oraneye*; and in this Expectation, wishing Heaven to say Amen unto it.

I rest from the *Hague*, your ever affectionate Brother,

This present *March 20. New Stile.*

CHARLES DE LA FIN.

Avisoes from severall Places.

THE 20. of *Decemb. Stilo Novo*, arrived at *St. Lucar*, the Admiral of the *Nova Spania's* Fleet, in Company of another small Ship, they came in 92 Dayes from the *Havana*, and were parted by a Storm from the rest

rest of the Fleet 12 Days after their setting forth. I suppose they may be arrived at *Porto Rico*, for they had most of them spent their Masts. The said Admiral was cast away in the going into *St. Lucar*, of Four Millions, which he brought, about One Million and an half lost; the whole Fleet worth 10 or 11 Millions, the richest that ever was knowne; in the said Admirall was lost 500 Chests of Cuchinill, and a 1000 Chests of Indigo, with a great Quantity of other Goods. I have Letters by an Aviso from *Cartagena*, dated the 14. of *September*, wherein they advise that the Gallions were ready laden with the Silver, and would depart thence the 6. of *October*. The General of the Gallions, named *Francisco Dias Pimienta*, had beene formerly in the Moneth of *July*, with above 3000 Men, and the least of his Ships in the Iland of *Santa Catalina*, which he had taken and carried away all the *English*, and rased the Forts, wherein they found 600 Negres, much Gold and Indigo, so that the Prize is esteemed, worth above halfe a Million.

This unexpected, and undeserved Act of the *Spaniard*, in supplanting our Nation, will I hope ere long be requited, when as in coole Blood the *Spaniard* shall doe us a Mischiefe, in demolishing, and ruining that which another hath built, and is not able, or will not make Use of it himselfe, supplanting our more industrious People, which endeavoured to doe good, both to the Bodyes and Soules of Men, and only to shew his Greatnesse, with his Multitude to destroy a Handfull, and to account that a Victory, which is rather a credilous Treachery: but let him triumph that wins at last.

Some Observations by Way of Parallell of ROBERT DEVEREUX, Earle of ESSEX, and GEORGE VILLIERS, Duke of BUCKINGHAM, in the Time of their Estates of Favour.

Written by Sir HENRY WOTTON, Knight, &c. 1641.

AMongst those Historicall Employments, whereunto I have devoted my later Yeares, (for I read, that old Men live more by Memorie than by Hope) we thoght it would be a little Time not ill spent, to confer the Fortunes and the Natures of these two great Personages of so late Knowledge, wherein I intend to doe them right with the Truth thereof, and my selfe with the Freedome.

The Beginning of the Earle of *Essex*, I must attribute wholly, or in great Part, to my Lord of *Leicester*: but yet as an Introducer or Supporter, not as a Teacher: for as I goe along, it will easily appeare, that he neither lived nor dyed by his Discipline. Alwaies certaine it is, that he drew him first into the fatall Circle from a Kinde of resolved Privatenes at his House at *Lampfie*, in *South-Wales*, where after the Academicall Life, he had taken

such a Taste of the Rurall, as I have heard him say, (and not upon any Flashes or Fumes of Melancholy, or Traverses of Discontent, but in a serene and quiet Mood) that he could well have bent his Mind to a retyred Course. About which Time, the sayd Earl of *Leicester* bewrayed a Meaning to plant him in the Queen's Favour; which was diversly interpreted by such as thought that great Artizan of Court to doe nothing by Chance, nor much by Affection. Some therefore were of Opinion, that feeling more and more in himselfe the Weight of Time, and being almost tyred (if there be a Satiety in Power) with that assiduous Attendance, and intensive Circumspection, which a long indulgent Fortune did require, he was grown not unwilling for his owne Ease, to bestow handsomely upon another some Part of the Pains, and perhaps of the Envy.

Others conceived rather, that having before for the same Ends brought in, or let in Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, and having found him such an Apprentize as knew well enough how to set up for himselfe, he now meant to allie him with this young Earle, who had yet taken no strong Impressions: so though the said Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was a little before this, whereof I now speake by Occasion, much fallen from his former Splendor in Court; yet he still continued in some Lustre of a favoured Man, like Billowes that sinke by Degrees, even when the Winde is downe that first stirre them.

Thus runnes the Discourse of that Time at Pleasure; yet I am not ignorant, that there was some good while a verie stiffe Averfation in my Lord of *Essex*, from applying himselfe to the Earle of *Leicester*, for what secret Conceite I know not; but howsoever that Honour was mollified by Time, and by his Mother, and to the Court, he came under his Lord.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had another Kinde of Germination; and surely had he beene a Plant, he would have beene reckoned amongst the *Sponte Nascetes*, for he sprung without any Help, by a Kind of congeniall Composure (as we may terme it) to the Likeness of our late Sovereigne and Master of ever blessed Memorie, who taking him into his Regard, taught him more and more to please himselfe, and moulded him, (as it were) Platonically to his owne *Idea*, delighting first in the Choyse of the Materialls; because he found him susceptible of good Forme) and afterwards by Degrees as great Architects use to doe in the Workmanship of his regall Hand, nor staying here, after hee had hardned and polished him about ten Yeares in the Schoole of Observance, (for so a Court is) and in the Furnace of Tryall about himselfe, (for he was a King, could peruse Men as well as Bookes) he made him the associate of his Heire apparant, together with the now Lord *Cottington*, (as an Adjunct of singular Experience and Trust) in forraine Travailes, and in a Businesse of Love, and of no equall Hazzard (if the Tenderneffe of our Zeale did not then deceive us) enough (the World must confesse) to kindle Affection even betwixt the distantest Conditions; so as by the various and inward Conversation abroad (besides that before and after at home) with the most constant and best natured Prince, *Bona si sua Norint*, as ever *England* enjoyed. This Duke becomes now secondly seized of Favour, as it were by Discent (though the Condition of that Estate be no more than a Tenancie at Will,

Will, or at most for the Life of the first Lord) and rarely transmitted, which I have briefly set downe, without looking beyond the Vaile of the Temple, I meane into the Secret of high Inclinations, since even Satyricall Poets, (who are otherwise of so licentious Fancie) are in this Poynt modest enough to confesse their Ignorance.

Nescio quid certe est quod me tibi temperet Astrum.

And these were both their Springings and Imprimings as I may call them.

In the Profluence or Proceedings of their Fortunes, I observe likewise not onely much Difference between them: but in the Earle not a little from himself; First, all his Hopes of Advancement had like to be strangled almost in the very Cradle, by throwing himselfe into the *Portugal* Voyage without the Queene's Consent, or so much as her Knowledge; wherby he left his Friends and Dependants neere fixe Moneths in desperate Suspense, what would become of him. And to speake Truth, not without good Reason: For first they might well consider, that he was himselfe not well plumed in Favour for such a Flight: Besides, that now he wanted a Lord of *Leicester* at home (for he was dead the Year before) to smoothe his Absence, and to quench the Practises at Court. But above all, it lay open to every Man's Discourse, that though the bare Offence to his Sovereigne and Mistris was too great Adventure, yet much more when shee might (as in this Case) have fairely discharged her Displeasure upon her Lawes. Notwithstanding, a noble Report comming home before him.

At his Returne all was cleere, and this Excursion was esteemed but a Sally of Youth: Nay, he grew every Day more and more in her gracious Conceit: whether such Intermissions as these do sometimes foment Affection, or that having committed a Fault, he became the more obsequious and plyant to redeeme it: Or that shee had not received into her royall Brest any Shadows of his Popularity.

There was another Time long after, when Sir *Fulke Grevill* (late Lord *Brooke*) a Man in Appearance intrinsecal with him, or at the least admitted to his melancholly Houres, eyther belike espying some Wearinesse in the Queene, or perhaps with little Change of the Word, though more in the dangerfome Markes towards him, and working upon the present Matter (as she was dexterous and close) had almost superinduced into Favour the Earle of *Southampton*; which yet being timely discovered, my Lord of *Essex* chose to evaporate his Thoughts in a Sonnet (being his common Way) to be sung before the Queene, (as it was) by one *Hales*, in whose Voyce shee tooke some Pleasure; whereof the Complot methinkes, had asmuch of the Hermit as of the Poet.

*And if thou should'st by Her be now forsaken,
She made thy Heart too strong for to be shaken.*

As if he had beene casting one Eye backe at the least to his former Retirednesse. But all this likewise quickly vanished, and there was a good while after faire Weather over-head. Yet still I know not how, like a ga-

thering of Clouds, till towards his latter Time, when his Humours grew tart, as being now in the Lees of Favour; it brake forth into certayne suddaine Recesses; sometimes from the Court to *Wanspeed*, other whiles unto *Greenewich*, often to his owne Chamber, Doores shut, Visits forbidden, and which was worse, divers Contestations (betweene) with the Queene her selfe (all Preambles of Ruine) wherewith though now and then he did wring out of her Majesty some petty Contentments, (as a Man would presse sower Grapes) yet in the meane Time was forgotten the Counsell of a wise, and then a propheticall Friend, who told him that such Courses as those, were like hot Waters, who helpe at a Pang, but if they be too often used, will spoyle the Stomacke.

On the Dukes Part, wee have no such abrupt Straynes and Precipees as these, but a faire, fluent, and uniforme Course under both Kings: And surely as there was in his naturall Constitution a marvailous Equality, whereof I shall speake more afterwards; so there was an Image of it in his Fortune running (if I may borrow an ancient Comparison) as smoothly as a numerous Verse, till it met with certayne Rubs in Parliament, whereof I am induced by the very Subject which I handle, to say somewhat, so farre as shall concerne the Difference betweene their Times.

When my Lord of *Essex* stood in Favour, the Parliaments were calme: Nay, I finde it a true Observation, that there was no Impeachment of any Nobleman by the Commons, from the Raigne of King *Henry* the Sixth, untill the Eighteenth of King *James*, nor any intervenient President of that Nature, not that something or other could be wanting to be sayed, while Men are Men: For not to goe higher, wee are taught easily so much, by the very Ballads and Libells of *Leicestrian* Time.

But about the aforesayd Yeare, many young Ones being chosen into the House of Commons, more than had beene usuall in great Councells (who though of the weakest Wings, are the highest Flyers) there arose a certayne unfortunate and unfruitfull Spirit in some Places; not sowing, but picking at every Stone in the Field, rather than tending to the generall Harvest. And thus farre the Consideration of the Nature of the Time hath transported me, and the Occasion of the Subject.

Now on the other Side, I must with the like Liberty observe two weighty and watchfull Solicitudes (as I may call them) which kept the Earle in extream and continuall Caution, like a Bow still bent, whereof the Duke's Thoughts were absolutely free.

First, he was to wrestle with a Queene's declyning, or rather with her very setling Age (as wee may terme it) which, besides other Respects, is commonly even of it selfe the more umbratious and apprehensive, as for the most Part all Horizons are charged with certayn Vapours towards their Evening.

1. *The other was a Matter of more Circumstance, standing thus, viz.*

All Princes, especially those whom God hath not blessed with naturall Issue, are (by Wisedome of State) somewhat shy of their Successors, and to
speake

speake with due Reverence, there may be reasonably supposed in Queene's Regnant, a little Proportion of Tendernes that Way, more than in Kings. Now there were in Court two Names of Power, and almost of Affection, the *Essexian* and the *Cecilian* with their Adherents, both well enough enjoying the present, and yet both looking to the future, and therefore both holding Correspondency with some of the principall in *Scotland*, and hath received Advertisements and Instructions, eyther from them, or immediatly from the King, as induciat Heire of this imperiall Crowne.

But least they might detect one another; this was mysteriously carried by severall Instruments and Conducts, and on the *Essexian* Side, in Truth with infinite Hazard, for Sir *Robert Cecill* who (as Secretary of State) did dispose the publicke Addresses, had prompter and safer Conveyance; whereupon I cannot but relate a memorable Passage on eyther Part, as the Story following shall declare.

The Earle of *Essex* had accommodated Master *Anthony Bacon* in a Partition of his House, and had assigned him a noble Entertaynement: This was a Gentleman of impotent Feete, but of a nimble Head, and through his Hand runne all the Intelligences with *Scotland*; who being of a provident Nature (contrary to his Brother the Lord Viscount Saint *Albans*) and well knowing the Advantage of a dangerous Secret, would many Times cunningly let fall some Words, as if he could amend his Fortunes under the *Cecilians* (to whom he was neere in Alliance and in Blood also) and who had made (as he was not unwilling should be beleaved) some great Profers to winne him away; which once or twice he pressed so farre, and with such Tokens and Signes of apparent Discontent to my Lord *Henry Howard*, afterwards Earle of *Northampton*, (who was of the Party, and stood himselfe in much Umbrage with the Queene) that he flies presently to my Lord of *Essex*; (with whom he was commonly *primæ admissionis*, by his Bed-side in the Morning) and tells him that unlesse that Gentleman were presently satisfied with some round Summe, all would be vented.

This tooke the Earle at that Time ill provided (as indeed oftentimes his Coffers were low) whereupon he was faine suddainely to give him *Essex*-House; which the good old Lady of *Walsingham* did afterwards dis-engage out of her owne Store with 2500 Pound; and before he had distilled 1500 Pound at another Time by the same Skill; so as wee rate this one Secret, as it was finely carried at 4000 Pounds in present Mony, besides at the least 1000 Pound of annuall Pension to a private and bed-rid Gentleman; what would he have gotten if he could have gone about his owne Businesse?

There was another Accident of the same Nature on the *Cicilian* Side, much more pleasant, but lesse chargeable, for it cost nothing but Wit. The Queene having for a good while not heard any Thing from *Scotland*, and being thirsty of Newes, it fell out that her Majesty going to take the Ayre towards the Heath (the Court being then at *Greenewich*) and Master Secretary *Cicill* then attending her: A Post came crossing by, and blew his Horne. The Queene out of Curiosity asked him from whence the Dispatch came; and being answered from *Scotland*; and he stoppes her Coach, and calleth

calleth for the Packet. The Secretary though he knew there were some Letters in it from his Correspondents; which to discover, were as many Serpents; yet made more Shewe of Diligence, than of Doubt to obey; and askes some that stood by (forsooth in great Hast) for a Knife to cut up the Packet (for otherwise he might perhaps awaked a little Apprehension) but in the meane Time approaching with the Packet in his Hand, at a pretty Distance from the Queene; he telleth her it looked and smelt ill-favouredly comming out of a filthy Budget, and that it should be fit first to open and ayre it, because he knew she was averse from ill Sents.

And so being dismissed Home, he got Leisure by this seasonable Shift, to sever what he would not have seene.

These two Accidents precisely true, and knowne to few, I have reported as not altogether extravagant from my Purpose, to shew how the Earle stood in certaine Perplexities wherewith the Duke's Dayes were not distracted. And this hath beene the Historicall Part (as it were) touching the Difference betweene them in the rising and flowing of their Fortunes.

I will now consider their severall Endowments both of *Person* and *Mind*, and then a little of their *Actions* and *Ends*.

The Earle was a pretty deale the taller, and much the stronger, and of the abler Body: But the Duke had the neater Limbes and freer Delivery; he was also the uprighter, and of the more comely Motions, for the Earle did bend a little in the Neck, though rather forwards than downewards, and he was so far from being a good Dancer, that he was no gracefull Goer. If we touch Particulars, the Duke exceeded in the Daintinesse of his Leg and Foote, and the Earle in the incomparable Fairenesse and fine Shape of his Hands; which (though it be but a feminine Praise he tooke from his Father) for the generall Ayre, the Earle had the closer and more reserved Countenance, being by Nature somewhat more cogitative, and (which was strange) never more than at Meales when others are least: Insomuch as he was wont to make this Observation of himselfe, that to solve any knottie Businesse which cumbred his Minde, his ablest Houres was when he had checked his first Appetite with two or three Morfells, after which he sate usually for a good while silent, yet he would play well and willingly at some Games of greatest Attention, which shewed that when he listed he could licence his Thoughts.

The Duke on the other Side, even in the midst of so many Diversions, had continually a very pleasant and vacant Face (as I may well call it) proceeding no Doubt from a singular Assurance in his Temper. And yet I must here give him a rarer Elogie, which the malignest Eye cannot deny him. That certainly never Man in his Place and Power, did entertaine Greatnesse more familiarly, nor whose Lookes were lesse tainted with his Felicitie, wherein I insist the rather because this in my Judgement was one of his greatest Vertues and Victories of himselfe.

But to proceed, in the Attyring and Ornament of their Bodyes, the Duke a fine and unaffected Politenesse, and upon Occasion costlie, as in his Legations.

The

The Earle as he grew more and more attentive to Businesse and Matter, so lesse and lesse curious of Cloathing: Infomuch, as I doe remember those about him had a Conceit that possibly sometimes when he went up to the Queene, he might scant know what he had on, for this was his Manner, his Chamber being commonly stived with Friends or Suitors of one Kinde or other, when he gave his Legges, Armes, and Brest to his ordinary Servants to button and dresse him with little Heede, his Head and Face to his Barbour, his Eyes to his Letters, and Eares to Petitioners, and many Times all at once, then the Gentleman of his Robes throwing a Cloak over his Shoulders, he would make a Step into his Closet, and after a short Prayer, he was gone: onely in his Baths, he was somewhat delicate, for Point of Dyet and Luxurie. They were both very inordinate in their Appetites, especially the Earle, who was by Nature of so different a Taste, that I must tell a rare Thing of him (though it be but a homely Note) that he would stop in the midst of any physicall Potion, and after he had licked his Lips, he would drinke off the rest, but I am weary of such slight Animadversions.

To come therefore to the inward Furniture of their Mindes, I will thus much declare.

The Earle was of good Erudition having been placed at Study in *Cambridge* very young by the Lord *Burleigh*, his Guardian, with affectionate and deliberate Care, under the Oversight of Doctor *Whitgift* then Master of *Trinitie Colledge*, and after Archbishop of *Canterbury*: A Man by the Way surely of a most reverend and sacred Memory, and (as I may well say) even of the primitive Temper, when the Church in Lowlynesse of Temper, did flourish in high Examples, which I have inserted as a due Recordation of his Vertues, having been much obliged to him, for many Favours in my younger Time.

About sixteen Years of his Age (for thither he came at twelve) he tooke the Formality of Master of Arts, and kept his publique Acts, and heere I must not smother what I have received by constant Information, that his owne Father dyed with a very cold Conceit of him, some say through the Affection to his second Sonne *Walter Devereux*, who was indeed a Dyamond of the Time, and both of an hardy and delicate Temper and Mixture: But it seems this Earl like certaine Vegetables, did bud and open slowly: Nature sometimes delighting to play an After-game as well as Fortune, which had both their Turnes and Tides in Course.

The Duke was illiterate, yet had learned at Court, first to sift and question well, and to supply his owne Defects by the drawing or flowing unto him of the best Instruments of Experience and Knowledge, from whom he had a sweet and attractive Manner, to suck what might be for the publike or his own proper Use, so as the lesse he was favoured by the Muses, he was the more by the Graces.

To consider them in their pure Naturalls, I conceive the Earle's intellectuall Faculties to have been his strongest Part, and in the Duke his practicall.

Yet

Yet all know that he likewise at the first was much under the Expectation of his after Proof: such a sodain Influence therein had the soveraign Aspect, for their Abilities of Discourse or Pen, the Earle was a very acute and sound Speaker when he would intend it, and for his Writings, they are beyond Example, especially in his familiar Letters and Things of Delight at Court when he would admit his serious Habits, as may be yet seen in his Impresses and Inventions of Entertainment, and above all in his darling Piece of Love, and Selfe-Love, his Stile was an elegant Perpicuity, rich of Praise, but seldome any bold Metaphors, and so farre from Tumor that it rather wanted a little Elevation.

The Duke's Delivery of his Minde, I conceive not to be so sharpe as solid and grave, not so solid and deepe as pertinent, and apposite to the Times and Occasions.

The Earl I account the more liberall, and the Duke the more magnificent, for I doe not remember that my Lord of *Essex*, in all his Life-time, did build or adorn any House, the Queen perchance spending his Time, and himselfe his Meanes, or otherwise more inclyning to popular Wayes, for wee knowe the People are apter to applaud House-keepers than House-raisers, they were both great Cherishers of Schollers and Divines, but it seemes the Earle had obteyned of himselfe one singular Point, that he could depart his Affection betweene two Extreames, for though he bare alwayes a Kinde of filiall Reverence towards Doctor *Whitguist*, both before and after he was Archbishop, yet on the other Side, he did not a little love and tender Master *Cartwright*, though I think truely with large Distinction between the Persons and the Causes, howsoever he was taxed with other Ends, in respecting that Partie.

They were both faire spoken Gentlemen, not prone and eager to detract openly from any Man, and in this the Earle hath been most falsely blemished in our vulgar Story: Onely against one Man, he had forsworne all Patience, namely *Henry Lord Cobham*, and would call him (*per Excellentiam*) the Sycophant (as if it had been an Embleme of his Name) even to the Queene her selfe, though of no small Insinuation with her and one Lady likewise (that I may civillie spare to nominate for her Sex sake) whom he used to terme the Spyder of the Court, yet generally in the sensitive Part of their Natures the Earle was the worse Philosopher, being a great Resenter and a weak Dissembler of the least Disgrace: And herein likewise as in the rest, no good Pupill to my Lord of *Leicester*, who was wont to put all his Passions in his Pockquet.

In the Growth of their Fortunes, the Duke was a little the swifter, and much the greater, for from a younger Brother's mean Estate he rose to the highest Degree whereof a Subject was capable either in Title or Trust; therein I must confesse much more conformable to *Charles Brandon* under *Henry the Eighth*, who was equall to him in both.

For Matter of Donative and Addition of Substance, I do not beleve that the Duke did much exceed him, all considered under both Kings.

For

For that which the Earle of *Essex* had received from her Majesty, besides the Fees of his Offices, and the Disposition of great Summes of Money in her Armies, was about the Time of his Arraignement, when Faults use to be aggravated with precedent Benefits, valued at three hundred thousand Pounds Sterling in pure Gift for his onely Use, to the Earle of *Dorset* then Lord Treasurer; who was a wise Man, and a strict Computist, and not ill affected towards him. And yet it is worthy of Note in the Margent of both Times, that the one was prosecuted with Silence, and the other with Murmure, so undoing a Measure is popular Judgement.

I cannot heere omit betweene them a great Difference in establishing of both their Fortunes and Fames.

For the first, the Duke had a Care to introduce into neere Place at the Court divers of his confident Servants, and into high Places very sound and grave Personages; whereas except a Pensioner or two, wee cannot scant name any one Man advanced of the Earle's breeding, but Sir *Thomas Smith* having beene his Secretary, who yet came never further (though married into a noble House) than to the Clarke of the Councill, and Register of the Parliament; not that the Earle meant to stand alone like a Substantive (for he was not so ill a *Grammarian* in Court) but the Trueth is, in this Poynt the *Cecilians* kept him backe, as very well knowing that upon every little Absence or Diffaduity, he should be subject to take cold at his Backe.

For the other, in the Managing of their Fames, I note betweene them a direct contrary Wisedome; for the Earle proceeded by Way of Apology which he wrote and dispersed with his owne Hands at large, though till his going to *Ireland* they were but airey Objections. But of the Duke this I know, that one having offered for his Case to doe him that Kinde of Service; he refused it with a pretty Kinde of thankfull Scorne (saying) that he would trust his owne good Intentions which God knew, and leave to him the pardoning of his Errours; and that he saw no Fruite of Apologies but the Multiplying of Discourse, which surely was a well settled Maxime. And for my owne Particular (though I am not obnoxious to his Memory) in the Expreffion of *Tacitus*, *Neque injuria, neque beneficia*, saving that he shewed me an ordinary good Countenance. And if I were, yet I would distinguish betweene Gratitude and Truth, I must beare him this Testimony: That in a Commission layed upon me by soveraigne Commaund to examine a Lady about a certayne filthy Accusation grounded upon nothing but a few single Names taken up by a Foote-man in a Kennell, and streight baptized: A List of such as the Duke had appoynted to be empoysoned at home, himself being then in *Spaine*: I found it to be the most malicious and franticke Surmize, and the most contrary to his Nature that I thinke had ever beene brewed from the Beginning of the World, howsoever countenanced by a lybellous Pamphlet of a fugitive Physition even in Print; and yet of this would the Duke not suffer any Answer to be made on his Behalfe, so constant he was to his owne Principles.

In their military Services the Characters of the Earle's Employments were these, viz.

His forwardest was that of *Portugall* before mentioned.

The saddest, that of *Roan* where he lost his brave Brother.

His fortunateest Peece I esteeme, the taking of *Cadiz Malez*, and no lesse modest, for there he wrote with his owne Hands, a Censure of his Omissions.

His jealousdest Employment was to the Reliefe of *Callais*, besieged by the Cardinall Arch-duke: about which, there passed then betweene the Queene and the *French* King, much Arte.

His Voiage to the *Azores* was the best, for the Discovery of the *Spanish* Weaknesse, and otherwise almost a saving Voyage.

His blackest was that to *Ireland*, ordayned to be the Sepulcher of his Father, and the Gulph of his owne Fortunes.

But the first in 88. at *Tilbury* Campe, was in my Judgement, the very Poyson of all that followed, for there whilst the Queene stood in some Doubt of a *Spanish* Invasion, (though it proved but a Morrice Dance upon our Waves) she made him in Field Commaunder of the Cavalry (as he was before in Court) and much graced him openly in View of the Souldiers and People, even above my Lord of *Leicester*, the Trueth is from thence forth he fed too fast.

The Duke's Employment abroad in this Nature, was onely in the Action of the Ile of *Reez*, of which I must note somewhat for the Honour of our Country, and of her Majesty's Times, and of them that perished and survived, and to redeeme it generally from Misunderstanding. Therefore after Enquiry amongst the wisest and most indifferent Men; of that Action I dare pronounce, that all Circumstances pondered, a tumultuary branding on our Part, with about one thousand in the whole on theirs ready to receive us with two hundred Horse, with neere two thousand Foote, and watching their best Time of Advantage, none of their Foote discovered by us before, nor so much as suspected, and only some of their Horse descried stragling, but not in any Bulke or Body: their Cavalry not a Troop of *Bischoigners* mounted in Haft, but the greater Part Gentlemen of Family, and of pickt Resolution, and such as charged Home both in Front and on both Flankes into the very Sea about fixescore of their two hundred Horse strewed upon the Sand, and none of them but one killed with great Shot, and after this their Foot likewise comming on to charge, till not liking the Businesse, they fell to flinging of Stones, and so walked away.

I say these Things considered and laid together, we have great Reason to repute it a great Impression upon an unknown Place, and a noble Argument that upon Occasion we have not lost our auncient Vigor. Only I could wish that the Duke, who then in the animating of the Souldiers, shewed them very eminent Assurance of his Valour, had afterwards remembered that Rule of *Apelles*, *Manum de Tabula*. But he was greedy of Honour, and hot upon the publique Ends, and too confident in the Prosperity of Beginnings, as somewhere *Polybius* that great Critique of War observeth of young Leaders whom

whom Fortune hath not before deceived, In this their military Care and Dispensation of Reward and Punishment, there was very few remarkable Occasions under the Duke, saving his continuall Vigilancie and voluntary Hazard of his Person and Kindnesses to the Souldiers, both from his own Table and Purse, for there could be few Disorders within an Iland where the Troops had no Scope to disband, and the inferiour Commanders were still in the Sight.

In the Earle wee have two Examples of his Severity, the one in the Island Voyage, where he threw a Souldier with his owne Hands out of a Ship, the other in *Ireland*, where he decimated certaine Troops that ran away, renewing a Peece of the Roman Discipline.

On the other Side wee have many of his Lenitie, and one of his Facilitie, when he did connive at the bolde Trespasse of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who, before his owne Arrivall at *Fyall*, had banded there against his precise Commandement, at which Time he let fall a noble Word, being pressed by one (whose Name I need not remember) that at the least he would put him upon a Martiall Court. That I would doe (sayd he) if he were not my Friend.

And now I am drawing towards the last Act, which was written in the Book of Necessity.

At the Earle's End I was Abroade, but when I came Home (though little was left for Writers to gleane after Judges) yet, I spent some Curiosity to search what it might be that could precipitate him into such a prodigious Catastrophe, and I must according to my professed Freedome, deliver a Circumstance or two of some Weight in the Truth of that Story, which was neither discovered at his Arraignment nor after in any of his private Confessions.

There was amongst his nearest Attendants one *Henry Cuffe*, a Man of secret ambitious Ends of his owne, and of proportionate Counsells smothered under the Habit of a Scholler, and slubbered over with a certayne rude and clownish Fashion, that had the Semblance of Integrity.

This Person not above five or sixe Weekes before my Lord's fatall Ir-ruption into the City, was by the Earle's speciall Commaund suddainely discharged from all further Attendance, or Accessse unto him, out of an inward Displeasure then taken against his sharpe and importune Infusions, and out of a glimmering Over-sight, that he would prove the very Instrument of his Ruine.

I must adde hereunto, that about the same Time my Lord had received from the Countesse of *Warwicke* (a Lady powerfull in the Court) and indeed a vertuous User of her Power, the best Advise that, I thinke, was ever given from eyther Sex. That when he was free from Restraint, he should closely take any Out-lodging at *Greenewich*, and sometimes when the Queen went Abroad in a good Humour, (whereof she would give him Notice) he should come forth, and humble himselfe before her in the Field.

This Counsell sunke much into him, and for some Dayes he resolved it: but in the meane Time through the Intercession of the Earle of *Southampton*,

whom *Cuffe* had gained, he was restored to my Lord's Eare, and so working Advantage upon his Disgraces, and upon the vaine Foundation of vulgar Breath, which hurts many good Men, spun out the finall Destruction of his Master and himselfe, and almost of his Restorer, if his Pardon had not been wonne by Inches.

True it is, that the Earle in *Westminster-hall* did in generall disclose the evill Perswasions of this Man; but the Particulars which I have related of his Dismission and Restitution, he buried in his owne Breast for some Reasons apparent enough. Indeede (as I conjecture) not to exasperate the Case of my Lord of *Southampton*, though he might therewith a little peradventure have mollified his owne. The whole and true Report I had by infallible Meanes from the Person himselfe, that both brought the Advice from the aforesayd excellent Lady, and carried the Discharge to *Cuffe*, who in a private Chamber was stricken therewith into a Sound almost dead to the Earth, as if he had fallen from some high Steeple, such Turrets of Hope he had built in his owne Fancy.

Touching the Duke's suddaine Period, how others have represented it unto their Fancies, I cannot determine; for my Part, I must confesse from my Soule, that I never recall it to Minde without a deepe and double Astonishment of my Discourse and Reason.

First of the very Horroure and Attrocity of the Fact, in a Christian Court, under so moderate a Governement, but much more at the Impudency of the Pretence, whereby a desperate discontented Assassinate would, after the Perpetration, have honested a meere private Revenge (as by precedent Circumstances is evident enough) with I know not what publique Respects, and would faine have given it a parliamentary Cover howsoever. Thus these two great Peeres were dis-roabed of their Glory, the one by Judgement, and the other by Violence, which was the finall Distinction.

Now after this short Contemplation of their Diversities, for much more might have beene spoken, but that I was fitter for Rapsody than Commentary, I am lastly desirous to take a summarie Viewe of their Conformities, which I verily beleeve will be found as many, though perchance heeded by few as are extent in any of the ancient Parallell.

They both slept long in the Armes of Fortune: They were both of ancient Blood, and of forraigne Extraction: They were both of straight and goodly Stature, and of able and active Bodies: They were both industrious and assiduous, and intentive to their Ends: They were both early Privy Councillors, and imployed at Home in the secretest and weightiest Affaires in Court and State: They were both likewise Commaunders Abroade in Chiefe, as well by Sea as by Land; both Masters of the Horse at Home; both chosen Chancellours of the same University, namely, *Cambridge*. They were indubitable, strong, and high minded Men; yet of sweet and accostable Nature, almost equally delighting in the Presse and Affluence of Dependants and Suitors, which are alwayes the Burres, and sometimes the Briers of Favourits. They were both married to very vertuous Ladies, and sole Heires, and left Issue of eyther Sex, and both their Wives converted to
contrary

contrary Religions. They were both in themselves rare and excellent Examples of Temperance and Sobriety, but neyther of them of Continency.

Lastly, after they had beene both subject (as all Greatnesse and Splendor is) to certayne Obloquies of their Actions; they both concluded their earthly Felicity in unnaturall Ends, and with no great Distance of Time in the Space eyther of Life or Favour.

And so having discharged this poore Exercise of my Pen according to my Knowledge and Reality, let us commit those two noble Peeres to their eternall Rest, with their memorable Abilities remayning in few, and their compassionate Infirmities common to all.

A Letter from MERCURIUS CIVICUS to MERCURIUS RUSTICUS: Or LONDON'S Confession, but not Repentance. Shewing, That the Beginning and the obstinate Pursuance of this accursed horrid Rebellion, is principally to be ascribed to that rebellious City.

By SAMUEL BUTLER. 1643.

——— *En quò discordia Cives?*
Perduxit miseros.

VIRG. *Eclog.* I.

Good Brother RUSTICUS,

THOUGH there have been some unkinde Jars between my Brother *Aulicus* and me, yet my earnest Desire is to keep a good Understanding between your self and me: I cannot but congratulate your Happinesse that breathe in so free an Ayre, wherein it is lawfull to heare and speak *Truth*: O *Truth*, sacred *Truth*, whither art thou fled? If you at *Oxford* did not give her Entertainment, I know not where she would find a Place of Aboad, for here at *London* we fortifie against her to keep her out: Nay, with us in the City, it is come to that passe, that *it is almost as dangerous to speak Truth, as love the King*: You know how famous we have been here for publishing and printing Lyes; he that will not lye to Advantage, the great Cause in Hand, is not amongst us thought fit to have Accessse either to the Pulpit or the Presse. And therefore when I was first set on work to communicate Intelligence to the Kingdom, to indear my self to them that employed me, I played my Part reasonably well, I lyed my Share; but at last admonished by our Brother *Aulicus*, and to confesse to you, touched a little in Conscience, I began by Degrees to take off my self from that unwarrantable Course, and did here and there sprinkle a little Truth, yet very sparingly, lest I should be thought to be turned *Malignant* or *Cavaleer*: but as little

as

as it was, it was distastfull: for hereupon Mr. *Pim*, and the Remainder of the *five Members*, assisted by Mr. *Martyn*, illiterate Serjeant *Wild*, *Peard*, (that hath lesse Law if it be possible than the Serjeant) and some others that have sworn never to indure Truth again, since they have thriven so well by Lies, moved at the Close Committee to have me silenced: Yet to blind the World, as if their Ayme were not at me alone, they involve others in the same Doome, and for Intelligencers, by an Order they bung up all our Mouths at once: yet knowing how much it concerned them that the old Trade went on, though since they have permitted another to make Use of my Name, yet at first they gave Authority to one Man onely to lye for all the rest: him they call the *Parliament Scout*, not *Bulmore* the Scout that was slain at *Whetley* Bridge neer you at *Oxford*, I meane not him, yet if you look into his weekly Pamphlets, you would sweare that he had no more Braines in his Head than *Bulmore* had when they were shot out.

This Man indeed tells you some Truths, but such antiquated ones, that they were stale Newes above a thousand Yeares since; as that on the Borders of *Scotland* there dwelt a People whom they called *Picts*, that there was a Wall built between *England* and *Scotland*, and the like: while he keeps at this Distance, and comes no nearer, he never needs feare that the Heeles of the Times may chance to dash out his Teeth: he may write on! but if once he come to publish any moderne Truths, as that his Excellency durst come no nearer *Oxford* than *Thame*, that *Fairfax* is beaten in the North, and *Waller* and *Warwick* in the West, or the like, he were best looke to himselfe, he may read his Fate in us: These new Reformers will never brooke it.

Since therefore we are here inflaved either to Lies or Silence, that the World may not for ever be kept hoodwinkt, goe on (I pray) as you have begun, to let her see the Miseries under which she dayly suffers. But me thinks it would be a Work well worthy your Endeavour, to let the Country see not only their Miseries, but to point them out the Fountain and Source from whence they flow: This Discovery hath beene within me as *Wine that hath no Vent, ready to burst like new Bottles*; yet as full as I am, I dare not vent my Thoughts concerning this *here*, but have chose rather to whisper them to you: for it is in vaine to dissemble it, your sad Stories of the Ruine and Devastation of the Countrey are ecchoed in our Streets, and though we beare it out in a vaunting Way, as if these Things concerned not us, yet I assure you there are many Soules that mourne in private, (for in publique we must be as mad as the rest, or else we suffer as *Malignants*) as knowing how justly we stand charged with all those Calamities, which the Sword of Rebellion hath wrought upon you: I never heare that of the *Prophet* read, *Woe to the bloody City, it is full of Lies and Robbery*; but I cannot choose but think of *London*.

It is too manifest, nor can it be denied, but that all your Sufferings have been derived from us: when Common-Prayer was in Use amongst us, I remember such a Query in one of the *Prophets*, *Is there any Evill in the City, and the Lord hath not done it?* But you may aske, Is there any Evill in the Countrey, and the City hath not done it? You have made us rich and

populous,

populous, and we in foule Ingratitude have prodigally powred out both our Wealth and Strength to make you and our selves miserable.

Well might the Incendiaries of this present Rebellion (so I dare call it to you, though I dare not speak so plain here) bring violent Affections, eager Endeavours to set this flourishing *Church*, and *Kingdom* in Combustion, but alas! all this had signified little or nothing, had they not gained our Consent, and we resigned up our Persons and Estates to their Disposall to be made the base Instruments to compasse their most trayterous Designes: Could *Say* or *Pim*, and their beggerly Confederates have found Money to levie an Army against their Liege Lord, that had not Money to pay their own Debts, had not we furnished them? If we shall without Partiality consider the severall Helps which this City hath contributed to this Rebellion, we must confesse *that both the Beginning and Continuance of this unnaturall Warre may be ascribed to us*: So that in all *England* there is but one *Rebell*, and that is *London*. To reflect a little and look back on those Times when this Rebellion was but an *Embrio*, or else did begin to creepe into the World, (for we may not think that this Monster was a Brat of a suddain Birth) though it were conceived (some *Say*) neere *Banbury*, and shaped in *Grays-Inne-Lane*, where the Undertakers for the Isle of *Providence* did meet and plot it, yet you know it was put out to nurse to *London*.

For *first* you may well remember when the *Puritans* here did as much abominate the *Military Yard* or *Artillery-Garden*, as *Paris-Garden* it self: they would not mingle with the prophane: but at last when it was instill'd into them, that the blessed Reformation intended could not be effected but by the Sword, these Places were instantly filled with few or none but Men of that Faction: We were wont you know to make very merry at their Training, some of them in two Yeares Practice could not be brought to discharge a Musket without winking; we did little imagine then, that they were ever likely to grow formidable to the State, or advance to that Strength, as to be able to give the King Battle, but after a while they began to affect, yea and compasse the chief Officers of Command, so that when any prime Commanders dyed, new Men were elected, wholly devoted to that Faction; and it became a generall Emulation amongst them who should buy the most, and the best Armes.

Secondly, That they might fill all Places of Authority with such as should advance the Designe, all Care is taken to fill the Bench of Aldermen, and the Common-Councel, with Men disaffected to the Government, both Ecclesiasticall and Civill. To this Purpose, if *London* did not afford Men bad enough, they would call them from other Corporations, as Alderman *Atkins* from *Norwich*, and the like: but if he had seen *Amsterdam*, or had been an Adventurer to *New England*, or been the Host of the *silenced Ministers*, he was a Jewell: Nay some will tell you, and I am much of their Opinion, that the Faction have had so great a Care of this, that they have chosen some Men to Places of the best Esteem in the City, whose Estates were not able to defray the Charges, but have been supported by a common Purse, and if you have not forgotten it, there was a Motion you know made, that
honest

honest Men, so they call themselves, might beare the *Magistracy*, and the City beare the *Expence*: some Men thought that this Propofall had especiall Relation to those two beggerly Captaines, *Ven* and *Manuring*, who having nothing either within or without them to render them fit for Government, yet in this rebellious City, were thought *most fit*, because *most averse* from what was by Law established.

Thirdly, Because all this could not compasse the End they aymed at, unlesse the *Clergy* did conspire with them and contribute their Help, and because they found very few of the *settled Clergy* here in the City, (except Dr. *Gough*, M. *Jackson*, *Votier*, *Simons*, *Walker*, and a very few more) compliant with their Indeavours, they laboured by all Meanes possible, to introduce that *Gibbus* or *Excrescency* of the Clergy called *Lecturers* over their *Parochiall Ministers* Heads, whose Maintenance being dependent (yet a Portion by double Leases, and other sacralegious Devices stolne from their owne Parsons, so that the barren Mountaines of *Wales* afford not so many poore, and as Sir *Benjamin Rudyer* was wont to call them, scandalous Livings together, as are to be found within the Walls of *London*) must preach such Doctrine as may foment Disloyalty, and instill such Principles into their Auditors, as may first dispose them *to*, and after engage them *in* Rebellion, when Things were ripe, or else they shall want Bread to put into their Heads: The Truth is, Brother *Rusticus*, these military Preparations had effected little, had not the Fire been given from the Pulpit.

And because they saw how successfull this Course was, and what strange Effects it wrought in our City, a *Fourth* Design was, to place some of their Emissaries in all *Corporations* (those Nurseries of Schisme and Rebellion) and in the most eminent Parts of the Kingdom; for this Purpose a most specious and pious Pretence is held out to the World, the buying in of *Impropriations*: *Feoffees* are appointed, Men of publique Callings, as *Clergymen*, *Lawyers*, and *Cittizens*, whose Employments must needs render them knowne to many, and Men of noted *Zeale* in the Opinion of the World, (such as it was) thereby to gaine the Reputation of Religion to the Undertaking: the Lecturers (and others too) deceived by the Outside of this Project) stirre up the Rich and Well-affected to contribute liberally to this so religious an Act, of Redeeming the Lord's Portion out of Lay-hands, and amongst the last Counsells given to the Dying (and then commonly they make deepest Impression) This was never forgotten: by this Meanes great Summes were advanced, and the World stood at gaze to see the great Returne which would be made to the Church of *that* which Sacraledge had made a *Lay-Fee*: after any were redeemed how long the Revenues were held in the *Feoffees* Hands, what Pittances were allowed to the Incumbents, how they *robb'd Peter to pay Paul*, and established a Lecture perhaps in *Cornwall*, with the Tithe of a Parsonage in *Yorkeeshire*, or the like, appertains not to my present Purpose.

The Thing that I shall observe unto you is, the great Care and Art used in fitting Men for their Service, and then disposing and securing them in their Employment from any Molestation of Ecclesiasticall Censures. To this
End,

End, *First*, they account it necessary to plant two *Seminaries*, the *first* an *Initiary Seminary*, to this Purpose they project the buying of an Headship in one of the *Universities* for some eminent Man of their own Party, under whose Influence their *Novices* might be trained up in their *Mysteries*: though some Houses in both Universities were notorious enough in this Kind before, and might have saved them this Labour, as *Magdalen-Hall* and *New-Inne* in *Oxford*, and *Emanuel Colledge* and *Katherine Hall* in *Cambridge*.

The *second* was a *Præctique Seminary*, and that was at *St. Antholines* here in *London*, and did in *Spiritualibus* answer to the *Artillery Garden*, being a Place to traine up their young *Emissaries*, where they might take an Essay of their Affections and Abilities, and by the Bewitchments of *Gain* and popular Applause deeply ingage them in their Faction: and from this *Seminary* were most of their new bought Impropriations fill'd. And as they had their Salary from, so they were subordinate to a *Classis* or *Clero-laicall Consistory*, who had Power to transplant their most hopeful Imps either into their purchased Impropriations, or else into a Lecture in some of the most populous Places of the Kingdom, maintained by a borrowed Portion from an Impropriation elsewhere: yet this *Consistory*, did not in their Choice, strictly tye themselves to the Plants of their own Nurseries, but if any Man had been a *Pseudo-martyr* for their Cause, or had been sentenced by the high Commission for Non-Conformity, or by some notorious Undertaking had evidenced and declared himselfe, and irrevocably without apparant Note of Infamy and Levity (if he retracted) ingaged himselfe to their Party: or had Letters Testimoniall from *Patriarch White* of *Dorchester*, *Mr. Cotton* of *Boston*, or the like, (for *Calamy* and *Marshall* were not, as it is said of *Dathan* and *Abiram*, as yet famous in the Congregation.) This Man was a choyce Plant and fit for their Soyle.

Secondly, Being planted abroad, their second Care was, that whatsoever they preached, though never so derogatory to the Government either *Ecclesiasticall* or *Civill*, yet they might be free from Molestation, and preach on, without Danger of loosing their Maintenance by Ecclesiasticall Censure. To this Purpose they attempt the buying a Commissaries Place *there, where* they intended to make any speciall Plantation; who being after their own Hearts, might winke at their Irregularities; and though the Church-wardens should by chance be so honest to regard their Oathes, and present them, yet by the purchased or bribed Commissary they may secure them from the Danger of the Court.

Lastly, For feare least any of their Creatures should fall from them, and desert the Cause, as some had done, when they had got what they looked for; wisely they provide, that their Maintenance shall be dependent, on the Pleasure of their good Masters the Feoffees, alterable by Addition, or Subtraction, according to their Merits, or Demerits, and their Persons subject to be casheered, if they preach not to the Advancement of their holy Cause, and according to the Directions sent unto them from the Conclave of their Elders at *London*: That so as much as humane Policy could invent, they might

(to use Mr. Foxlie's own Words, speaking in this Argument) *Establish the Gospel by a perpetuall Decree.*

When all Things were now ready, their *Emissaries* having prepared the Hearts of the People to Rebellion, first alienating them, by frequent flandering the Footsteps of God's Anoynted, decrying the Government both of Church and State, fomenting the causelesse Discontents, and aggravating the Necessities of State, with the odious Names of *Tyranny*, *Arbitrary Power*, *Violation* of the Subjects *Liberty* and *Property*, and likewise possessed the credulous Multitude, that the conformable *Clergy* had made a Revolt from the *Protestant Religion*, and had an earnest Intention to introduce *Popery*: At last was fulfilled that Prophecy of judicious Mr. *Hooker*, towards the End of the Preface to that incomparable Work of *Ecclesiasticall Policy*, that *after the Puritans have first resolved that Attempts for Discipline are lawfull, it will follow in the next Place to be disputed, what may be attempted against Superiors who will not have the Scepter of that Discipline to rule over them?* Which Prophecy we see exactly fulfilled in our Dayes; for the *Puritans* having first rebelled by a *Proxy*, they then thought it seasonable to take an Essay what an Entertainment the Doctrine for taking up Armes against the King would find amongst their Disciples.

To this Purpose Doctor *Downing*, a Man fitted for any base Employment, and one that (whatever he counterfeited) ever looked awry on the Church, in which (being settled and in Peace) he could never hope to advance farther than *Vicar of Hackney*, was to feele the Pulse of the City: while therefore Discontents runne high in the *North*, the *Scots* having in a hostile Manner entered the Kingdome, the People every where, especially in *London*, stirr'd up by some Agents to petition the King for this Parliament, Dr. *Downing*, preaching to the Brotherhood of the *Artillery Garden*, positively affirmed, that for Defence of Religion and Reformation of the Church, it was lawfull to take up Armes against the King.

He having thus kindled the Fire in the City, for feare of being questioned (for as yet it was not lawfull to preach Treason) retired privately to the Earle of *Warwicke's* House in *Essex*, the common Rendevouz of all schismaticall Preachers, this Sermon in every Place administring Matter of Discourse, People censured it, as they stood affected, which gave Occasion to the Ring-leaders of this Faction to enter upon a serious Examination and Study of this Case of Conscience: And it seems, consulting the *Jesuites* on the one side, and the rigid *Puritans* on the other, or indeed, because without admitting this Doctrine, all their former Endeavours would vanish into Smoak, they stood doubtfull no longer, but closed with these two contrary Factions, yet shaking Hands in this Poynt of Rebellion, and subscribed to Dr. *Downing's* Doctrine, as an Evangelicall Truth.

And that in this I may not be thought to speak as if I were a Parliament Intelligencer still, for the Truth of this, I appeale to Mr. *Stephen Marshall* himselfe, who being pressed by Mr. *Simons*, that heretofore he was of another Opinion, ingenuously confessed it, but withall affirmed, that on Dr. *Downing's* Sermon,

Sermon, having a Hint given them, the Brethren did enter upon an Examination of the Doctrine, and upon Examination found it true: Though the Truth is, they whispered this Doctrine long before in their Conventicles, but never durst proclaime it in their Pulpits, before they saw an Army in the Bowells of the Kingdom to make it good by the Sword, and a Faction in a Parliament coming on, that would authorize Rebellion under this Pretence, by their Votes and Ordinances.

After it was once owned as a Truth, and a Truth, first scann'd, and then avowed by *Marshall, Calamy, Downing*, and Colonell *Cornelius Burges*, and the rest of their Elders, *That for the Cause of Religion it was lawfull for the Subject to take up Armes against his lawfull Sovereigne*, good God! how violently did the People of *London* rush into Rebellion? how plyable did the Faction in Parliament find them to raise Tumults? make Outcries for Justice? call for innocent Blood? subscribe and preferre Petitions against the holy Lyturgy? and the Hierarchy, Root and Branch, if Doctor *Burges* did but hold up his Finger to his *Mermidons*? or Captain *Ven* send his Summons by his Wife, to assemble the *Zelots* of the City?

But because all other Attempts had been to little Purpose, while the Power of the Sword remained in his Hands, into which God hath put it, the Heads of this Rebellion consider, that it was more feazable by secret Practises, to render the King unable to withstand them, than for them openly to oppose the King; therefore their main Indeavour is to wrest the Power of the *Militia* out of the King's Hands by Degrees, and to put it *there, where* they might place the greatest Confidence.

But this was a Work not easily affected, great Changes could not be ushered in but by great Preparations to make Way for them; hereupon the Faction in Parliament make it their first Work to make this City wholly *theirs*, that one Soule as it were might animate both *representive Bodies*, that of the *Kingdome*, and this of the *City*: knowing that it was in vaine for the Faction in Parliament to *contrive* unlesse the Faction in the Common-Councell in *London* would *execute*: for though there were some Flourishes made from *Buckingham-shire* in the Behalfe of Mr. *Hampden*, and from *Leicester-shire* in the Behalfe of Sir *Arther Haslerigge*; and the like, yet the standing Guard, and Power of the Faction in Parliament, on which they relied, to affront the King, and save themselves from the Justice of the Laws, was that fixed here in *London*.

And because where Feare doth possesse the Multitude, it makes them work not like Agents, but like Instruments, and moulds them to a Temper, fit to receive Impressions, from those, in whose Wisdoms or Loves they repose themselves, making them pliable to all Directions and Counsells, which shall be given by *them, whom* they esteeme *Patriots* of the Common-wealth, and *Affertors* of the *Liberties*, and *Safety of the People*, all possible Art was used to possesse the Kingdome, but especially the City with strange *Jealousies* and *Feares*, and therefore besides the often inculcating the fained Intention of introducing Popery, great Preparations in *France*, and *Denmarke* to invade the Kingdome, to inable the King to governe Arbitrarily, to the Subversion

of the fundamentall *Lowes* of the Kingdome, together with the *Liberty* and *Property* of the Subject: (Theames that did continually possesse both the *Pulpit* and the *Presse*, which how true, though most impudently affirmed, the World now sees :) each Day did produce a Discovery of some new Treason, and to indeare the City the more, it must be so contrived, that in these monstrous Fictions you shall continually find the *Parliament* and *City* fained to be involved in the same Danger.

To possesse the Kingdom how mortally the *Parliament* and *City* (the two vitall Parts of the Kingdome as *Pym* calls them) were threatned; in the Time of the *Recesse* they take Opportunity of the Petition delivered by the Troopers from the North, and by an Order from the Committee, they appoynt strong Watches to be kept in all High-Wayes, Villages, and Townes within twenty Miles of *London*, that Travellers into all Parts of the Kingdome, passing through these Guards, might report when they came Home, in how much Danger the *Parliament* and *City* were for their Sakes.

And that the credulous People might not think but that this was done on good Grounds, a Letter is written from the Parliament Commissioners in *Scotland*, Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Fiennes*, and the rest to Mr. *Pym* and the close Committee here, to inform them of a strange Conspiracy discovered in *Edenburgh*, to seize on the Persons of the Marquesse *Hamilton*, and the Earles of *Argyle*, and *Lavericke*: the Committee wisely considering that it was no strange Thing for Treason to make a Step out of *Scotland* into *England*, instantly provided against it, (at least so they would be thought) by publishing an Order, commanding the Justices of Peace of *Middlesex*, *Surrey*, and *Southwarke*, to secure the City, and the Places adjoyning, from all Danger, by strong Guards, well armed, and give this Reason for their Order, *Because the mischievous Designs and Conspiracies lately discovered in Scotland against some principall and great Men there, by some of the Popish Faction, gives just Occasion to suspect, that they may maintain Correspondency here and practise the like Mischiefe.*

Presently upon the Neck of this Mr. *Pym's* Life (to the great Detriment of the Kingdom and Nation) is endangered by a contagious Plaister of Plague Sore, wrapt up in a Letter, and directed to him: but God be thanked, the Infection did not take, though throwing away the Plaister only, he put the Letter in his Pocket; he being reserved for another Manner of Death (we hope) than to dye privately in his Bed, with a few Spectators to bear Witnesse of his End.

Then comes a Taylor out of a Ditch in *Finsbury* Fields, having miraculously escaped, being runne *nine Times* besides the Body, (for like a wise Taylor, wheresoever he made Ilot-holes, he would be sure to make none in his own Skinne, though to gain Credit to the Relation :) and he tells a strange Discovery of a Treason, which he overheard two Men talking of, a Conspiracy against the Life of the Lord *Say*, and some of the chief Members of both Houses: A Thing so improbable, indeed so ridiculous, that had they not thought that the World stood prepared to receive any thing for Truth which came from them, 'twas a Wonder how they durst own it. And now I have
named

named a Taylor, it puts me in Mind of *Perkins*, my Lotd *Say's* Taylor, who at a Common-Councell produced a Copy of a Letter from an I know not what *Irish* Lord in *Paris*, to such another *Irish* Lord in *London*, intimating some strange Designe against the City, which took as passionately with the People, as if it had been certified from Mr. *Strickeland* his Worship himselfe, Embassador for the two Houses unto the *States-Generall* of the *United Provinces*. But the most monstrous of all the rest, and that which if the People had not been accursed to believe Lies, was the invisible Army quartered under Ground at *Ragland Castle*, discovered by *John Davis*, Servant to Mistris *Lewis* an Inne-keeper at *Rosse*, to Alderman *Atton's* Coachman: except the blowing up the *Thames* with Gunpowder to drowne the City, one of the most dangerous Plots that ever affrighted *London*.

And as by their own Fictions they endeavoured to possesse the People with Jealousies, so whatsoever the King did never wanted a sinister Interpretation, glossed to the Multitude, to traduce His Actions, as if in them there were ever some Evill intended to the City and Parliament. When the King removed *Belfore* from the Lieutenantcy of the Tower, and placed Sir *Thomas Lunsford* in that Charge, the Citizens and their Wives could not sleep quietly in their Beds, for Feare of having their Houses beaten down about their Eares. To satisfy their Clamours, though nothing was objected against him, the King re-assumes the Trust, and presently deposits it with Sir *John Byron*: the Faction were as ill satisfied in him, yet it was not easy what to object against him: nay, it was a Query that did not a little trouble them in what to quarrell him: at last Lieutenant *Hooker* the *Aquavite* Man, and *Nicholson* the *Chandler*, complaine in the Common-Councell, that since Sir *John Byron* came to be Lieutenant of the Tower, the Mint (to the great Prejudice and Dishonour of the Kingdome) stood still. Those that knew what Trade these Men drove, by the poore Retaile of Broomes, Candles, and Mustard, their chief Merchandize, to improve brasse Farthings into Groats and Sixpences, accounted the Objection as inconsiderable as the Authors that alleadged it, yet as meane and false as it was, it served some Men's Turnes to slander the King to his People, and raise a Clamour. The King out of the abundant Goodnesse of his Nature, hoping to winne them by some Condescendments, (which now the World sees is impossible: Puritans being of another Manner of Temper than to be overcome with Kindnesse) removes Sir *John Byron*, and confers this great Trust on Sir *John Coniers*, a Man of whom the Faction it seems conceived better Hopes, and indeed hitherto, if you consider his Exaction upon the King's Friends in his Custody, or retaining the Name of Lieutenant, but resigning the Power contrary to his expresse Oath, and that on his own Petition to the Train-bands of the City, he hath not given them any Occasion to repent them of their Acquiescence in him.

It were endlesse, *Brother Rusticus*, to relate all the Meanes used to heighten the Fears of this miserable City, and by consequence of the Kingdome; especially after the Faction in Parliament had shewen them the Way, by publish-
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ing that great Buggbeare to affright the People, *the Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdome.*

1641. At last, to make Experiment what good Effect all these Arts had produced, the maine Engineers resolve on Twelfe-Night to see what Party they had in the City, and what Assistance they might expect (if Occasion served) by giving a false Allarme. To this Purpose, in the Night, a Rumour is divulged, and suddenly dispersed through the City, That the King and *Cavaleers*, with fiftene hundred Horse, were coming to surprize the City: You would wonder to consider how this Report prevailed, insomuch that in an Instant *London* was in Armes, no lesse than 50000 or 60000 Men, ready provided to encounter they knew not what; the Women (who as Mr. *Peters* did instruct them in the Pulpit, have hugg'd their Husbands into this Rebellion) provide hot Water (besides what they sprinkled for Feare) to throw on the *Cavaleers*: Joynt stooles, Foormes, and empty Tubbes are throwne into the Streets, to intercept the Horse. Had you been at the Lord Mayor's that Night, as I was, you might upon the Aldermens coming to him, to consult against the common Danger, easily perceive which of the Aldermen were privy to this Designe, and who were not thought fit to be trusted with so great a Myserie: some of them (and when Time serves I can tell you their Names) came so neat, as if they had spent the whole Day to be trimme at Midnight, their Beards put into a Feasting Posture, not a Haire awry, a clear Demnstration that they had not consulted their Pillows that Night; their Ruffles set as compleatly, as if they had beene to dine with the Masters of their Companies, or were prepared to beare a Part in my Lord Mayor's Shew: but the rest, that slept in the Simplicity of their Hearts, and went to Bed, so farre from misconceiving their gracious Sovereigne to have any evill Intention against the City, that they thought themselves safe under his Protection, these came in a farre different Garbe; one came in his Night-Cap and forgot his Hat, another had his Hat, but did not remember to take his Ruffe, one trots along in his Slippers, another for Hastie not staying to garter his Stockings, had lost them had not his Shooes been on; so that it was easy to distinguish who were *Confiding Aldermen*, as they call them, and who *Malignants*.

And as by Degrees they wrought the People to this Height of Jealousie, so by Degrees too, proportionable to their Jealousies, did they disarm the King, and arme themselves. At first they did only wrest the Sword out of the King's Hand, but as their Party grew stronger, they turned the Point upon him. When their Feares were but young, the Faction of the City desired no more, but a strong Guard of the Train-Bands, and this they called *The Safety of the City*; when their Feares grew stronger, then in a Common-Councill they move for *The Posture of Defence*; which was the Egge of which afterwards was hatched that *Cockatrice* of the *Militia*.

But because it was impossible to disarm the King, as long as the Lord Mayor stood firme in his Loyalty, and invested in his Power; their maine Work therefore was, first, to pack a Common-Councill of Men of their own Faction, and then by advancing the Power of their Common-Councill (by the

the Assistance of the *House of Commons*) above the *Lord Mayors*, to draw the Voting of all Queries, and the Resolution of all Doubts, or Matters under Debate, under the Decision of a *major Part*; and if any Obstacle lay in their Way to these Ends, which was not in their Power to remove, presently at a dead Lift, *Penington*, or *Ven*, or *Vassels* bring an Order from the *House of Commons*, which never failed to determine all Things, for their own Creatures. And because the Practices of these Men deserve not to be buried in Silence, I shall give you a short Account, how the Power of the *Militia* of the City, came to be taken out of the *Lord Mayor*, and *Court of Aldermen's* Hands, and seated in a *major Part* of the *Commons*; in which you shall see how a Faction in the City conspired with a Faction in the *Parliament*, and this Faction in the *Parliament* with that in the City, untill between both, the King was inforced, for Fear of their Tumults, and Insolencies, to withdraw himself into the Country.

The Time of Election of Common-Councill Men comming on, at *St. Thomas's Day* 1641. when these Feares and Jealousies had distracted the City, it was no difficult Matter, for this active Faction, to instill into their fellow Citizens how much it concerned them to make Choyce of *godly Men* (so they miscall themselves) and such as would oppose the *Popish Party*, under which Notion, they comprehend all such as stand well affected to the Government established, whether *Ecclesiasticall*, or *Civill*. They accuse the old Common-Councill-Men, as Men not zelous for Religion, ready to comply with the Court for Loanes of Monies, and which was worse, many had not only set their Hands to, but were active in promoting the intended Petition, for *Episcopacy*, and the Booke of *Common Prayer*. These Objections, (which duly considered, had been so many convincing Arguments for them) so prevailed with these silly Men, (who thought all to be in Danger, unlesse the Government were put into new Hands) that in most Wards, the old Common-Council-Men were turned out, and new chosen in, wholly devoted to the *Puritan Faction*; especially in those Wards, where their *Aldermen* inclined that Way: amongst these, the most remarkable were *Atkins*, *Wollastone*, *George Garrat* the Draper, *Wardner*, and *Towse*. Now outgoe all the grave, discreet, well-affected Citizens, as *Sir George Benyon*, *Mr. Drake*, *Mr. Roger Clarke*, *Mr. Roger Gardner*, *Deputy Withers*, *Mr. Cartwright*, and others, and in their Stead are chosen *Fowke* the Traytor, *Ryley* the squeeking Bodyes-maker, *Perkins* the Taylor, *Norminton* the Cutler, young bearded *Coulson* the Dyer, *Gill* the Wine-Cooper, and *Jupe* the Laten-man in *Crooked-Lane*, *Beadle* of the Ward, in the Place of *Deputy Withers*. So that a Man would swear, they meant to fulfill what a wise *Lord Keeper* once spake to a Recorder of *London*, dyning with him, upon Occasion of a *Wood-Cock Pye* brought to the Table, with the Heads looking out of the Lid, *Mr. Recorder, you are welcome to a Common-Councill*.

These new Men, though chosen on *St. Thomas's Day*, are never returned by the constant Custome of the City, before the *Munday* after *Twelve day*: nor have Power to sit in the Common-Councill, or concurre in doing any Act, before the Indentures of their Election be returned from the Wardmote Inquest

Inquest to the Town-Clark, and a Warrant is sued forth from the *Lora Mayor*, to the Serjeant of the Chamber to summon them. Yet in the Yeare 1641. the small Space of Time betweene *St. Thomas's Day*, and the Day of this Returne, was a very *active* Time: and that which laid the Ground-work, of that Revolt of this City, from their Loyalty to Rebellion, which presently followed. Therefore impatient to stay the Time of their ordinary Calling, and knowing the Necessity of their Presence for the Advancement of the Work in Hand, when the King, gave Order to the *Lord Mayor*, for calling that Common-Councell held *December 31, 1641.* when the *Lord Newburge* was sent from the King, to give the City Notice of the late Tumults at *Westminster*, and *Whitehall*, and to recommend unto them the Care of preventing the like Disorders, for the Time to come. To this Common-Councell, comes *Hawks*, and with him, all the Tribe of this new Choice, and mingle with the old; which being an Intrusion without President, was earnestly opposed by *them*, that loved the ancient Order, and Honour of the City; and foresaw the Inundation breaking in upon them, yet out of Respect to the *King's* Message, and that *Lord* that brought it, the Controversie for the present was hushed up, and generally, they applied themselves to give Dispatch to the Answer, which they were to returne to the *King*, which was accordingly done, and the Answer presently after published in Print.

So, on the 5th of *January*, being the Day after the *King* went to the House of Commons to demand the *Five Members*, a Common-Councell being called by the King's Direction to the *Lord Mayor*, to which himselfe in Person came, to impart unto them, the Reasons that induced him to goe to the House the Day before, and to admonish them, not to harbour, or protect these Men in the City. Thither came *Fowke* and his new elected, but not admitted Brethren. *Fowke* having prepared a saucy, insolent Speech, to make unto the *King*, concerning *Feares*, and *Jealousies*, touching the *Members* accused, The *Priviledges of Parliament*, and that they might not be tried but in a *Parliamentary* Way; The *King* heard him with admired Patience, and whereas so disloyall Expressions, justly deserved his royall Indignation, to have sent him to *Newgate*, or *Bridewell* (specially interposing in that representative Body of which, as yet, he was no Member.) The *King* only returned this short gracious Answer, bidding him and the rest, *to assure themselves, That they should have a just Tryall, according to the Lawes of the Land*; adding, *That they were dangerous Men, and that neither he, nor they, could be in Safety, as long as these Men were permitted to go on in their Way.*

It was observed by some very wise Men there present, that the King at his Comming to the Common-Councell, was received with Joy and Acclamations; not much inferiour to those, at his Entrance into the City, on his Returne from *Scotland*. But after the Reason of his Comming was knowne, and the *Puritan Party* had instill'd into the People's Heads, that the great *Patriots* of the Kingdome were in Danger, to be called to a legall Triall, for Treason, at his Returne, there was a new Face on the Multitude, and instead

stead of *God save the King*, there was nothing echoed in his Eares but *Priviledges of Parliament, Priviledges of Parliament! Great is Diana of the Ephesians* was never roared louder. The King dined that Day at Sheriffe Garrets, and the Faction of the Sectaries, Brownists, and Anabaptists having Time to assemble, after Dinner, the House was beset, and the Streets leading unto it thronged with People, Thousands of them flocking from all Parts of the City; and the Clamour still was *Priviledges of Parliament*: which Cry first taken up that Day, and *that* with so good Success, never failed to be objected to the King, and inculcated to the People, even unto this Day, in all their Appeals unto them.

This Tumult swell'd to that Height, that the King in his Returne was in great Danger, the People in a most undutifull Manner pressing upon, looking into, and laying hold on his Coach; nay, in Defiance of His sacred Person and Authority, that seditious Pamphlet of *Walker's, To your Tents, O Israel*, was throwne either into, or very near his Coach: Infomuch, that those few Friends, which the King had in the City, were heartily glad when they heard that the King was safely arrived at *White-Hall*: for I assure you, His fast Friends here in the City, as the never enough honoured Sir *Richard Gurney*, and Sir *Thomas Gardner* the Recorder, were in great Danger, being pursued with Outcries, as *Remember the Protestation*; others calling them *halfe Protesters*: nay the Lord Mayor had his Chaine torne from his Neck by a zealous Sister.

This very Day, the two Houses (the Leaders in both) thinking themselves unsafe at *Westminster*, affrighted with their own Guilt, resolve to take Sanctuary in *London*, knowing, that whatever they had done, or ever should doe, though never so derogatory to the King, never so contrary to Law, yet the Puritan Faction in the City would afford them not only Protection, but Power and Assistance. Both Houses therefore adjourn untill the *Tuesday* following, and cast themselves into a Committee, to meet at *Guild-Hall*, or *Grocers-Hall*.

To the Committee at *Grocers Hall*, come the *Five Members* in great Triumph, guarded and attended by the Train-Bands, and a strong Guard set to secure the Place of their Sitting. Now, if ever, was the fatall Conspiration of *Time* and *Place*, for Coyning new unheard-of *Priviledges of Parliament*, not only to the securing the Persons of Traitors, but justifying Treason itselſe: For here was (before this Day) the unheard-of Priviledge of Parliament declared, *That no Member of Parliament ought to be arrested by any Warrant whatsoever, without Consent of that House, whereof he is a Member*: And by the same Ordinance it was declared, *That they that shall arrest those Members are Enemies to the State; with free Liberty granted for all Persons to harbour or converse with them*: In all which it is evident, that the Power and Strength of *London* were made the first Obstruction of the free Course of Justice, and the City made the Asylum and Sanctuary of those, whom the King had justly declared Traytors.

And now, having undoubted Experience of the Affection of the City, all Eyes being turned from *Whitehall*, to *Grocers Hall*, where the *Darlings* of the

People were pompously feasted, and fawningly courted: on *Saturday* the 8th of *January*, 1641. the Committee consult, how the accused Members might come to *Westminster*; the *Tuesday* following, and without any long Debate, it was resolved upon the Question, That *the Sheriffes of London should, and might raise a Guard of the Train-bands, for the Defence of the King and Parliament; and that they might warrantably march out of their Liberties*, and that you may see that the Scene was right layd, there were some ready at that Instant to make a Tender of the Assistance of the *Seamen and Mariners*, whose Power should guard them by Water, as the Train-Bands by Land. Next Day, being *Sunday*, every Pulpit that was at their Devotion, sounded nothing but the Praise of *Kimbolton* and the *Five Members*; inciting the People to stand up in the Defence of these *Worthies*: else if they permitted the King to take away these To-day, he might goe on to seize on as many more To-morrow, untill he had left the Parliament naked of all good *Patriots*, and zealous *Affertors* of Religion, the Lawes, and Liberties of the Kingdom.

On *Monday* the Tenth of *January* 1641. the King hearing of these great Preparations, an Army by Land, and a Navy by Sea, which was to cast Anchor against *White-Hall*, suddenly, (and certainly guided by an immediate Providence, which in a peculiar Manner watched over Kings) resolved with his ever glorious Queene, the Prince, and the Duke of *York*, to withdraw to *Hampton-Court*, which accordingly He did; not leaving (though well he might) his *Curse* behind him upon *London*, as *Henry* the Third of *France* did on *Paris*, fowly provoked in the like Manner; who flying from the City and the *Holy League*, the Parallell of this Treason here, at *Chaliot*, turning towards it, said, * *I give thee my Curse, disloyall and ingratefull City; a City which I have alwayes honoured with my continuall Aboad, a City which I have enriched more than any of my Predecessors, I shall never enter within the Compasse of thy Walls, but by the Ruine of a great and memorable Breach.*

The King, now, no better than fled from *London*, and the apparent Dangers there, the whole Strength of the City remained at the Disposall of a Faction of Puritans in the *Parliament*, and a Faction of Puritans in the City. That very *Monday*, on which the King for his Safety from these Tumults, withdrew himselfe (and 'tis a Wonder that any Man should be so frontlesse to deny, (that for that Reason, and that Reason only, he withdrew himselfe) was the Returne made of the Indentures of the Election of the Common-Councill-Men, and if any Election was questioned, as some were, and that most justly, 'twas truly observed, that the Decision, never failed to goe on their Side, who were last elected, whether it were right or wrong: for whereas formerly all Controversies of this Nature were submitted to the Determination of the *Lord Mayor* and *Court of Aldermen* only, now by the Impetuousnesse and Clamour of *Fowke*, and his Adherents, it must be referred to a Committee of the Common-Councill; the same Committee which was for the Safety, the first Step which the Puritans made towards the *Militia*.

* The French Hist. p. 805.

Having thus put the King to Flight, and by most indirect unwarrantable Practices, turned most of the discreet able Men of the City out of the Common-Councell, they beginne to put the City into a *true Posture of Rebellion*, which they called the *Posture of Defence*, and was the *second Step* to the *Militia*: and for the Committee of this *Posture of Defence*, they nominate *Six Aldermen*, and *twelve Commoners*, most of them being of this last Election. And to have a Leader for the intended Rebellion, upon *Ven's* Recommendation; *Skippon*, for his Councell and Advice, is added as an *Appendix* to the Committee. And though a great Debt lay on the Chamber of *London*, which was often complained of, but never paid, yet *Serjeant Major General Skippon*, (so many are the Syllables of his new Honours) is ordered by Act of Common-Councell, to have 300*l.* a Yeare out of the Treasury for Orphans, during his Life, if he should so long continue in the City Service.

A strong Party being thus made, they beginne to make all manner of warlike Preparations, and provide Ammunition of all Sorts: they increase the Number of the Train-Bands from sixe to eight Thousand, and appoint over them sixe *Aldermen* to be Colonells, each Colonell to have his Captains, Officers, Colours, and Regiment, to be assigned him by the Committee for the *Posture of Defence*: and yet, as if all this had been to no Purpose, unlesse they can make the *Lord Mayor* (a shrewd Rubbe in the Way) a meer Cypher, and reduce their *Governour* to so mean a Condition, as to be only their *Instrument*, they intrench upon his Power, and invade it many Wayes.

First, therefore, whereas the Power of summoning Common-Councells, resided only in the *Lord Mayor*, who, with the Advice of some Aldermen, was to judge of the Reasons inducing him to assemble this Representative Body; now by Orders from the House of *Commons*, at the Instance of *Pennington*, *Ven*, and *Vassells*, the *Lord Mayor* is not left to his own Judgement, when to call or not to call a Common-Councell, but must doe it as oft as the Men of this Faction shall command him: which usurp'd Power, both *Ven* and *Fowkes* have used with that Insolency, that when they have required *Sir Richard Gurney* to call a Common-Councell, and he hath demanded a Reason, they have vouchsafed him no other Answer, than this saucy one, *that when he came thither he should know*.

Secondly, as the Power of calling Common-Councells was trusted, by their *Charter and Long Prescription*, with the *Lord Mayor*; so the Power of *dissolving* them, was put into the same Hands, he might rise in the midst of a Debate, and dismishe the Assembly, and yet was not bound to give them an Account, why he did so; but now, partly by Violence, and partly by pretended Orders from the *Commons*, he is fastned to his Seat, there he must sit, untill *Ven* and *Fowkes* and the rest have no farther Use of him.

Thirdly, heretofore, when a Common-Councell was called, nothing could be put to the Question, or proposed as the Subject of their Deliberation, but what the *Lord Mayor* by the *Recorder* did offer unto them; but now, when they could not prevaile with the *Mayor* to command the *Recorder*, nor with the *Recorder* without the *Lord Mayor's* Consent, to propose what the Faction pleased, by the Omnipotency of an Order, from the House of *Commons*,

they make the *Dumb to speak*, what *Ven* and the rest will have them; or else the *Lord Mayor* and the *Recorder* must answer it at a Committee.

Lastly, whereas the *Lord Mayor* and *Aldermen* sit apart, from the Commons, and are *covered*, when the others are *bareheaded*, and have a *Negative Voice*, the Itch of incorporating two in one, hath been as great in the *City*, as ever it was at *Westminster*, and with better Success; for the Faction *here* (upon the Point) have cast all into a common Huddle, blending the *Court of Aldermen* with the *Commons: Upper, and Lower*, sound as harshly *here*, as *Westward*: And though in outward Appearance, they remain two distinct Members, of one Body, yet, in Power, they have made both *levell*, involving the Votes of the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, in the major Part of the Commons.

The *Puritan Faction*, by the Assistance of the *House of Commons*, having thus gotten the *Power to call* Common-Councils, *Power to continue* them, *Power to put to the Question* what they please, and *Power to determine* all by a *major Part*, my *Lord Mayor* having no more Sway than *Perkins* the Taylor, *Rily* the Bodyes-maker, or *Nicholson* the Chandler, they may dispose of the Wealth and Power of the *City* as they please: now the two Factions openly communicate Counsils, walk Hand in Hand, that 'twas a Question, which was the Parliament, that at *Westminster*, or this at *Guild-hall*.

Towards the End of *January 1641*. the Commons House petition'd the King touching the *Tower*, the *Forts*, and the *Militia*, and as two Strings set to the same Tune, though on two severall *Violls*, at a convenient Distance, if you touch one, the other by Consent renders the same Sound, so, the *House of Commons*, and the *Common-Council* of this *City*, were now grown to such a Sympathy, that the Motions, and Endeavours of one, were the Work of both: that you would sweare, *Fowkes* was as much a Parliament Man *here*, as *Ven* at *Westminster*: for before *February* was tenne Dayes old, there was a Common-Council held, in which many Things were debated: the Court was continued long, untill one of the Clock: at last, tired out with long sitting, and willing to rise, *Ven*, taking Advantage of the present Indisposition of the Court, to sit longer, ready to admit Proposals, without any strict scanning, (especially since whatsoever passed that Common-Council, was to undergoe a second Consideration at the next, as their constant Custome is) produceth an Order from the *House of Commons*, by which, they were desired to returne such Men's Names, with whom the *City* thought fit to intrust the *Militia of London*.

The Court, surprized with so unexpected a Message for the present, not piercing into the Reason of it, nor understanding that the Houses were in so great Forwardness to settle the *Militia*, as afterwards they found they were, nor imagining that the Men, whose Names they returned, should have absolute Power to execute any Thing of themselves, but only as a Committee to consult, and prepare, and report to the Common-Council, as the limited Power of all Committees is, and, considering that the *Posture of Defence*, and the new *Militia*, though two Names, were in Effect but one and the same Thing; Ordered, that the Names of the Committee for the *Posture of Defence*,
should

should be sent to the House in Returne to their Order. The Intention of the House, (as some thinke) in this Message, (though for my Part, if I were put to my Oath I dare not sweare it) was, to indeare the City, and to lay an Obligation upon them by giving them Power to nominate their owne Men: But *Ven* (instructed by some, that had more Wit, but as little Honesty as himselfe) his Purpose in the Carriage of this Businesse was, to make the Lord *Mayor*, the *Sheriffes*, and *Court of Aldermen*, by their owne voluntary, but inconsiderate Act, to renounce (as it were) their owne Interest, and so, to place this great Power of the *Militia* on the *Committee* for the *Posture of Defence*, whereof the major Part, if not all, were of his owne Faction.

Many Dayes had not passed, before it was generally knowne, to the great Regret of all loyall discreet Men, that the *Militia* of *London*, was put in the Hands of the *Committee* for the *Posture of Defence*. Not long after, a Common-Councell was called, at which, when the Orders made the last Meeting, (as the Custome is) were read: At this, many Men seeing the Snare, into which unwittingly they had cast themselves, beganne to retract, and speake against that Order, whereby the *Committee* for the *Posture of Defence*, were invested with the Power of the *Militia*: nay, some of the *Aldermen*, whose Names were returned, for the new *Militia*, utterly protested against it; affirming, that when they passed that Order, they had not the least Intention, to exclude the Lord *Mayor*, from having Power over the *Militia*, nor had any Thought, to place so absolute Power in their *Committee*, as (they found) the two Houses had done: and hereupon, by some that stood well-affected, to the *Honour*, and *Peace* of the *City*, it was earnestly moved, that the Houses might be petitioned to reverse their Order, but all in vaine: the Faction in the Common-Councell being instructed by their Leaders, at what Advantage they had the *City*, were resolved not to lose it, by giving Way to such a Motion: but on the contrary, to make all sure, *Ven* produceth another Order from the *House of Commons*, that *Skippon*, whom the *Committee* for the *Posture of Defence*, had associated to *them* for his Advice, and Assistance, should, by their Assent, be added to the same *Committee* for the *Militia*: which was no sooner moved, than assented unto, the major Part of the Common-Councell (who now *rule the Rost*) will have it so.

The Court of Aldermen finding (but too too late) that this Settlement of the *Militia*, would be no small Derogation to the *Mayrolty* in *particular*, and the *Government* of the *City* in *generall*; and being out of all Hope to find the Commons ready to joyne with them, in such a Petition, resolve (without them) to petition, that this Order of so dangerous Consequence might be recall'd, and the *Mayor* and *Sheriffes* be nominated of the *Committee*. To this End Petitions are framed, and delivered, but to no Purpose; the Lord *Mayor's Loyalty*, was too well knowne, to be admitted, to have any Share in *that Power* which was intended to be imployed against the *King*.

Notwithstanding this Repulse, divers Citizens, very considerable for their *Numbers*, but more considerable for their *Quality* and *Abilities*, out of a Sence of that great Contempt, and Prejudice, which this would bring upon that ancient Government, under which their *City* had so long flourished,
joyne

joyne in a Petition in their owne Names, to the two Houses, to the same Effect, but with worse Successe; for the House of Commons, having Information what was in Agitation in the City, send *Wat. Long* to seize on the Petition, and the Subscriptions; by which Meanes, the Names of the Subscribers being knowne, there wanted not Arts to make them retract their owne voluntary Act: some by Perswasions, and private Solicitations, others intimidated by Threats, and Menaces, are compell'd to recant, and because it was a Note of Levity, if not worse, so suddenly to protest against their owne voluntary Act, therefore the *Decoy* to bring on the rest, to so base, so unworthy a Revolt, was *Lentball* the *Speaker's* Brother, which Example (he having broke the Ice) was followed by many, that loved an ignoble Quietnesse, before Freedome with Trouble.

This last Petition was that which they call *Benyon's Petition*, and indeed Sir *George Benyon* was (and he needs not be ashamed of it) a Framer, and a chiefe Promoter of that most reasonable, most equitable Petition: which notwithstanding was made that *great Crime*, that afterwards drew on his Impeachment, and heavy Censure in Parliament. In which *Sentence*, the World may see what grosse Injustice and Partiality was used by them, that would be angry, not to be thought the most upright, unblemished *Justitiaries* in the World. The *Christmas* before (which wee now must call *Nativity Tide*) the Lord Mayor, and the Recorder, were convened before a Committee for obstructing the Apprentices Petition, against Episcopacy; and learned *Peard* (who hath no more Law than what was made this Parliament) sitting in the Chayre, told them, that it was against the *Freedome and Liberty of the Subject*, not to permit them (without any Let or Interruption) to present their Grievances in Paper to the Parliament, nay, for Feare they should want Worke, there was an Order published in Print by the *House of Commons* to that very Purpose; yet Sir *George* for making Use of the same *Liberty*, which themselves had proclaimed, is sentenced thus: First, fined in three thousand Pounds. Secondly, disfranchized, utterly deprived of the Priviledges of the City. Thirdly, never to beare any Office in the Kingdome. Fourthly, to be committed Prisoner to *Colchester* Gaole for two Yeares, and lastly, at the Expiration of that Tearn to give Security for the good Behaviour, such, as the Parliament (if they then sate) should then thinke fitting, and in Case the Parliament were dissolved, such as the *Lord Keeper* for the Time being should approve of. How will this *Sentence*, for ever justifie the severest, that were ever given, either in the *Star Chamber*, or *High Commission*? That did doome a Man to ruine, for no other Fault, than what themselves had authorized, and judged it against the Liberty of the Subject, to oppose it even by their owne Order.

The Committee for the *Posture of Defence*, being by these dishonest Practices made *Lords of the Militia*, and being armed with as much Power as Will, to serve the most desperate, treasonable Designes, which either *Say* or *Pym* should suggest, they now goe on without Checke or Controule, and beate downe all before them that stand in their Way. On triviall Pretences, or for necessary Obedience to the King's just Commands, they remove honest

Sir Richard Gurney (whose Name in after Chronicles will outshine famous *Walworth's*, and upbraid this Rebellious City to all Posterity) from the Governement of the City, and in his Place substitute *Little Isaac*, rejecting the *Olive*, and advancing that *Bramble*, out of which I feare will come that *Fire*, which will consume this seditious City. Now the People are authorized by Ordinance of both Houses, and encouraged and pressed even in Point of Conscience by their Bouteveau Lecturers, to list Horses in *Moorefields*, send in Money and Plate to *Guild-hall* for the Service of the King and Parliament; and because they would be sure to have an Orator in every Pulpit to quicken the People, to poure out their Wealth liberally, to further the Rebellion intended, they cause the very Dregs and Scum of every Parish to petition against the Orthodox Clergy; who being imprisoned, or fled, they sequester their Livings, for the Use of their owne *Levites*: so that at this Day, there is not a true *Orthodox* Minister left, freely speaking his Conscience, and exercising his Ministry in the whole City: so that whatsoever they pretend, that they take up Armes for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, if they meane the Protestant Religion, as it is by Act of Parliament established in the *Church of England*, I assure you, *Brother*, were you here, you could no more see a Face of the Church of *England*, than you can at *Amsterdam*.

They have not onely banished all *Decency* and *Order*, together with the established *Liturgy* out of our Churches, but instead of the Gospel, our new Preachers entertaine their Auditories with Newes, which upon Examination prove but Fictions and Lyes to blind the People, or else with bitter Invectives against the King and his Governement: and as for *Faith*, *Charity*, and *Repentance*, they are laid aside as impertinent Arguments: all their Exhortations now, are to *Treason* and *Rebellion*: So that, as in the *Holy League of France*, as my Author speakes, *our Pulpits are made the Chaires of Juglers*, nay, the very Sacraments escape not their Blasphemy and Prophanation to these vile Purposes: I doubt not but you have heard of Mr. *Cafe* his Invitation of the Congregation to the Lord's Table, who, instead of *You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your Sinnes, and be in Love and Charity with your Neighbours, and intend to lead a new Life, &c.* bespake them thus: *You that have freely and liberally contributed to the Parliament, for the Defence of God's Cause and the Gospels, draw neere*: To the rest he threatned Damnation, as comming unworthily to the holy Sacrament; it were endlesse to write unto you, (it deserves some Man's Labour in particular) to acquaint you, and the Kingdome, with the *Blasphemies*, *Prophanations*, and *Absurdities*, which he and his *Brethren* in *Evill*, vent every Day in their extemporary Prayers and Sermons.

Yet were all this *Treason* set out mix'd with *Wit*, or did they preach *Rebellion* advantag'd by the alluring Helpes of *Art* and *Eloquence*, it might perswade some amongst us not to turne Recusants from their Assemblies; but they are the *dryest*, and the *dullest* Beasts that ever peep'd over a *Pulpit*: while these remaine in the City, *Rotheram* the *Lecturer* never needs feare to be heard in his Deprecation, that we might never see such a Famine here in *London*, as was once in *Samaria*, where an *Ass's Head* was sold for fourscore Pieces

Pieces of Silver. Thankes to him and the rest, wee have great Plenty here, and while we have so many, there is no Feare that they will ever rise to so high a Price.

But when People are disposed unto a Rebellion, small Helpes will serve their Turne; a *Ram's-Horne* is as good as *Shebab's Trumpet*: yet they have one Art (and I may not forget it, because it takes much with the People) and it is this, you shall have one, and the same Argument possesse most of our Pulpits on the same Day, the same Matter is the Subject, either of their rayling Invectives, or rebellious Exhortations. The undiscerning Multitude, not piercing into this Imposture, fondly are perswaded, that this is no lesse than the *Inspiration* of the *Holy Ghost*, when, God knowes, this is no more than an Intimation given them from the Heads of the *Faction*, to *Calamy*, and the *Junto* that meet at his House, from whom their *Emissaries* receive Directions, what concernes the present Opportunity, and is necessary to be preached unto the People.

By these and the like Arts, 'tis a Wonder to see what Forces have been raised, what Summes have beene advanced, and poured out, to further this Rebellion: It is the Opinion of very wise Men amongst us here, that have observed the severall Helpes, which the City of *London* hath contributed to this present unnaturall Warre, that they have supplied the Treasury of the Rebels with no lesse than *Three Millions* of Money, and their Army with *Threescore Thousand Men*, first raising, then recruiting their mangled, beaten Regiments; at so great Expence both of *Treasure* and *Blood* hath this proud unthankfull City been, to detrone the King, and ruine the Kingdom.

And that they might not want Supplies of Men, to keepe this Rebellion on Foot, they have cancelled, or dispensed with all the *Obligations* and *Tyes* of *Religion*, *Nature* and *Lawes*: They have given the *Sonne* Power not only *without*, but *contrary* to the *Parents* Commands, to list himselfe, and take Entertainment in their Army; the same Liberty they have given to *Apprentices*, and *Servants*, to take Armes, not only *without*, but *contrary* to the *Command* of their *Masters* and *Mistresses*. How many poore Parents, how many poore Tradesmen, nay, how many poor Widdowes, and their distressed Orphans, be here in this City, that had no other *Subsistence* but what was hardly earned, by their *Children* or *Apprentices* Industry and Labour, are now all like to starve, or are necessitated to fly to the Almes of the Parish (though the Poore's Stock it selfe be invaded and spent in this Warre) while those that fed them are left in this unnaturall Rebellion? Nay, how many disconsolate Parents have you in the Country, that sent their Children hither to this City, and gave great Summes with them, to bind them *Apprentices* to Trades and Manufactures, hoping that hereafter they might live like Men, nay, perhaps some of their Mothers out of an overweaning Opinion, might fancy to themselves Hopes, that they might live to see their Sonnes Lord Mayors of *London*, (and why not?) that now sit mourning, and wringing their Hands, and curse the Day not onely in which they sent them hither, but in which they were borne, not because they have lost a Legge or an Arme, or returned maimed, so that all they can hope for is to have Entertainment

tainment in an Hospitall, and that no longer neither, than till the King's maimed Souldiers shall come, and tell them that that Charity was never provided for Men disabled fighting against their King, but because they have lost their *Lives*, and not onely their *Lives* but their *pretious Soules* too, dying in a grievous Sinne, in the very Act of Rebellion: methinks you in the Country (if there be any Bowels of Compassion yearning over the Fruit of your Bodies, if there be any *Sense* of that *eternall Condition* that doth attend them after this Life, if there be any Hope of the *Joyes* of Heaven, or Feare of the *Torments* of Hell) should be very sensible of this.

And though God hath manifestly fought *against* them, *for* the King, giving him Victory in many Battailles, when all humane Helpes and Advantages were on the Rebels Side; *though* God hath miraculously, and beyond the Hope of Man restored unto Him, the *Hearts* of the People, (which the Heads of this Rebellion, by Slanders had stolne from Him :) *though* from small, and contemptible Beginnings in the Eyes of his Enemies (few or none standing for Him but God, and the Justice of His Cause) God hath prospered Him into many mighty Armies, which render Him formidable to the proudest, and stoutest of the Rebels; *though* every Victory hath beene seconded by a Tender of *Peace*, and with an Overture of *Pacification*, so that as himself speakes in that Declaration published July 30, 1643. *He could not probably fall under the scandalous Imputation which hath usually attended His Messages of Peace, that they proceed from the Weaknesse of His Power, not Love of His People.* Lastly, *though* like an indulgent Father of rebellious Children, He hath *courted* this City and *wooed* it, by many Pardons, many and often repeated Acts of Grace and Favour, to recall us to our former Loyalty, (if ever we were loyall) yet, inconsiderate, unthankfull Wretches as we are, we overlooke or sleight all these Invitations; for instead of returning, we have added this, as the Complement of our other Rebellions, that (whether more unthankfully or undutifully I cannot tell) we have cast Dirt in our Sovereigne's Face, and *slandered the Footsteps of God's Anoynted*, as if he were guilty of all those Miseries, which at this Time threaten the Subversion of this Nation: we will no longer wrong our King secretly, through the Sides of His evill *Counsellors*, or *Cavaliers*, but charge him *directly*, and *poynt blanke*, as in that most seditious Declaration, or whatever you will call it, presented by Sir *David Watkins*, and that broken Citizen, out at Elbowes, called *Satten Skute*, to the Common Councell, and by them to the Remainder of the *Lower-House*, if it be not Breach of Priviledge to call it so.

How willing have we obeyed every Commandement, except God's, and the Kings? *How forward* have we beene, to imploy the large Revenues of our severall Companies, and Brotherhoods, (as heretofore to Excesse and Gluttony, so now) to support this Rebellion? *How ready*, even beyond our Abilities, have we been to submit to every *Tax*, and *illegall Imposition*, even to the Bondage, and Slavery of *Excise*, by which we are not so much *Proprietaries* of our owne, as *Stewards*, or *Cashierers* to the Heads of the Rebellion: and all this to no other End but to keepe up the Rebellion: wee have not only protected, and supported the King's *Mortall Enemies*, but as

much as in us lay, have persecuted all His *Friends*, or, if but suspected to stand well-affected to Him, and the Justice of his Cause, not sparing the Effusion of *innocent Blood*, as that of Mr. *Tomkins*, and Mr. *Chaloner*, which like the Blood of *Abel*, calls loud to Heaven for Vengeance, on this bloody City, and questionlesse will in Time be heard; for not content to buy these Men's Bloods with great Summes of Monies which could not be advanced but on this Condition, that Mr. *Tomkins*, and Mr. *Chaloner*, be delivered up to their Pleasure, and murdered for a strange *Conspiracy* called *Obedience* to the *King*: but being dead, in an unheard-of Barbarousnesse they presse into the Houses, where their dead Bodies lay, before their Funeralls, and thinking they could never be *sure* enough, of so great a *Guilt*, they will not beleeve that they are dead, unlesse they force the Houses to see the Bodies of them whom themselves had murdered; insomuch, that to avoyd further Violence and Rage of the Citizens, they were faine to set open the Doores where their Bodies lay, and expose them to the View of all, that so they might glut themselves with beholding that sad Spectacle which themselves had made.

That the King's gracious Offers of Peace have been sleighted and rejected with Scorne and Contempt, and his Messengers that brought them (contrary to the Lawes of Armes, and Nations) Imprisoned; *That* those miserable Distractions, which have rent and torne this flourishing Kingdome, are so farre from being closed, that they are rather made wider; *That* the Sword of Warre, so long devouring, is not yet sheathed, except in one anothers Bowells; *That* this Kingdome is still made the Scene of Murthers, Rapines, Oppression and Plunderings, and whereon all the horrid Acts of Rage and Injustice are every Day acted, and the Nation put almost out of Hope, ever to injoy her former Peace, and Plenty, is *our* Fault and *ours* wholly: Had not the Heads of this Rebellion beene animated by this City, and encouraged by Promises of more Supplies of Men, and Monies, they had long before this layd downe their Armes, and come with Halters about their Necks, and cast themselves at the King's Feet, submissively begging those Pardons, which they have presumptuously rejected: Time was, when the *two Houses* gave a Law to the *City*, now it is come to that Passe, that the *City* prescribes to the *Reliques* of the two Houses; they must not conclude of *Warre* or *Peace*, without consulting the *City*; if they doe, they reckon without their Holste.

Nay, though *Fairfax* be utterly routed in the *North*, and *William*, once surnamed *Conqueror*, be totally defeated in the *West*, yet they can neither be *perswaded*, nor *beaten* into Thoughts of Peace. On the 20. of *July* last, no longer agoe, many Thousands (as the printed Paper tells you) preferred a Petition to the House of Commons, presented by Mr. *Norbury* of the Curstors Office, and *John Hat* an Attorney of *Guild hall*, both pernicious Men; which as it evidently shewes their obstinate Aversion from Peace, so it is the most desperate divellish Slander, that ever yet durst looke the World in the Face; for first they tell the House of Commons, and in them the World, *That the King, without any Touch of Conscience, and in Defiance of God, hath raised an Army of Papists, Out-lawes, and Traitors, for the Robbing, Burning,*

Murther-

Murthering, and Destroying of His religious, honest, and well-meaning People, and then knowing not only their Interest in, but their Power over the House of Commons, they doe not so much petition, as command them to accept of their Assistance, for the Raising a new Army, and in expresse Termes prescribe unto them, and limit them to a Committee of their owne Nomination, for the seizing and receiving of such Summes, as the willing shall thinke fit to offer, or they shall think fit to extort from the unwilling for this Service: And that you may judge of the whole Bunch by some, they name Pennington the pretended Lord Mayor, Strode, one of the five Members, Harry Martin Plunder-master Generall, and Dennis Bond Burgesse of Dorchester, and Patriarch White's owne Disciple, a Man of a double Capacity to be a Rebell, and finding themselves more alone in these Undertakings than they did imagine, like desperate Traitors, they call on the whole Kingdome, as one Man, according to the Intent of the late Covenant, to joyne with them in this Rebellion. And having thus taken a Course to raise new Forces, on Saturday the 29. of July, at a Common Hall, they voted Sir William Waller, Generall of their new intended Army, whom to indeare the more, they interest him in the Governement of the City, hoping that being as mad as his Lady, he will hold up the Rebellion, as long as he can, and then be one of the last to runne away: I meane not from Battell, for in that he shewed himselfe as forward as the foremost, but from Justice, and the due Reward of his Disloyalty. By all which it is most evident, that this Languishing Rebellion had before this Day gasp'd its last, and given up the Ghost, had not this rebellious City by its Wealth, and Multitudes, fomented it, and given it Life.

If therefore Posterity shall aske, who broke downe the Bounds, to those Streames of Blood, that have stained this Earth; if they aske, who made Liberty captive, Truth criminall, Rapine just, Tyranny and Oppression lawfull: who blanced Rebellion, with the specious Pretence of Defence of Lawes, and Liberties, Warre with the Desire of an established Peace, Sacrilege and Prophanation, with the Shew of Zeale, and Reformation: Lastly, if they aske who would have pulled the Crown from the King's Head, taken the Governement off the Hinges, dissolved Monarchy, enslaved the Lawes, and ruined their Countrey; say, 'Twas the proud, unthankfull, schismaticall, rebellious, bloody City of London, so that what they wanted of devouring this Kingdome by cheating and couzening, they meane to finish by the Sword.

That therefore these dangerous Defluxions, and continuall, not small Distillations, but Floods of Men, Money, Ammunition, and Armes descending from the Head City, and Metropolis of the Kingdome, may not for ever dissolve the Nerves, and luxate the Sinewes of this admirably composed Government: it will highly concerne this Nation to looke about them, to undeceive themselves, and to consult their owne Peace and Safety, by joyning with their gracious Sovereigne, in chastizing these rebellious Insolences, and reducing this stubborne City either to Obedience or Ashes.

Yet that the World may not thinke, that this Inundation of Wickednesse wherein the Divels of Rebellion rage in the Children of Disobedience, hath involved all of us in the same Disloyalty, let not (good Brother) the Name

Rusticus neither deterre you, (as if it were a *Solecisme*, to tell the *Murthers*, *Robberies*, *Plunderings*, and other *Outrages*, committed in the *City*, nor deprive us (a Handfull of faithfull Subjects in Comparison of the *Rebells*, the *Puritans*, *Brownists*, and *Anabaptists*) of so great an Opportunity, to justifie our *Innocence*. Let the *Country* know, that we have been at the Charges, to undoe, not onely them, but our selves too, the *Collosse*, which we have built, is fallen on the *Builders*, the Fire which we have kindled, devours the *Bellows* which first blowed it up; some of us repent of our fond *Credulity* to be deceived, and fooled by the empty Name of a *Parliament*, God grant it be not too late; yet however, let *Posterity* know this too, that the *King* hath his *Martyrs* in *London*, all are not in the *Country*; and to make this good, secretly (as much as the close Obstructions of the Wayes of Conveyance will permit) you shall not faile of Intelligence from

Your affectionate Brother

London,
Aug. 5. 1643.

MERCURIUS CIVICUS.

A short Treatise of the Lawes of *ENGLAND*:
With the Jurisdiction of the High Court of Parliament, with the Liberties and Freedomes of the Subjects.

Written and collected by WALTER MANTELL, Esq; Anno Dom. 1644.

THE Thing that is ever amongst Men, in every Country most had in Reputation, and esteemed most worthy, is the publique Common-weale of their Country: And he that indeavoreth himselfe for the Augmentation of the same, is ever to be commended; to the increasing whereof, every Man naturally hath a Love and Zeale. But wherein the Common-weale standeth, and what Thing it should be, there is and hath beene ever amongst the Philosophers, and other learned Men, great Debate and Argument, some affirming the Common-weale to consist in great Abundance of Riches, as they that multiply the Riches of their Country, greatly to preferre their Common-weale; *Quod respublica non usque adeo resplendescat pompa divitiarum aut viribus, aut honoris fastigio, sed ex bonis legibus summum perfectionis gradum sola consequatur*: Some others esteeme and judge that the Common-weale consisteth not in Riches onely, in Power onely, nor Honour onely, but in them all intermixed. The *Romans*, the great Conquerers of the World, gathered not their Riches in Abundance onely for the Riches, but because they would thereby achieve to more Honour, and with their Riches to make themselves more mightie and strong; for Proove whereof, the great mightie People the *Romans*, could never have wonne to themselves the

the great Riches of the Country of *Persia* and *Carthage*, if they had not thereby impoverished the *Persians* and *Carthaginenses*: nor the mighty strong *Greekes* could never have augmented their Power and Strength as they did against the *Trojans*, except the *Trojans* by them had beene vanquished, and the Citie destroyed, and so made more feeble and weake; nor also the mightie strong *Alexander*, famous for his Conquests, could never have obtained to so great Honour and Glory, except he had subdued other great mightie Kings, as *Darius* of *Persia*, and *Porus* of *India*, and so brought them to Captivitie, the which they esteemed Shame and Reproofe. Then sith a Man cannot well exercise himselfe in increasing of his great Riches, in augmenting his Power, nor inhaunsing of his Honour, without causing Povertie, Feebleness, or Shame, which of themselves be evill Things, it followeth well that Riches, Power, nor Honour be very perfect good Things onely of themselves, because they cannot be obtained without causing of Evill to other Persons; and then if that Riches, Power, Honour be not of themselves onely good Things, and the Common-weale is that Thing that of it selfe is meere good, it must neede ensue that the Common-weale can neither stand onely in Riches, Power nor in Honour, but in the increasing of good Manners; then it is needfull to search wherein the Common-weale should stand, which under Correction, and after mine Opinion, resteth neither in increasing of Riches, Power, nor in Honour, but in increasing of good Manners, and Conditions of Men, wherein they may be reduced to know God, to honour God, to love God, and to live in continuall Love and Tranquillitie with their Neighbours, for the obtaining of which it is to Men most expedient to have Ordinances and Lawes: For likewise as the Bridle and Spurre directeth and constraineth the Horse swiftly and well to performe his Journey, so doe good and reasonable Ordinances and Lawes lead and direct Men to use good Manners and Conditions, and thereby to honour, to dread and to love God, and vertuously to live amongst their Neighbours in continuall Peace and Tranquillitie, which Thing to performe is not given to Mankind immediately and onely by Nature, as it is given to all other Creatures which be by Nature constrained to doe and live after their Kindes, for the which it followeth, that Man cannot attaine these Things but by a Meane, which Meane is none other but good and reasonable Ordinances and Lawes to instruct and direct Men to the same, which reasonable Ordinances and Lawes proceed and come principally of God, for the which the Providence and Will of God is ever assistant and present. *St. German*, fol. 7. saith, that the Law is ordained for the Preservation of the Realme, and for the fulfilling of the Lawes of God, to induce the People to depart from Evill and to doe Good; *Plowden* fol. 9. & fol. 55. saith, that the Law is appointed to the King for the Governance of his People, and as the Subjects of the King be borne to inherit Lands, so to inherit Lawes; so that the Lawes are the Inheritance of the People, *Fineux* 12 H. VII. fol. 28. saith, That at the Beginning all the Administration of Justice was in the Crowne; and where the King was, there was the Law ministred, then after the Multiplying of the People, was the Court Leet, and Court Baron ordained
(that

(that is to say) the Court Leet for the punishing of Enormities and Annoyances for the Weale publike, within the Precinct of the said Leet, *vide Lestat. vic. franc. pleg. Fortescue fol. 30.* saith, as a naturall Body may not be without a Head, so a Realme may not be governed without a Head; that is, the King; *Et ibidem ulterius dicit, Quandocumque ex pluribus constituuntur, unum inter illa erit regens, & alia erunt reſta. Britt. fol. 1. dicit* that the King is ordained of God, that the Peace may be kept, the which may not be without Law. *Et Fortescue, fol. 1. dicit, Omnis potestas a domino Deo est. Et Bracton dicit, quod vita & membra hominum sunt in manu Regis, vel ad tuitionem, vel ad pœnam cum deliquerint.* The Law is appointed to the King for the governing of his People; and that is by three Lawes, (that is to say) generall Law, Customes and Statutes; our Law is grounded upon fix Principles. * First, our Law is grounded on common Reason. Secondly, on the Law of God. Thirdly, on divers generall Customes. Fourthly, on divers Maximes. Fifthly, on particular Customes: And, sixthly, on divers Statutes. † Prerogative is a Priviledge or Preheminance that a Man hath before another; so likewise as it is tolerable in some, so it is most to be allowed in a Prince or Sovereigne Governour of a Realme; for besides, the King is the most excellent or most worthy Part or Member of the Body of the Common-weale; so as by his good Governance he is the Preserver, Nourisher, and Defender of all the People, being the rest of the same Body: And by his great Travells, Study, and Endeavours, and Labours, they enjoy not onely their Lives, Lands and Goods, but all that ever they have in Rest, Peace and Quietnesse, for which Cause the Lawes attribute unto him all Honour, Dignitie, Prerogative and Preheminance, which Preheminance doth not onely extend to his owne Person, || but to all other his Goods and Chattells: As that his Person shall be subject to no Man's Suit, his Possessions cannot be taken from him by any Violence or wrongfull Disseisin, his Goods and Chattells are not under any Tribute, Toll or Custome, or otherwise distrainable, with infinite Number of Prerogatives: *vide Glanvill Lord Chiefe Justice, which wrote in Diebus Hen. II. Britton which writ his Booke Tempore Edw. I. Justinian the Emperour well and wisely pondering in the Beginning of his Booke, sayeth thus; it behoveth the Imperiall Majesty not onely to be guarded with Armes, but also to be armed with Lawes, to the End he may be able rightly to execute his Government of both Times, as well in War as in Peace: the Exhortation of the chiefe Law-maker Moses, ought to be more in Regard with Kings and Princes, than the Words of Justinian, whereas in the 17. Chapter of the Booke of Deuteronomy, he doth by the Authority of God straitly charge the Kings of Israel to be Readers of the Law all the Dayes of their Life, saying thus: When the King shall sit upon the princely Seat of this Kingdome, he shall write him out this Law in a Booke, taking the Copie thereof of the Priests and Levites; and he shall have it with him, and he shall read it all the Dayes of his Life,*

* *Doct. & Student. fol. 8.*† *Vide Stanford, Chap. 1. tit. Pre-**rogativa Regis.*|| *Seneca de Consolat. ad Polybium.*

that he may learne to feare the Lord his God, and to keepe his Commandements and Ordinances written in this Law. * *Princeps ergo non debet juris ignarus esse, nec prætectu militiæ legem permittitur ignorare.* For the Booke of *Deuteronomy* was the Book of the Lawes by which the Kings of *Israel* were to rule and governe their Subjects. There *Moses* commands the Children of *Israel* to read, that they may learne to feare God and keep his Commandements, written in the Law. The Effect of the Law is to feare God, and keepe his Commandements written in the Law; whereunto Man cannot attaine, unlesse he first know the Will of God written in the Law: *Moses* the Law-maker in his Charge, mentioneth the Effect of his Law, that is, the Feare of God; next he allureth us to the keeping of the Cause thereof, (that is to say) of God's Commandements; *Job* after he had diversly searched for Wisedome, saith thus, *Behold the Feare of the Lord is perfect Wisedome, and to forsake Evill is Understanding, the Feare of the Lord is holy and endureth for ever.* The Booke of *Deuteronomy* is a Booke of holy Scripture, the Lawes also and Ordinances therein contained are the Lord's making, and published by *Moses*; you shall understand that not onely God's Lawes, but also Man's Lawes are holy. The Law is defined by these Words, The Law is a holy Sanction or Decree, commanding Things that be honest, and forbidding the contrary; now the Things must needs be holy which by Definition is determined to be holy; Right also by Description is called the Art of that which is good and streight: So then in this Respect a Man may well call us *Sacerdotes* (that is to say) Givers or Teachers of holy Things, for so by Interpretation doth *Sacerdos* signifie. For as much then as the Lawes are holy, it followeth then that the Ministers and Setters forth of them may right well be called *Sacerdotes*, that is, Givers and Teachers of holy Things: All good Lawes published by Men have their Authoritie from God, for as the Apostle saith, all Power is from the Lord God, wherefore the Lawes made by Man, which thereunto he received Power from the Lord, are ordained of God; as appeareth by this Saying of the Author of all Causes, whatsoever the second Cause doth, the same doth the first Cause by a higher and more excellent Meane: wherefore *Jehosaphat* the King of *Judah* saith thus to his Judges; The Judgements which ye execute are the Judgements of God: whereby you are taught, to learne Lawes, though they be Man's Lawes, is to learne holy Lawes and Ordinances of God, wherefore *Moses* commanded the Children of *Israel*, 2 *Chron.* 19. to read the Lawes of *Deuteronomy*.

A King whose Government is politique cannot change the Lawes of his Realme.

For the King of *England* cannot alter or change the Lawes of the Realme at his Pleasure: for why? he governeth his People by Power, not onely Regall, but Politique: if the King's Power in *England* were royall onely, then he might change the Lawes of the Realme, and charge his Subjects with Tallages and Burdens without their Consents: But where the King's

* So *Helinandus* expoundeth.

Government over his People is politique, he can neither change the Lawes of his Realme without Consent of his Subjects, nor yet charge them with strong Impositions against their Wills. Saint *Thomas* in his Booke which he wrote to the King of *Cyprus* of the Government of Princes, wisheth the State of a Realme to be such, that it may not be in the King's Power to oppresse his People with Tyrannie, which Thing is performed onely while the Power royall is restrained by Power politique.

How Kingdomes ruled by royall Government first began.

Men in Times past excelling in Power, greedy of Dignitie and Glory, did many Times by plaine Force subdue their Neighbours the Nations adjoyning, and compelled them to doe them Service, and to obey their Commandements, which Commandements they agreed afterwards to be unto these People very Lawes, and by long Sufferance of the same, the People so subdued being by their Subduers defended from the Injuries of others, agreed and consented to live under the Dominion of their Subduers. *Nimrod* was the first that got unto himselfe a Kingdome; and thus certaine Kingdomes first began. Saint *Augustine* in the 13. Chapter of his Booke *de Civitate Dei*, that a People is a Multitude of Men associated by Consent of Law, and Communion of Wealth, yet such a People being without a Head is not worthy to be called a Body. So likewise in Things politique, a Commonaltie without a Head is no wise Corporate: wherefore *Aristotle* in the first Booke of his Civill Philosophie, saith, that whensoever one is made of many, amongst the same one shall be the Ruler, and the other shall be ruled, wherefore a People that will raise themselves into a Kingdome, or into any other Body politique, must ever appoint one to be the chiefe Ruler. The Institution of a Kingdome politique is where a King is made and ordained for the Defence of the Law of the Subjects, and of their Bodies and Goods, whereunto he receiveth Power of his People, so that by that Law politique he governes his People, not by any other Power. Then how commeth it to passe that in the Power of Kings there groweth so great Diversitie? surely the Diversitie of the Institution or first Order of these Dignities was the onely Cause of these Differences. As thus; the Kingdome of *England* derived out of *Brute's* Retinue the *Trojans*, which he brought out of the Coasts of *Italy* and *Greece*, first grew to a politique and regall Dominion: so *Scotland* which sometimes was subject to *England* as a Dukedome thereof, was advanced to a politique and royall Kingdome: many other Kingdomes have had their first Beginning not onely regall, but also of politique Government. *Diodorus Siculus* in the second Booke of his old Histories thus writeth of the *Egyptians*. The *Egyptian* Kings lived first not after the licentious Manner of other Rulers, whose Will and Pleasure was instead of Lawes, but they kept themselves as private Persons in Subjection of the Lawes. Thus did they willingly, being perswaded that by obeying the Lawes they should be blessed. *Diodorus* in his fourth Booke writeth thus, The *Ethiopian* King as soone as he is created, he ordereth his Life according to his Lawes, doth all Things according to the

the Manner and Customes of his Country, assigning neither Reward or Punishment to any Man, otherwise than the Law made by his Predecessors: the King of *Saba*, *Arabia Happie*, and of certaine other Kings, which in old Time honorably raigned.

You shall understand that all humane Lawes are either the Law of Nature, or Customes, or Statutes, which are called Constitutions; but Customes when they were first put in Writing, and by sufficient Authoritie of the Prince published and commanded to be kept, were changed into the Nature of Constitutions and Statutes, did after that more penally than before bind the Subjects. The Lawes of *England* which they doe force of the Law of Nature doe ratifie and establishe, are neither better or worse than the Lawes of all other Nations in like Cases; for as *Aristotle* (*Morall Philosophy*, l. 5.) saith, the Law of Nature is that which amongst all People hath the like Strength and Power: For the Statutes in *England* by Parliament, they proceed not from the Prince's Pleasure as doe the Lawes of other Kingdomes that are ruled by regall Government, where sometimes the Statutes doe so procure the singular Commoditie of the Maker, that they redown'd to the Hindrance and Damage of the Subjects. But Statutes cannot thus passe in *England*: for so much as they are made not onely by the Prince's Pleasure, but also by the Assent of the whole Realme, and therefore they must of Necessitie procure the Wealth of the People, and in no wise tend to their Hindrance; and it cannot be thought otherwise but that they are made not by the Advice of one Man alone, or a hundred wise Counsellors onely, but of more than of three hundred chosen Men, Members of the House of Commons in Parliament, intrusted by the whole Kingdome for the Profit and Good of the King and People. By the Civill Law where a Matter in Controversie commeth before a Judge by Way of Contestation of Suite, it must be tried by the Depositions of two Witnesses; but by the Law of *England* the Truth of the Matter cannot appeare evident to the Judge but by the Oath of twelve Men, Neighbours to the Place where such Deed is supposed to be done, which the Lawyers in *England* calleth the Issue of the Plea, the Truth of the Plea, *(sic differentia)*

With what Gravitie the Statutes are made in *England*.

Diversitie betweene the Civill Law and the Lawes of *England*.

Nota, all humane Lawes are either of the Lawes of Nature, or Customes, or else Statutes: the Customes of *England*, are of a most ancient Antiquity, practised and received of five severall Nations. First, from the *Brittons*. Secondly, after them the *Romanes*. Thirdly, after them the *Saxons*. Fourthly, after them the *Danes*. And, fifthly, the *Normans*, whose Descent continueth in the Government, to this Day. And in all the Times of these severall Nations, and of their Kings, this Realm was ruled by the self-same Customes that it is now governed by.

When a Statute was first established in *England*.

The King of *England* ruleth his People not onely by regall, but also by politique Government, in so much that at his Coronation he is bound by an Oath to the Observance and Keeping of his Lawes; not freely to govern their

Subjects as other Kings doe, whose Rule is regall, governing their People by the civill Law, so by that Maxime of regall Power, they at their Pleasure, burden their Subjects, change the Lawes at their Pleasure, execute Punishment, charge their Subjects with Charges and Taxes, when they list, determine Controversies of all Suitors when they please. And so to cast off the Yoke of the Law politique; and so to raigne and tyrannize over their People in regall Manner only. And that to rule the People by Government politique, is no Yoke to the People, but Liberty and great Security, both to the King and Subjects.

The Parliament is the high and most honourable Court, and absolute Court of Justice of *England*, * consisting of Lords in Parliament and Commons. The Lords are divided into one Sort, Temporall. The Commons are divided into three Parts (*viz.*) into Knights of Shires or Counties, Citizens out of Cities, and Burgeses out of Burroughs: The Antiquity of the High Court of Parliament; The King of *England* is armed with divers Councils, one is called *Commune Concilium*, and that is the Court of Parliament, and it is Legislative, called in Writs † *Concilium Regni Angliæ*, another is called *Magnum Concilium Regis Angliæ*; this sometimes is applyed to the House of Peeres, who are called the Lords of Parliament; and they are called *Magnum Concilium Regis*.

The Jurisdiction of the High Court of Parliament.

The Court of Parliament is so transcendent, that it maketh Lawes and enlargeth Lawes, diminisheth, abrogateth, and repealeth, and reviveth Lawes, Statutes, and Ordinances, concerning Matters Ecclesiasticall, Capitall, Criminal, Common, Civill, Maritime, and the rest; none can begin, continue, or dissolve the Parliament but by the King's Authority: ‡ It is of that high Honour and Justice, that none ought to imagine any Thing dishonourable, that proceedeth from that High Court of Justice.

The King || hath in his Court of Parliament his Prelates, Earles and Barons, and other learned Men to determine of Doubts, and Judges to give Remedie.

In the Case of a general Pardon by Act of Parliament, the Justices ought to take Notice, and to allow the Pardon, although the Felon plead Not Guilty; for that is a generall Act.

Nota per Fitzherbert and Shelley, Justices in Debt against a Priest, upon the Statute of *Firmes*, 21 Hen. VIII. cap. 13. the Defendant may plead, *Quod non habet, nec tenet, ad firmam contra formam Statuti*, and give in Evidence, that he tooke that Firme for the Maintenance of his Household, by vertue of the said Proviso in the said Statute.**

* Coke, lib. 10. fol. 123, & 124. sect. 13. cap. 4. sect. 97.

† Braet. lib. 1. cap. 2. Registr. 280. 27 August. 5. H. IV.

‡ Mirr. cap. 2. sect. 4, 7, 10, 14. cap. 4. de default. & cap. de Homicid. cap. 1.

|| Vide Plow. Com. 398. B. Doctor & Student. cap. 55. Fortescue de laudibus legum Angliæ, lib. 1. Braet. cap. 2. Fleta, lib. 2. cap. 2. 26 H. VIII.

** Sir Thomas Parret's Case.

The Order of Parliament is, that if a Bill come first to the Commons, and they passe, that then it is used to be indorsed in this Forme, *Soit bayle al Seignors*, and if the Lords nor the King doe not alter the Bill, then the Use is to deliver it to the Clerke of the Parliament, to be inrolled without indorsing it; and if it be a common Bill it shall be inrolled; but if it be a particular Bill it shall not be inrolled, but filed upon the Filinster; but if the Party will sue to have it inrolled, it may be inrolled: every Bill which passeth the Parliament shall have Relation to the first Day of the Parliament, though it be put in at the End of the Parliament, 33. H. VI. 17.

If divers Sessions be in one Parliament, and the King doth not signe the Bill untill the last, then all is the same Day, and all shall have Relation to the first Day of the first Sessions, and the first Day and the last, all is one Parliament, and one Day in Law, 33. H. VIII.

Premunire is given *per Lestat*. * yet a Man may not have that against a Man by Bill in *Banco Regis*.

In the Case of a *Quare impedit*, it was said by *Horton* that a Statute penall, as the Statute *de provision*, shall be taken strict Law; but the Statute made for the common Remedy for generall Mischiefe, may be taken by Equity; and that the Pope may not grant to a Man to have three Bishopricks, *Vide Tit. de Wast* 68. where the Statute giveth an Action *de Wast* in novell Case, all that is adjoyning to the same Act, *est done similiter*, though it be not expressly spoken of, as if an Action of Wast be given against Tenant *in Tayle apres possibilitie d'issue extient*, &c. treble Damage shall be recovered, though that it be not spoken of *per Thirn*. And the same Law is of *Gardein* in Chivalry, and Tenant in Dower shall render treble Damages, yet Wast lyeth against them by the Common Law, 12 Hen. IV. 3.

Nota, That a Statute or Act of Parliament † need not be proclaimed, for the Parliament doth represent the whole Body of the Realme, for there be Knights and Burgeses in every County: a private Act of Parliament shall not conclude Men as a generall Act shall do, nor Strangers are bound to take Notice thereof.

If the King by Act of Parliament ‡ reciteth an Act of Parliament, where there is no such Act of Parliament, and confirms the same Estate of Party contained in the Act, that is a Conclusion to all to say, that the Tenant had nothing in the Land at the Time of the making of the Act, or Time of the Confirmation, 9 Hen. VII. fol. 2.

Note, where it is given by the *Stat. of West. 2. cap. 11.* that a Man shall have an Action of Debt upon an Escape of a Man condemned against the Jaylor, the Action doth not lie against the Executor of the Jaylor, for that is out of the Case of the Statute.

A Statute which is in the Negative, || bindes the Common Law so, that a Man may not after make use of the Common Law. *West. 2. cap. 40.* 21 Hen. VII. 21.

* *Premunire per Bill*, 1 Rich. III. cap. 17. 11 H. IV. 76.

† 39 Edw. III. 7.

‡ 9 Hen. VII. fol. 2.

|| In the Negative and Affirmative Diversity, *Vide* 18 Edw. IV. fol. 16.

*The Liberties and Freedomes of the Subjects. **

That no Tallage or Ayde shall be laid or levied by the King or his Heires in this Realme, † without the good Will and Assent of the Arch-Bishops, Earles, Barons, Knights, Burgeses, and other of the Freemen and Commonaltie of this Realme, and by Authoritie of Parliament, holden in the 25. Yeare of the Reigne of King *Edward* the Third, it is enacted that thenceforth no Person should be compelled to make any Loanes to the King against his Will, because such Loanes were against Reason, and the Franchise of the Land. And by another Law of this Realme it is provided that none should be charged by any Charge or Imposition called a Benevolence, nor by such Charge by which the Statutes before mentioned, and other good Lawes and Statutes of this Realme your Subjects have inherited their Freedomes. *Vide Lestat. 1 Edw. I. and 25 Edw. III.*

Vide Lestat. called The Grand Charter of the Liberties of England. The Words of the Statute, ‡ That no Freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or disseised of his Freehold, or Liberties, or his free Customes, or be outlawed, or in any Manner destroyed, but by the lawfull Judgement of his Peeres, or by the Law of the Land.

¶ *Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus justitiam, vel reſtut.*

In which Statute there is not any Mention made how Wives, Ladies of great Estate, by reason of their Husbands Peeres of the Land, Coverts or Soles, that is to say, Dutcheſſes, Counteſſes, or Baroneſſes, shall be put to answer, or before what Judges they shall be adjudged upon Indictments of Treasons or Felonies by them made, because of which there is a Doubt in Law, before whom, and by whom such Ladies so indicted, shall be put to answer, and be adjudged: The King willeth further, ** such Ambiguities and Doubts, hath declared by the Authoritie abovesaid, that such Ladies so indicted, or hereafter to be indicted of any Treason or Felony by them made, or hereafter to be made, though they be Covert of Baron or Sole, they are by themselves to answer and put to answer; and adjudged before such Judges and Peeres of the Realme, as Peeres of the Realme shall be, if they were indicted or impeached of such Treasons or Felonies made: And in such Manner and Forme, and no otherwise. But none of these Statutes have beene

* *Vide Lestat. of King Edw. I. vocat. Statut. de tallagio non concedendo.*

† *Vide le Petition de Droit, exhibited in Parliament, Anno 3. Carol. Regis. Vide Lestat. 25. Edw. III.*

‡ *Vide Lestat. de Magna Charta, cap. 9. Nullus liber homo capiatur vel imprisonetur, aut disseisitur de libero tenem' suo, vel libertatibus, vel liberis consuetudinibus suis,*

aut utlagetur, aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur. Nec super eum ibimus, nec super eum mittimus, nisi per legale iudicium par-tum suorum, vel per legem terræ.

¶ *Stat. de Magna Charta, vide Lestat. 20. Hen. VI. cap. 9. Vide Stamf. lib. 3. cap. 1.*

** *Stat. Magna Charta & 20 Hen. VI. cap. 9.*

put in Practise to extend to a Bishop or Abbot, although they enjoy the Name of Lord of Parliament, for they have not that Name Bishop or Abbot *ratione Nobilitatis, sed ratione Officii*; nor have any Place in Parliament in respect of their Nobilitie, but in respect of their Possessions, having ancient Baronies annexed to their Dignities. There be divers Precedents, whereof one was in the Time of King *Hen. VIII.* & vide p. 10. *Edw. IV. fol. 6.* that one of the Peeres indicted of Treason or Felonie may be arraigned of that in Parliament. *Vide Plus tit Corr. in Fitz. p. 3. Edw. III. p. 161. Vide Lestat. 1. & 2. Phil. & Mar. cap. 3. 33. Hen. VIII. cap. 23.*

A True Accompt of the most Triumphant, and Royall Accomplishment of the Baptism of the most Excellent, Right High, and Mighty Prince HENRY FREDERICK, by the Grace of GOD, Prince of SCOTLAND, and now Prince of WALES. As it was solemnized the 30. Day of *August*, 1594.

THE Noble and most Potent Prince of *Scotland* was born in the Castle of *Striviling*, upon *Tuesday*, the 19. Day of *February*, 1594. upon which Occasion the King's Majestie, sent for the Nobles of his Land, and to all the capitall Burrows thereof, to have their Advise, how he should proceed for the due Solemnization of his royal Baptisme, and what Princes he should send too: When they were all compeired with great Diligence and good Will, he proponed unto them, that it was necessary, to direct out Ambassadors to *France, England, Denmarke, Low Countries*, the Duke of *Brunswicke* his Brother in Law, and to the Duke of *Magdelburgh*, the Queene's Majestie's Grand-father, and to such other Princes as should be thought expedient. Likewise, he thought the Castle of *Striviling*, the most convenient Place for the Residence of this most Noble and Mightie Prince, in Respect that he was born there: As also, it was necessary, that sufficient Preparation might be made for the Ambassadors that should be invited to come, for Honour of the Crown and Countrey. And besides all this, because the Chappell Royall was ruinous, and too little, concluded, that the old Chappell should be utterly rased, and a new erected in the same Place, that should be more large, long and glorious, to entertain the great Number of Straungers expected. These Propositions at length considered, they all with a free voluntarie Deliberation, graunted unto his Majestie, the Summe of an Hundred Thousand Pounds Money of *Scotland*. Then was there Ambassadors elected, to pass in *France, England, Denmarke, the Low Countries*, and other Places before mentioned, who were all dispatched with such Expedition, and their Legacies tooke such wished Effect: That first there came

two famous Men from the King of *Denmarke*, the one *Christianus Bernekow*, the other, *Stenio Bille*, these came to *Leyth* the 16. of *July*. The next Day after them, came *Adamus Crusius*, Ambassadour for the Duke of *Brunswick*, and *Joachimus Bessevitius*, Ambassadour for the Duke of *Magdelburgh*, who is Grand-father to the noble Princeesse *Anne*, by the Grace of God Queene of *Scotland*. Thirdly, the 3. Day of *August*, there came Ambassadors from the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, the Barron of *Braderod*, and the Treasurer of *Zeland*, called *Jacobus Falkius*.

There was also a Nobleman directed from *England*, to wit, the Earle of *Cumberland*, who even when he had prepared himself richly, and honourably in all Respects for his Voyage to come into *Scotland*, and divers Noblemen and Gentlemen of Renown, prepared and commanded for his honourable Convoy, it pleased God to visit him with Sickness: And in that Respect another Nobleman was chosen to supply his Place, which was the Earle of *Suffex*, &c. And he in Consideration of his short and unexpected Adversitiment, made such Diligence in his Voyage, and Magnificence for his own Person and honourable Convoy, as was thought Rare and Rich by all Men: whereby it fell out, that betwixt the Sickness of the one Nobleman, and the hastie Preparation of the other, the Time was so farre spent, that the very prefixt Dayes of the Baptisme were sundrie Times delayed. And because the Ambassadour of *England* was so long a Comming: And the Ambassadors of *Denmarke*, *Brunswicke* and *Magdelburgh*, were feared to be hindred in their Voyage by the Sea, by Reason of the neare approaching of Winter: They desired daily of the King's Majestie, dureing their remaining in *Edenburgh*, to have some prefixed Day to be nominate and certainly kept, that immediately thereafter, they might be dispatched, which he granted at the last, although he had divers great Impediments to the contrary. The first was, because the Chappell Royall and Castle of *Striviling*, was not fully compleit in all such Neecessaries, as was requisite, although he had the Supply of the greatest Number of Artificers in the whole Country, convened there of all Craftes for that Service, and his Majestie's owne Person dayly Overseer, with large and liberall Payment: but the chiefest Cause, was the long Absence of an Ambassadour from *England*, which his Majestie greatly respected for many Causes: And last of all, expecting that some Ambassadour should have come from *France*, which fell not out as was looked for. But when the Ambassadour was come from *England* to *Edenburgh*, forthwith, his Majestie dispatched one of the Gentlemen of his Highness's Chalmer, to request him to repaire towards *Striviling* the next Day with all possible Diligence, (which was the 28. Day of *August*) because he would have had the Baptisme administered the Day following. But neither were the Propines sent by the Queen of *England*, neither her Ambassadors owne Cariages as then come. Therefore the Baptisme was delayed untill the 30. Day of *August*, as ye shall hear particularly hereafter.

But in the meane Time, it is to be understood, that all these noble Ambassadors before expressed, were honourably sustained upon the King's Majestie's owne proper Costes, during the whole Time of their Residence in
Scotland,

Scotland, save only the Ambassadour of *England*, whose whole Expences, were defrayed by his Sovereigne the Queen of *England*. And because the rest of the Ambassadours were repaired to *Striviling* by his Majestie's Direction, long before the Coming of the *English* Ambassadour, his Highness bestowed the Time with them in magnifiqu Banketting, Revelling, and dayly Hunting with great Honour.

The King's Majestie, purposing further to decore by Magnificence this Action, committed the Charge thereof to the Lord of *Lendores*, and Mr. *William Fowler*, who by their Travels, Diligence, and Invention, brought it to that Perfection, which the Shortnesse of Time and other Considerations could permit. So they having consulted together, concluded that those Exercises that were to be used for Decoration of that Solemnitie, were to be devided both in Field Pastimes, with martiall and heroicall Exploits, and in Household, with rare Shewes and singular Inventions.

The Field to be used at two severall Daies; the first to be of three *Turkes*, three Christian Knights of *Malta*, three *Amazones*, and three *Moores*. But by reason of the Absence, or at the least the uncertain Presence of the three last Gentlemen, who should have sustained these Personages, it was thought good, that the Number of that Maske should consist of nine Actors, nine Pages, and nine Lackies; which comming from sundry Parts, and at divers Times, together with the Diversitie of their Apparell, should bring some Novelty to the Beholders.

The Place most expedient for this Action was the Valey, near the Castle, which being prepared for that Purpose, both with Carier and Scaffold, after the comming of the Queene's Majestie, with her honourable and gallant Ladies, together with the honourable Ambassadors, the Field being beset by the brave Yonkers of *Edinburgh*, with their Hagbutes, during the whole Time of that Pastime.

Then three Christians entered the Field with Sound of Trumpet, who were the King's Majestie, the Earle of *Mar*, and *Thomas Erskine*, (Gentleman of his Majestie's Chalmer) who made up this Number.

A little after followed three apparelled like *Turkes*, very gorgeously attired: and these were the Duke of *Lennox*, the Lord *Home*, and Sir *Robert Ker*, of *Cesfurde*, Knight.

Last of all came in three *Amazones*, in Women's Attire, very sumptuously clad, and these were the Lord of *Lendores*, the Lord of *Barclewch*, and the Abbot of *Holy Roote House*. So all these Persons being present, and at their Entrie making their Reverence to the Queene's Majestie, Ambassadors and Ladies, having their Pages ryding upon their led Horse, and on their left Armes, bearing their Maisters *Imprese* or Device.

The King's Majesties, was a Lyon's Head with open Eyes, which signifieth after a mistique and hieroglyphique Sense, Fortitude and Vigilancie: the Words were, *Timeat & primus & ultimus orbis*. The second was a Dog's Collar, all beset with Iron Pikes; the Words were these, *Offendit, & defendit*. The third of that Christian Army, was a Windmill, with her Spokes

Spokes unmoving, Windes unblowing on every Side; with these Words, *Ni sperat immota.*

The second Faction did carie these: A Heart half in Fire, and half in Frost; on the one Part *Cupid's* Torch, and on the other, *Jupiter's* Thunder; with these Wordes, *Hinc amor, inde metus.* The other Page a Zodiacke, and in the same, the Moone farre opposite to the Sunne; with these Wordes, *Quo remotior, lucidior:* that is to say, the farther, the fairer. The third of this Partie, carried painted foure Coach-wheeles, the hindmost following the foremost, and yet never overtaking them; with these Wordes, *Quo magis insequor.*

The last three Pages, bare in their Targets, these Impresses following, a Crown, an Eye, and a Portcullis: the Crown betokening the Power of God, the Eye his Providence, and the Portcullis his Protection, with these Wordes, which were composed in *Anagrame*, of *Walterus Scotus*, the Laird of *Bacleugh's* Name, *Clausus tutus ero.* The second Page of this Party, carried on his Targe, the Portraiture of an Hand, holding an Eell by the Tail, alluding to the Uncertainty of Persons, or of Times, with these Wordes, *Ut frustra, sic patienter.* The last was this, a Fire in Sight of the Sun, burning, and not perceived, with this Sentence, *Obletor lumine victus.*

And every Lackie, carrying in his Hand, his Master's Launce. They began their Pastime by running at the Ring and Glove: the Lawes whereof were these.

1. First, that all the Persons of this Pastime compeare masked, and in such Order as they come into the Field, so to run out all their Courses.
2. Secondly, that none use any other Ring, but that which is put up: and use no other Launce, but that which they have brought for themselves.
3. Thirdly, he that twice touches the Ring, or stirres it, winneth as much as if he carrieth away the Ring.
4. Fourthly, he that lets his Launce fall out of his Hand, is deprived of all the rest of his Courses.
5. Fifthly, that every one run with loose Reins, and with as much Speed, as his Horse hath.
6. Sixtly, that none after his Race, in uptaking of his Horse, lay his Launce upon his Shoulder, under the Pain of Losse of that which he hath done in his Course.
7. Seventhly, he that carrieth not his Launce under his Arme, loseth his Course.
8. Eightly, that none untill his three Courses be ended, chaunge his Horse, if he be not hurt, or upon some other Consideration moved to change him.

These Lawes being seen and approved by the Actors, the Queene's Majestie, signified unto them, that he who did run best, should have for his Rewarde, a faire and a rich Ring of Diamonds: and he also, who on that same Side, had best Fortune in Running, he should be acknowledged with another as fair as the first. The Proof hereof, being made, the Victorie fell to the Duke of *Lennox*, who bringing it to his Side and Partie, had the Praise and Prise adjudged to himself. Thus the first Dayes Pastime was ended, with great Contentment to the Beholders, and Commendation of the Persons Enterprisers.

The second Dayes Pastime was extended, by reason that the Artisans were
employed

employed in other Businesse, who should have followed forth that Invention given them: And seeing the Grace of that Exercise consisted in Embosserie, and the Craftsmen apt for the same, otherwise and necessarily busied, it was left off: Which, if it had been brought to Effect, this Countrey had not seen, nor practised a more rarer: for what by the Bravery and strange Apparell of the Persons themselves, and by the divers Shapes of the Beasts that should have been born and brought there in Sight, had been commendable and wonderfull: by Reason that such Beastes, as Lyon, Elephant, Hart, Unicorne, and the Griphon, together with the Camel, Hyde, Crocadile, and Dragon, (carrying their Riders) had carried also with it by the Newes of that Invention, great Contentment and Commendation of that Exercise. But I say, some arising Letts, impeded this Invention: and all Things were cast off, that might have farther decored this Solemnity, through other urgent Occasions.

And when all the Ambassadors were convened together, and all necessary Materials readie, the Chappell Royall of the Castle of *Striviling* was richly hung, with costly Tapestries: And at the North-East End of the same, a Royall Seat of Estate prepared for the King's Majestie: And on his Right Hand, was set a faire wide Chaire, with the due Ornaments pertaining thereto, over which, was set the Armes of the King of *France*.

Next thereunto, was a princely Travers of Crimson Taffeta, for the Ambassador of *England*: and over his Head, the Armes of *England*: on the Desk before him, lay a Cushion of red Velvet: There stood attending on him, two Gentlemen Ushers, appointed by the Queene of *England* for that present Service.

Next unto him, sat Mr. *Robert Bowes*, Ambassador Ordinary for the Queene of *England*: On the Desk before him, was laid a Cloth of Purple Velvet, and a Cushion futable thereunto.

Then sat the Ambassador of the noble Prince, *Henricus Julius*, Duke of *Brunswick*, and before him on the Desk, was laid a Cloth of green Velvet, with a Cushion of the same: and over his Head, the Arms of his Prince.

Next unto him, sat the Ambassadors of the *Low Countries*, with a long fair Cloth, spread on the Desk before them of blew Velvet, and two Cushions futable thereunto, and over their Heads the Arms of their Countries.

On the King's Left Hand, was placed nearest his Majestie, the two Ambassadors of *Denmark*, with a large broad Cloth spread on the Desk before them of Purple Velvet, and the Arms of *Denmark* over their Heads.

Next unto them sat the Ambassador of the noble Prince *Udalricus*, Duke of *Magdelburgh*, with his Prince's Arms over his Head.

In the midst of the Chappell Royall within the Partition, where the King's Majestie, the Ambassadors, and Prince with his Convoy were placed, there was a new Pulpit erected: The same was richly hung with Cloth of Gold: All the Pavement within this Partition, was Prince-like laid with fine Tapestry.

Under the Pulpit was another Desk, wherein sat in the midst, Mr. *David Cunninghame*, Bishop of *Aberdeen*, Mr. *David Lindejay*, Minister of *Leyth*,

and *John Duncanson*, one of the ordinary Ministers to the King's Majestie : Before whom was set a Table, covered with yellow Velvet.

And when all Things were in Readiness, as was requisite, there was placed a hundred Hagbutters (being onely the Yonkers of *Edinburgh*, bravely apparelled) in Order, betwixt the Prince's utter Chalmer Doore, and the Entry to the Chappell Royall, on both the Sides of the Passage.

Then the King's Majestie, with his Nobles and Counsellors attending on him, entred the Chappell, and there sat downe in his Royall Seate of Estate.

All the Ambassadors likewise were sent for, and convoyed to the Prince's Chalmer of Prefence, where the Prince was lying on his Bed of Estate, richly decored, and wrought with broidered Worke, containing the Story of *Hercules* and his Travels.

This Bed was erected on a Platforme, very artificially, with a Foote Pace of three Degrees ascending to it : The Degrees being covered with Tapestry, all wrought with Gold, and a large Cloth of Lawne, covering both the Bed and the Degrees, which reached forth a great Space over the Floor.

Then the old Countesse of *Mar*, with Reverence past to the Bed, she tooke up the Prince, and delivered him to the Duke of *Lennox*, who presently rendred him likewise to the Ambassador of *England*, to be borne to the Chappell Royall.

The Master of the Ceremonies, addressing himself to a Table in the said Chalmer, curiously ordered, whereon stood those Ornaments of Honour which were to be born to the Chappell before the Prince, with due Reverence delivered them to certaine Noblemen, according to the Order appointed by his Majestie for the bearing thereof.

In like Manner, the Prince's Robe royall, being of Purple Velvet, very richly set with Pearle, was delivered to the Duke of *Lennox*, who put the same about the Prince : the Traine whereof, was born up by the Lord *Sinclair*, and the Lord *Urquhart*. Then they removed themselves to the utter Chalmer, where, there was a fair high Pale made fouresquare, of Crimson Velvet attending, which was laid on with rich Pasments, and fringed with Gold. This Pale was sustained by four worshipfull Barons : The Laird of *Bacleugh*, the Constable of *Dundee*, Sir *Robert Ker*, of *Cesfurd*, Knight, and the Laird of *Traquhair*. Under the which Pale were the Ambassadors of *England*, *Robert Earle of Suffex*, carrying the Prince in his Armes, and Mr. *Robert Bowes*, ordinary Ambassador for *England*, assisting him. Next to them, was the Duke of *Lennox*. About the Pale, were the Ambassadors of *Denmark*, *Magdelburgh*, *Brunswick*, and the *Estates*. There followed the old Countesse of *Mar*, Mistresse *Bowes*, divers Ladies of Honour, with the Mistresse Nurse.

Then the Trumpets sounding melodiously before the Prince and his Convoy, went forward : *Lyon* King of Armes, and the Heralds his Brethren, with their Coat-Armours, in goodly Order following.

Next followed the Prince's Honours, borne by these Noblemen : The Lord *Sempill* carrying a Laver of Water ; the Lord *Seton*, a fair Bason ; the Lord *Levingston*, a Towel ; and the Lord *Home*, a low Crowne competent for a Duke,

Duke, richly set with Diamonds, Saphires, Rubies, and Emeraulds: who approaching neare the Pulpit, where these Honours were received from them by the Master of the Ceremonies, and by him placed on the Table before the Pulpit: The Noblemen retyring backe to their appointed Places.

Lastly, the Pale was carried in before the Pulpit; where the Ambassador of *England* rendered the Prince to the Duke of *Lennox*, who immediately delivered him to the old Countesse of *Mar*, and she consequently to the Mistresse Nurse: And all the Ambassadors were then set, in such Order of Places, as the Demonstration of their Armories, give Notice.

Without the Partition, were ornate Fourmes, all covered with greene, whereupon were placed the Gentlemen of *England*, *Denmark*, *Almaine*, *Flanders* and *Scotland*. And as all Men were thus competently placed, and universall Silence made, entered Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, one of his Majestie's Ordinary Preachers, into the Pulpit, who learnedly and godly entreated upon the Text of the 21. of *Genesis*. Which being done, the Bishop of *Aberdeen* stood up in his Seate, and taught upon the Sacrament of Baptisme, first in the vulgar Tongue, and next in the Latine, to the End all Men might generally understand. This done, the Provost and Prebends of the Chappell Royall did sing the 21. Psalme of *David*, according to the Art of Musique, to the great Delectation of the noble Auditory.

Then they proceeded to the Action. The King arose, and came towards the Pulpit: The Ambassadors followed in their Order. The Barons that carried the Pale above the Prince, moved towards the Pulpit: The Duke of *Lennox* received the Prince from the Countesse of *Mar*, and delivered him to the Hands of the Earle of *Suffex*, Ambassadour for *Eugland*: Where he was named by all their Consents, FREDERIKE HENRY, HENRY FREDERIKE, and so baptized, *In the Name of the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost*, by the said Names.

This being done, *Lyon* King of Armes, with a loude Voice, repeates these Names thrice over: and then after him, the rest of his Brethren Herauldes, with Trumpets sounding, confirmed the same.

Then the King's Majestie, Ambassadors and all, removing to their Places: the *English* Ambassadour alone, withdrawing himself on the one Side, was met and attended on by two Groomes, who humbly on their Knees, the one presenting a large rich Bason, the other a suitable Laver, replete with sweet Water, wherewith the Ambassadour washed; a Gentleman Sewer, with humble Reverence, presenting him a fair Towell, wherewith he dried his Hand, and so forthwith returned to his Place.

This being done, the Bishop ascended to the Pulpit, where, after that he had delivered in Verse, a certaine Praise and Commendation of the Prince, then he converted the rest of his Latine Oration, in Prose, to the Ambassadors, every one in particular, beginning at the Ambassadour of *England*, and so continuing with the rest: wherein he made Mention of the Chronology of each of these Princes; and recited the Proximitie, and Nearnesse of Bloud, that they had with *Scotland*. Concluding his Oration, with Exhorta-

tion and Thanksgiving to GOD for that good Occasion, and prosperous Assembly.

In Conclusion, the Blessing being given, *Lyon* King of Armes, cryed with a loud Voice, *GOD save FREDERIKE HENRY, and HENRY FREDERIKE, by the Grace of GOD, Prince of SCOTLAND.* The rest of the Heralds proclaimed the same at an open Window of the Chappell Royall, with Sound of Trumpet.

Then the King, the Prince, the Ambassadors, the Nobles, and Ladies of Honour, retired forth of the Chappell, in such Order as they entered, and repaired towards the King's Hall: During their Passage, the Cannons of the Castle roared, that therewith the Earth trembled; and other smaller Shot made their Harmonie after their Kind.

In the King's Hall, the Duke of *Lennox* received the Prince from the Ambassadour of *England*, and presented him to the King's Majestie, who addubbed him Knight: He was touched with the Spur by the Earle of *Mar*. Thereafter the King's Majestie presented a Ducall Crowne on his Head, and then he was proclaimed by *Lyon* King of Armes, *The right Excellent, High, and Magnanime, FREDERIKE HENRY, HENRY FREDERIKE, by the Grace of GOD, Knight and Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, Earle of Carrike, Duke of Rosay, Prince and Great Steward of Scotland.*

These Wordes were repeated by the Heralds with a loud Voice, at an open Window of the Hall.

Then the Prince was carried, by the Ambassadour of *England*, to his owne Chalmer of Prefence; where the most rich and rare Propynes were there presented.

Also, there were certain Barons and Gentlemen addubbed Knights, whose Names do follow, in Order as they were proclaimed. And first their Oath.

The Oath of a KNIGHT.

1. *I shall fortifie and defend the true Christian Religion, and Christ's holy Evangel, now presently preached within this Realme, to the uttermost of my Power.*
2. *I shall be loyall and true to my soveraigne Lord the King's Majestie, to all Orders of Chivalrie, and to the noble Office of Armes.*
3. *I shall fortifie and defend Justice at my Power, and that without Favour or Feed.*
4. *I shall never flie from my soveraigne Lord, the King's Majestie, nor from his Highnesse Lieutenants, in Time of Mellay and Battell.*
5. *I shall defend my native Realme from all Alieners and Strangers.*
6. *I shall defend the just Action and Quarrel of all Ladies of Honour, of all true and friendless Widowes, of Orphans, and of Maidens of good Fame.*
7. *I shall do Diligence, whersoever I beare there is any Murtherers, Traytors and masterfull Reavers, that oppresseth the King's Lieges, and poore People, to bring them to the Laws at my Power.*

8. *I shall maintain and uphold the noble Estate of Chivalrie, with Horse, Harnishe, and other knightly Abillements: and shall helpe and succour them of the same Order at my Power, if they have Need.*

9. *I shall enquire and seeke to have the Knowledge and Understanding of all the Articles and Points contained in the Book of Chivalrie.*

All these Premisses to observe, keep, and fulfil: I oblesse me, so help me my God, by my owne Hand, so help me God, &c.

Sir William Stewart of Houstoun, Knight.

Sir Robert Bruce of Clackmannan, Knight.

Sir John Boswell of Balmowtow, Knight.

Sir James Schaw of Salquhy, Knight.

Sir John Murray of Ethilstoun, Knight.

Sir William Menteith of Kerse, Knight.

Sir Alexander Frazer of Frazerburgh, Knight.

Sir John Lindefay of Dunrod, Knight.

Sir George Levingston of Ogilface, Knight.

Sir James Forester of Torwood-head, Knight.

Sir Andrew Balfoure of Strathour, Knight.

Sir Walter Dundas of over Newlistoun, Knight.

Sir John Boswel of Glasemont, Knight.

Sir George Elphingstoun of Blythwood, Knight.

Sir William Levingstoun of Darnecheester, Knight.

Sir David Meldrum of New-hall, Knight.

These Names were proclaimed upon the Tarraße of the Forefront of the Castle, with Sound of Trumpets, and great Quantity of divers Especies of Gold and Money, cast over amongst the People.

These Things being accomplished, the King and Queene's Majesties, with the Ambassadors addressed themselves to the Banket in the great Hall, about eight of the Clock at Night. Then came *Lyon* King of Armes, with his Brethren the Herauldes, and entred the Hall before the King and Queene's Meate, the Trumpets sounding melodiously before them: with these Noblemen, bearing Office for the present.

The Earle of *Mar*,

Great Master-Houhold.

The Lord *Fleming*,

Great Master-Usher.

The Earle of *Montroze*,

Carver,

The Earle of *Glencarne*,

Copper,

The Earle of *Orkenye*,

Sewer,

} For the King's Majestie.

The Lord *Seton*, —

Carver,

The Lord *Hume*, —

Copper,

The Lord *Sempill*, —

Sewer,

} For the Queene's Majestie.

This delicate Banquet being ordered with great Abundance, the King, Queene, and Ambassadors, were placed all at one Table, being formed of three Parts, after a Geometricall Figure, in such Sort, that every one might have a full Sight of the other.

The

The King and Queene's Majesties, were placed in the midst of the Table, and on the King's Right Hand were set the *English* Ambassadors, the Earle of *Sussex*, and Mr. *Robert Bowes*, next them sat the Ambassador from the Duke of *Brunswick*, and the Ambassador from the Duke of *Magdelburgh*.

On the King's Left Hand, next to the Queene's Majestie, sat the Ambassador of *Denmark*, and Ambassadors from the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*: Betwixt every one of their Seates was left a good Space.

On the East and West Side of the Hall, were placed two very long Tables, where were set certain Noblemen, Ladies of Honour, and Counsellors of *Scotland*, and with them the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *England*, *Denmark*, *Almaine*, and *Flanders*: And betwixt every Nobleman, and Gentleman Stranger, was placed a Lady of Honour, or Gentlewoman.

Now, being thus in a very honourable and comely Order set, and after a while, having well refreshed themselves with the first Service, which was very sumptuous, there came into the Sight of them all, a *Black-Moor*, drawing (as it seemed to the Beholders) a triumphall Chariot, (and before it, the melodious Noise of Trumpets and Hautboyes) which Chariot entred the Hall, the Motion of the whole Frame (which was twelve Foot long, and seven Foot broad) was so artificial within it self, that it appeared to be drawne in, onely by the Strength of a *Moor*, which was very richly attired, his Traces were great Chaines of pure Gold.

Upon this Chariot was finely and artificially devised, a sumptuous covered Table, decked with all Sorts of exquisite Delicates and Dainties, of *Patissierie*, *Frutages*, and *Confections*.

About the Table, were placed six gallant Dames, who represented a silent *Comedie*, three of them clothed in *Argentine Sattin*, and three in *Crimson Sattin*: All these six Garments were enriched with *Togue* and *Tinsel*, of pure Gold and Silver, every one of them having a *Crowne*, or *Garland* on their Heads, very richly decked with *Feathers*, *Pearles* and *Jewels*, upon their loose *Haire*, in *Antica forma*.

In the first Front stood *Dame Ceres*, with a *Sickle* in her right Hand, and a *Handfull of Corne* in the other; and upon the outmost Part of her Thigh was written this Sentence, *Fundent uberes omnia Campi*, which is to say, the plenteous Fields shall afford all Things.

Over against *Ceres*, stood *Fecunditie*, with some *Bushes of Chesbolls*, which under an hieroglyphick Sence, representeth *Broodines* with this Devise, *Felix prole divum*, and on the other Side of her Habite, *Crescant in mille*. The first importing that this Country is blessed by the Childe of the Goddess, and the second, alluding to the King and Queene's Majesties, that their Generations may grow into Thousands.

Next on the other Side, was placed *Faith*, having in her Hands a *Bason*, and in the same two Hands joyned together, with this Sentence. *Boni alumna conjugii*, the Fortresse and Nurse of a blessed Marriage.

Over against *Faith*, stood *Concorde*, with a golden *Tasse* in her Left Hand, and the *Horne of Abundance* in her Right Hand, with this Sentence,

Pleniebant te numina Sinu. The heavenly Powers do bleſſe thee with a full Boſome.

The next Place was occupied by *Liberalitie*, who having in her Right Hand two Crownes, and in her Left, two Scepters, with this Deviſe, *Me comite, plura quam dabis, accipies.* That is to ſay, having me thy Follower, thou ſhalt receive more than thou ſhalt give.

And the laſt was *Perſeverance*, having in her right Hand a Staffe, and on her left Shoulder an Anchor; with this Deviſe, *Nec dubiæ res mutabunt, nec ſecundæ,* Neither doubtfull, nor more prosperous Things ſhall change your State.

This Chariot, which ſhould have been drawne in by a *Lyon*, (but becauſe his Preſence might have brought ſome Feare to the neareſt, or that the Sight of the Lights and Torches might have commoved his Tameneſs) it was thought meet that the *Moor* ſhould ſupply that Roome: And ſo he, in outwarde Shewe, preaſed to draw that forward, which by a ſecret Convoy was brought to the Prince's Table; and the whole Deſert was delivered by *Ceres*, *Fecunditie*, *Faith*, *Concord*, *Liberalitie*, and *Perſeverance*, to the Earles, Lords and Barons that were Sewers.

Preſently after the returning of the Chariot, entered a moſt ſumptuous, artificiall, and well proportioned Ship, the Length of her Keele was 18 Foot, and her Breadth 8 Foot; from her Bottome to her higheſt Flagge, was 40 Foot; the Sea ſhe ſtood upon was 24 Foot long, with Breadth convenient; her Motion was ſo artificially deviſed within her ſelf, that none could perceive what brought her in. The Sea under her, was lively Counterfeit, with all Colours; on her Foreſterne was placed *Neptunus*, having in his Hand his Trident, and on his Head a Crowne, his Apparell was all of *Indian* Cloth of Silver and Silke, which bare this Inſcription, *Junxi atque reduxi*, which in Sence importeth, that as he joyned them, ſo he reduced their Majeſties.

Then *Thetis* with her Mace, Goddeſſe of the Sea, with this Deviſe, *Nunquam abero, & tutum ſemper te littore ſiſtam*, which ſignifieth, that by her Preſence, ſhe alwayes ſhall be carefull, to bring them into a ſafe Shore and Harbour.

Then *Triton* with his wilke Trumpet, was next to her, with this Deviſe, *Velis, Votis, Ventis, By Sails, by Vows, by Winds.*

Round about the Ship, were all the Marine People, as *Syrenes*, (above the Middle as Women, and under as Fiſhes :) and theſe were *Parthenope*, *Ligea*, and *Leucoſia*, who accommodating their Geſtures to the Voice of the Muſitions, repeated this Verſe, *Unus eris nobis cantandus ſemper in orbe.* And all the ſame were decored with the Riches of the Seas, as Pearles; Coralls; Shelles; and Mettals; verie rare and excellent.

The Bulk of this Ship was curiouſly painted, and her Galleries; whereupon ſtood the moſt part of the Banket in Chriſtalline Glaſſe, gilt with Gold and Azure. Her Maſtes were red; her Tackling and Cordage was Silke of the ſame Colour, with golden Pullies. Her Ordinance was 36 Peeces of Braſſe, bravely mounted, and her Anchors Silver-gilt. And all her Sails were

were double of white Taffata. And in her Fore-sayle, a Shippe Compasse; regarding the North Starre; with this Sentence, *Quascunque per undas*; which is to say, through whatsoever Seas, or Waves, the King's Majestie intendeth his Course, and Project of any arising Action, *Neptune* as God of the Sea, shall be favourable to his Proceedings.

On the maine Sail, was painted the Armories of *Scotland* and *Denmark*, with this Device, competent in the Person of the Prince of *Scotland*. *En que divisa beatos efficiunt, collecta tenes*. That is to say, behold (O Prince) what doth make these Kingdomes severally blessed, jointly (O Prince of Hope) thou holdes, and hath altogether.

Her Tops were all armed with Taffatees of his Majestie's Colours, Gold, and Jewels: and all her Flagges and Streamers sutable to the same.

Her Marriners were in Number six, apparelled all in chaungeable *Spanish* Taffatees, and her Pilote in Cloth of Gold, he alone stood at the Helm, who only moved and governed the whole Frame, both the Ship and her Burden, very artificially.

The Musitions within the same, were 14, all apparelled in Taffatees of his Majestie's Colours, besides *Arion* with his Harpe.

Being thus prepared, at the Sounde of Trumpets, she approached, and at the next Sounde of *Triton's* wilke Trumpet, together with the Master's Whistle, she made Sail till she came to the Table, discharging the Ordinance in her Sterne by the Way: But because this Devise carried some morall Meaning with it, it shall not be impertinent to this Purpose, to discover what is meant and propyned thereby.

The King's Majestie having undertaken in such a desperate Time, to sail to *Norway*, and like a new *Jason*, to bring his Queene, our gracious Lady, to this Kingdome, being detained, and stopped, by the Conspiracies of Witches, and such devilish Dragons, thought it very meet, to follow forth this his own Invention, that as *Neptunus* (speaking poetically, and by such Fictions, as the like Interludes, and Actions are accustomed to be decored withall) joyned the King to the Queene.

So after this Conjunction, he brought their Majesties as happily hither: and now at this her blessed Delivery, did bring such Things as the Sea affords, to decore this festival Time with all: which immediatly were delivered to the Sewers, forth of the Galleries of this Ship, out of Christaline Glasse, very curiously painted with Gold and Azure, all Sorts of Fishes: as Herrings, Whitings, Flocks, Oysters, Buckies, Lampets, Partans, Labstars, Crabs, Spout-fish, Clammes: with other infinite Things made of Sugar, and most lively represented in their owne Shape. And whilst the Ship was unloading, *Arion* sitting upon the galey Nose, which resembled the Forme of a Dolphine Fish, played upon his Harpe; then began her Musick in greene holyne Hautboys in fine Parts. After that followed Viols with Voices in plaine Counterpoint, to the Nature of these Hexameter Verses.

*Undique convenient, quot Reges nomine Christi
Gaudent, hucque suas maturent cogere vires.*

Viribus

*Viribus hos, O Rex, opibusque anteiveris omnes
Quisque suam jam posse velit tibi cedere sortem.
Regna, viros, aurum, quæ te fecere potentem.
Omnia conjugii decorant hæc pignora chari:
ANNA precor fælix multos feliciter annos,
Vive, resume novas, atque annuus anni
Lustar eat, redeatque; novo tibi partus ab ortu.
Cresce Puer, sacri mens numinis imbibar imbres,
Semper uterque parens de te nova gaudia captet.
Scotia, quæ quondam multis tenebrosa vocata est
Lumina magna nitent in te superantia cælum,
Lux Verbi, & Rex, & Princeps diademata Regni.*

After which ensued a still Noise of Recorders and Flutes: and for the fourth, a generall Consort of the best Instruments.

So this Enterlude, drawing neare to an End, in the very last Courses, was discovered this Sentence likewise; *Submissus adorat Oceanus*, inferring, that the Ocean Sea, by offering the Shapes of her Treasure humbly adored and honoured the Sitters. And when in this Time, all the Banket was done, after Thanks being given, there was sung with most delicate dulce Voices, and sweet Harmonie in 7 Partes, the 128. Psalm, with 14 Voices. And that being done, at the Sound of *Triton's* wilke Trumpet, and the *Pilotte's* Whistle, she wayed Anchor, made Sail, and with Noise of Hautboys and Trumpets, retyred, and then discharged the rest of her Ordinance, to the great Admiration of the Beholders.

After all which Pastime and Sport, with merry and joyfull Repast, the King and Queene's Majesties, after their Offices of Honour and Respect, Place being prepared for the Revels, and the Persons appointed for the same, discharging themselves sufficiently. Their Majesties and Ambassadors went to another Hall, most richly and magnificently hung with rich Tapestry, where for the Collation, a most rare, sumptuous, and Prince-like Defart was prepared, which being ended, after taking Leave and Good-nights, they departed about three of the Clock in the Morning, to their Night's Rest.

The Dayes ensuing, so long as Leisure might serve, was bestowed by the Ambassadors in banketting of Noblemen and Gentlemen of their Acquaintance, and the King in the mean Time was folicite and carefull of honourable and magnifike Rewards, to be bestowed on either of them, which was also princely performed, to their great Contentments.

And as they were come to *Edinburgh*, they were all banketted at sometime, severally, and at other Times together, by divers Noblemen of *Scotland* with great Honour: Last of all, one Ambassadors banketted another, for Commemoration of that joyfull Meeting and good Successe.

Then the King and Queene's Majesties came to *Edinburgh*, where they were invited by the Ambassadors of *Denmarke*, unto a Banket within their

Ship, which lay at Anchor in the River of *Forth*: She was so great, that she could not enter the Harbour.

The Banket was very sumptuous, and the Ambassadors so joyous of their finall Dispatch, behaved themselves to their Majesties on a kindly Manner, according to the ordinary Custome of their Countrey, by propining of Drink unto them in the Name of their Princes, which was lovingly accepted and requited: In Commemoration whereof, the whole Artillery of that great Vessel were shot in great Number.

The three great Ships of the Estates, lying in the same Road neare by, made Correspondance and Resonance to the Number of six score great Shot; and thus concluded their *Bein ale*.

Then the Castle of *Edinburgh*, for Performance of the King's Honour, as they perceived the Ships to lose, and to hoise up Sail: The Captain of the Castle saluted every Ship, as they shewed themselves in Readinesse by Order, with a Number of great Cannon Shot. And so I conclude.

The Life and Death of our late most Incomparable and Heroique Prince HENRY, Prince of *WALES*. A Prince (for Valour and Vertue) fit to be imitated in succeeding Times. 1641.

Written by Sir CHARLES CORNWALLIS, Knight, Treasurer of his Highnesse's Household.

In a LETTER to a FRIEND.

To the High and Mighty Prince CHARLES, Prince of WALES, &c.

S I R,

*F*inding this Manuscript, amongst others, I could not passe by it, as I did the rest: The Subject thereof being so rare a Prince, as it may seeme worthy your Highnesse's Perusall: In reading Him, you may read Your selfe; His Titles of Honour were the same with Yours: Your Titles of Vertues the same with His: He was, as You are, the Mirrour of the Age; which, that You may still continue, shall ever be the Prayer of

Your Highnesse's most humble Servant,

N. B.

S I R,

S I R,

YOUR imposed Taske, when with the Eyes of my Mind I considered, I found such a Multitude of Letts and Rubs herein, that it seemed unto me a Thing impossible to dare to looke after, much more to adventure to write any thing touching the *Life* and *Death* of our late most noble, and ever renowned Prince, whose high soaring Thoughts, because the World was not able to containe, the Heaven of Heavens vouchsafed to entertaine; for both his farre every where renowned Fame thorowout this Isle, and the whole World being too great, that who should adventure to say any more, should but in vaine adde Water to the Sea: As also the Numbers of others neerer unto him, of most assured Knowledge, and better Judgement, all which knew him a great deale better than I, being able to give the World and you more full and absolute Satisfaction; together with the Multitude and divers Sorts of religious, wise, grave, judicious, learned, criticke, and curious Censurers; all who, if it should happen but once to peepe into the World, for the welbeloved Subject therof, would greedily entertane and welcome the same, with their divers Humours, and piercing Judgements. These, and many more, with the Conscience of my Unworthiness, and Insufficiencie to performe so high a Task, (which rather would become some *Homer*, *Virgil*, *Demosthenes*, *Cicero*, or rather some one in whom all their Excellencies are combined, to performe aright) like Mountaines appeared at first in my Way; yet because (as one saith) *In magnis voluisse sat est*, rather than it should not be done at all, and with the Losse, the Remembrance also perish, how and in what Manner we lost so brave a Prince. Sometime the Expectation of the World, and that it might for ever be knowne unto it, and you both, how exceeding great this last Duty is, which I owe to the Dead, as also how absolutely you may command him, whom your Love long since hath strictly bound to be perpetually yours, in Place of a better, I have adventured upon these ensuing Conditions, to launch out my fraile Barke, into that great Ocean of Sorrow, even from the Cradle to the Grave, whence storme-beaten as you see, I have with much adoe, recovered my desired Haven. First, that whatsoever Distaste you finde therein of any thing, you would not impute it to any Presumption of mine, but rather to my Frailty and Ignorance, which (rather than to offend you) I have herein bewrayed: Next, that whatsoever is here written of his late Highnesse, not content herewith, you would only use the same as a Ladder to mount up your Thoughts to a far more excellent Meditation of his Vertues: Further also, that you would not be too busie upon this Report to censure any of your Phisicians, or any other; all whom, I protest, I have endeavoured to please, without Partiality, so farre, as in my Judgement, the Truth would suffer me, rather imputing the Blame unto my Relation, than any of their Actions. As also, that with your accustomed Patience, you would delay to censure me for this Letter, untill with mature Judgement you have thoroughly perused the same, considering how much more easie it is to censure others, than to doe well our selves. Again, that since the Way by which I must passe, is through a

long, darke, silent, solitary, untrodden Path, leading even to the Chambers of Death, fraught altogether with Sorrow, ending in Teares, wherein I cannot chuse (but by the Excesse thereof) many Times fall, stumble, and misse of my Way, you would with your gentle Excuses reach out your Hand of Love to helpe me up againe, rather expecting what is entended, than done. Lastly, that you, with my other discreet Reader, who hereafter shall see the same, would onely use it as a Hunter's Baite, to stay your Stomachs a little, until some others of better Knowledge, and sounder Judgement, doe feed you with a better Dinner.

KNOW then that the King's Majestie and the Queene lying at the Castle of *Striveling*, (a Place famous for Antiquitie, faire for Building, pleasant for Scituation) on *Tuesday* the 19. of *February* 1594, about Three a Clocke in the Morning, his Highnesse was born, to the great Joy of all the whole Isle, and all forraigne true hearted Princes and People, his Majestie's Well-willers, and Confederates, but chiefly the Phoenix of her Age, great matchlesse ELIZABETH, to shew the exceeding Love to his Majestie, did not onely send the Right Honourable the Earle of *Suffex*, with rich Presents to the Christning, but also by him, and for Her, did give unto his Highnesse the Name of HENRY, most renowned and victorious; after which, by speciall Appointment from his Majestie, he was resigned to the Custody and Keeping of the Earle of *Marre*, assisted also by the continuall and vigilant Care of the venerable and noble Matron his Mother, unto whom the chief Charge of his Highnesse's Person by his Majestie was given: She also, for many Yeares before, being his owne great happy Nurse, with whom he no lesse prospered in all Things, than his Royall Father before him did in the selfe same Place and Keeping. Thus continued the Strength of his Father, and the Glory of his Mother a great while in the Hands of Women, giving in this his tender Age, by his wonderfull Courage, infallible Tokens of a *Noble and Heroick Spirit*, no Musick being so pleasant in his Eates, as the Sounding of the Trumpet, the Beating of the Drumme, the Roaring of the Cannon, no Sight so acceptable, as that of Pieces, Pistols, or any sort of Armour; all which evidently shew, that (if he had lived) *Mars* himselfe would not one Day have dared to looke him in the Face.

Thus he remained untill the 5. or 6. Yeares of his Age; at which Time his Majestie thought it expedient he should no longer want a Tutor. Whereupon Master *Newton* (afterwards his Secretary) was by his Majesty thought fittest for the said Place, who presently with all Care possible did begin to teach his Highnesse the Grounds of Learning, with the Introductions leading to the same.

A little after, the Women being put from about his Highnesse, divers of good Sort were appointed to attend upon his Person; amongst whom, as chiefe, was the Right Honourable the Earle of *Marre*, together with Sir *David Murray*, Knight, first and onely Gentleman of his Highnesse's Bed-chamber, to lye therein, (continuing so alwaies untill his Death) assisted also by fundry Lords, Barons, Knights and Gentlemen: At which Time, in the

7. 8. and 9. Yeares of his Age, leaving those childish and idle Toyes, usuall to all of his Yeares, he began to delight in more active and manly Exercises, learning to ride, sing, dance, leape, shoot at Archery, and in Peeces, to tosse his Pike, &c. Whereof all these Things in young Yeares, to the Admiration of all, chiefly Strangers, he did wonderfully performe; and that with such a Grace, as it seemed incredible to forraigne Nations; save that those of their owne, who were Spectators of the same, did assure them thereof.

Now beganne those Sparks of Piety, Majesty, Gravity, &c. which before were true, though small, to flash out bigger every Day, using a milde and gentle Behaviour towards all, chiefly to Strangers, before whom he used (if they were of good Sorts, and Nobles) to shew these Exercises, wherein he excelled all those of his Age, thereby filling their Hearts with Love, and all their Sences with Delight, departing exceeding well pleased, that they had seene Prince *Henry*.

Meane while swift winged *Time*, the Mother of Change (whilst we expected no such Alteration) joyning with the eternall Decree, which pittying that *ELIZABETH*, now overcloyed with earthly Joyes should any longer be detained in this Vale of *Misery*, did send the blessed Angels to change her corruptible for an incorruptible Crowne. The Newes whereof (in a shorter Time than ever was posted so great a Journey) was brought unto his Majestie by the honourable Sir *Ro. Carey*, Knight, who out of the Abundance of his Love, preventing all others, was the first Newes-bringer, not onely of so lamentable Death, but also of the sudden ensuing Joy, of his Majestie's right, lawfull, lineall, proclaimed Succession: who shortly after was seconded by the honourable Gentlemen, Sir *Charles Percie*, and Sir *Thomas Somersett*, Knights, with a Letter from the right honourable, the Peeres of *England*, and Lords of her late Majestie's most honourable Privy Counsell, presenting Heapes of all Sorts of dutifull Services, from so loving Subjects to so beloved a King; withall wishing a hastie Dispatch of his Affaires, that they the sooner might enjoy his royall Presence, which being with Speed performed, they also, (out of their great Love) longing for the rest. The Queene with his Highnesse took their Journey from *Edenborough* the first of *June*, 1602. the last of the said Moneth comming to *Windsor*, where, what Joy was at so loving a Meeting, and so long wished, I leave for you to imagine.

His Majestie lying at this foresaid Towne, his Highnesse and some other Lords, were installed Knights of the most honourable and noble Order of the Garter; after which (the Sicknesse increasing) his Highnesse removed from thence to *Oatlands*, where by Appointment from his Majestie, he tooke House by himselfe, having so many to attend upon him in every Office, as was thought fitting for his Yeares. A little after removing to *Nonfuch*, and from thence being sent for to *Winchester* by his Majestie, he againe returned to *Oatlands*, where he begun to ply his Booke hard for two or three Yeares, continuing all his princely Sports, Hawking, Hunting, Running at the Ring, Leaping, Riding of great Horses, Dauncing, Fencing, Tossing of the Pike, &c. In all which, he did so farre excell as was fitting for so great a Prince; whereby,

whereby, together with his continuall *Travaile*, being ever in Action, he came to have a very active and strong Body; so that then he would many Times tyre all his Followers before he himselfe would be weary.

Much about this Time, being thirteene Yeares of Age, he began to know himselfe a little better, and finding himselfe to be a Prince indeed, began not onely to strive for Vertues answerable, but also to chase away the Reliques of childish Imperfections naturall to all, increasing every Day in Favour with G O D and Man.

In the 14. and 15. Yeares of his Age, he began to be very juditious, almost in every Thing, drawing neerer to a majestique Gravity; to be a reverent and attentive Hearer of Sermons, to give Commendations to the same, to have Boxes kept at his three severall standing Houses, *Saint James*, *Richmond*, and *Nonfuch*, causing all those who did sweare in his Hearing, to pay Moneyes to the same, which were after duly given to the Poore; he beganne now also to be of an excellent Discourse, putting forth, and asking strange Questions and Suppositions, both of this, and forraine States, and desiring to know, and to be resolved almost of every Thing, whereby at length he attained to have a reasonable Insight and Judgement, in State-affaires; now also delighting to shoot in great and small Field-pieces, to levell them to the White, and see them shot off.

The 16. Yeare of his Age, being to come to the Time of his Investment in the Principalitie of *Wales* and *Cornewall*; he did advance his owne Title and Right so farre, as with Modestie he might: which presently was gently and lovingly entertained, and granted of his Majestie, with the Consent of the Right Honourable, the High Court of Parliament: The fourth of *June* following, being appointed for that solemne Action, the *Christmas* before which, his Highnesse not onely for his owne Recreation, but also that the World might know, what a brave Prince they were likely to enjoy, under the Name of *Meliades*, Lord of the *Isles*, (an ancient Title due to the first borne of *Scotland*) did in his Name, by some appointed for the same Purpose, strangely attired, accompanied with Drummes and Trumpets in the Chamber of Presence, before the King and Queene, and in the Presence of the whole Court, deliver a Challenge to all Knights of *Great-Britaine*, in two Speeches; the Relation whereof were out of Purpose, but the Summe was:

That *Meliades*, their noble Master, boyling with an earnest Desire, to trie the Valour of his young Yeares in foraigne Countreyes, and to know where Vertue triumphed most, had sent them abroad to espy the same, who after their long *Travailes* in all Countreyes, and Returne; shewing, how no where in any Continent, save in the fortunate Isle of *Great Brittain*e, they had found his Wishes; which ministring Matter of exceeding Joy to their young *Meliades*, who (as they said) could lineally derive his Pedegree from the famous Knights of this Isle, was the Cause that he had now sent to present the first Fruits of his Chivalrie at his Majestie's Feete. Then after, returning with a short Speech to her Majestie, next to the Earles, Lords, and Knights, excusing their Lord in this their so sudden and short Warning: and lastly,

to the Ladies; they after humble Delivery of their Chartle, concerning Time, Place, Conditions, Number of Weapons, and Assailants, tooke their Leave, departing solemnly as they entred.

Now began every where Preparations to be made for this great Fight, and happy did he thinke himselfe who should be admitted for a Defendant, much more Assailant: At last, to encounter his Highnesse, with his six Assailants, 58 Defendants consisting of Earles, Barons, Knights, and Esquires, were appointed and chosen, eight Defendants to one Assailant, every Assailant being to fight by Turnes, eight severall Times fighting, two every Time with Push of Pike and Sword, twelve Stroakes at a Time; after which, the Barre for Separation was to be let downe untill a fresh Onset.

The great Night of this Solemnity now approaching, his Highnesse in his owne Lodging, in the Christmas, did feast the Earles, Barons, and Knights Assailants, and Defendants, untill the great Twelfth appointed Night, on which this great Fight was to be performed; which being come, his Highnesse, to the great Wonder of the Beholders, did admirably fight his Part, giving and receiving that Night, 32 Pushes of Pikes, and about 360 Stroakes of Swords, which is scarce credible in so young Yeares, enough to assure the World, that *Great-Britaine's* brave HENRY aspired to Immortality.

Against the Morrow, after the same said Fight, was also prepared a magnifick Feast at his Highnesse's House at Saint James's, at which his Majestie, his Highnesse, his Brother and Sister, with all the other Earles, Lords, and Knights of the Court were present; where after Supper (according as before they had beene judged) his Highnesse gave three Prises, to the three best deserving, viz. to the Right Honourable the Earle of *Montgomery* one, and to Sir *Thomas Darcy*, and Sir *Robert Gourdon*, Knights, the other two.

The Barriers finished, and Prises won, judged and delivered, shortly after began Preparation every where to be made for his Highnesse's *Creation*, every one from the highest to the lowest (to shew their exceeding Love) striving who should exceed in Bravery, untill fast-posting Time at length brought forth the long wished for Day; before which, his Highnesse then lying at *Richmond*, a House situate on the Rivers Side, seven Miles from *Westminster*, the Place of his *Creation*, the Custome being to be brought from such a Place, the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of *London*, with the worshipfull Aldermen his Brethren, accompanied with thirtie six severall Companies of Citizens of divers Callings, in so many severall Barges, and all Citie-like braverie possible, with their severall Flagges, Banners, Colours, Armes, Trumpets, Drummes, and Phyfes, with other such Provision, came from their mighty and renowned City, up the Silver-streamed River, to welcome, meet and accompany his Highnesse, towards the solemne Action, where having encountred with his Highnesse's Barges with all the Joy, Love, and Kindnesse possible, to the Wonder of the World, all Eyes were bent towards so joyfull and desired a Sight: they came altogether rowing downe the proud River, which for two or three Miles together, seemed to be covered with Pinnaces, Barges, Boates, and Oares unto *Whitehall*-bridge at the Court, where

where he was also received, and welcommed by the Right Honourable the Lords of his Majesties most Honourable Privie Counsel, with divers others, and from thence by them conducted unto his Majestie, where he remained untill the Time of his *Creation*, which being the next Day, he was in Presence of the Right Honourable the High Court of Parliament, Lords Spirituall and Temporall, by his Majestie, the King his Father, created *Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Great Earle of Chester, &c.* with a full Investment in all the ancient and great Liberties, ever possessed by any of his famous Predecessors, and with the Joy and Approbation of the whole House.

His Highnesse being now absolute of himselfe, did take up House with a full Addition of high Officers; Sir *Thomas Challenor* Chamberlaine, Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Treasurer, and Sir *John Hollis* Comptrouler of his House; making good and strict Orders through the same, both above and below Staires, more like a grave, wise, and ancient Counsellour, surveying, disposing, and dispatching his Affaires, then so young and great a Prince: Now were allotted unto him certaine Lands for his Revenues, which he was so farre from diminishing, that he left the same encreased, by Thousands a Yeare; his Servants did now begin to looke which Way to helpe themselves, since his Highnesse was every Day more and more able to give: yet he being very sparing to give any Thing, did onely give Grants unto some, with Promises, Hopes and Delayes unto others, because he would not (he said) dispose of any thing, untill with the Gift he might perpetrate the same, which could not be, untill either Yeares, or the High Court of Parliament should enable him; but this Time as yet not being come, he went on his owne frugal Courses, suffering almost nothing to passe in his House, or other Affaires, which he himselfe did not oversee.

At last, bethinking himselfe that *Wales* and *Cornwall*, &c. his Principallitie, had a long Time beene without a Prince of their owne, he thought he might the rather shew his Authority in renewing and avoyding Leases; wherefore having first by a Writ, called *Scire facias*, avoided and annihilated all their former Rights and Leases, he brought them unto a generall Submission to compound, take and hold new of him; which they were all ready to performe, a little before his Death: Whereupon Surveyors, and Commissioners were appointed, and dispatched to survey all his Lands, and to returne a true Certificate of the whole Value; untill which, (being but a little before his Sicknesse and Death) he deferred all manner of Suits, because he would first be informed truely, what, and how great their Demands were.

In the 17. and 18. Yeares of his Age he began not onely to be a Man in Stature, but also in Courage and Wisdome, to the Admiration of all, and with the Eyes of his Spirit surveying the mighty Inheritance whereunto he was Heire apparant, he did also straine to be the better furnished (if ever his Shoulders should undergoe so great a Burthen with Furniture befitting the same, it being Wisdome, in the Time of Peace, to prepare for the same, knowing that Peace is the Harbinger of Warre, (chiefly in Ships, counted the brazen Wall of this Isle) he in the Time of our Security thought thereof:
and

and therefore did not only intreate his Majestie to cause his Officers of the Navy to build him a Ship, called the *Prince*, (then the fairest of this Isle) but also to advance the Affaires of the Navy, to his Power, now and then got Leave of his Majestie to goe in Person to view the Ships, and Store-houses, which divers Times he did. Not content herewith, he did also practise Tilting, Charging on Horsebacke with Pistols, after the Manner of the Wars, with all other the like Inventions. Now also delighting to conferre, both with his owne, and other Strangers, and great Captaines, of all Manner of Wars, Battailes, Furniture, Armes by Sea and Land, Disciplines, Orders, Marches, Alarmes, Watches, Stratagems, Ambuscadoes, Approaches, Scalings, Fortifications, Incampings, and having now and then Battailes of Head-men appointed both on Horse and Foot, in a long Table; whereby he might in a Manner view the right Ordering of a Battaile, how every Troope did aide and assist another, as also the placing of the Light Horsemen, Vauntguard, Maine Battaile, with the assisting Wings, and Rerewards, &c. which are out of my Element to speake of. Neither did he omit, as he loved the *Theoricke* of these Things, to practise the same, entertaining in his House a *Dutch* Captaine, sent unto him by his Excellence (*Grave Maurice*) a most excellent Engineer, in all Manner of Things belonging to the *Wars*; causing also, from Time to Time, new Pieces of Ordnance to be made, learning to shoot, and levell them right to the White: No lesse provident was he to have great Horses, and those of the best, which were sent unto him from all Countreyes; so that I may truely affirme, no Prince in Christendome did exceed him therein. Thus in these, and other worldly Pleasures, which stoop for Acquaintance unto Greatnesse, did he spend the Yeares past.

In the 19. Yeare of his Age, whether by his continuall Toile of Body, and Minde, or some internall unknowne Causes (I know not) where before he was of somewhat a full round Face, and very pleasant Disposition, his Visage began to appeare somewhat paler, longer and thinner than before, he himselfe being also more sad and retired than usuall, yet without any Complaint of him, or Jealousie of his Followers, save that some halfe a Yeare after, he would now and then complaine of a small Kinde of giddy, lumpish Heaviness in his Forehead; the Paine whereof moved him (as I thinke) for the most Part, ever before he would put on his Hat, to stroke up with his Hand his Brow and Forehead; he did also use to bleed at the Nose often, and in great Quantitie, wherein he found great Ease, untill a little before his Sicknesse, (the Passages being stopped) this Helpe, to his further Griefe, left him; he was now subject to many strong and extraordinary Qualmes, so that for Danger and Celerity they were forced many Times to fetch him againe with strong Waters, which being onely by Intermission now and then, were let passe as they came, without any Suspition of so suddaine Sorrowes.

Much about the Beginning of this Summer, there could almost be no Newes heard, but of his Sister's Marriage, of which many Speeches went currant, according to the divers Affections of Protestants and Papists; some wishing her to be married to the King of *Spaine*, some to the Prince of *Savoy*,

some to the young *Landsgrave*, and some to his Highnesse the *Palsgrave* her now Husband. But he following the Streame of his Father's well settled Affections, for *Great-Britaine's* eternall Felicity, and Terrour of all Papists, did onely fancy the *Palsgrave's* Motion, shortly after advancing the same by all Meanes possible at the Comming of the Right Honourable the Count *Hannaw*: the *Palsgrave's* great Ambassadour, whose Errand as the Speech went, was to knit up this Match, unto whose Suite his Highnesse did not onely give Way, and second the Businesse, but also in Signe of Love, entertaine, and countenance the said Count (next unto his Majesty) more than any, never resting untill all was agreed (as Thankes be to God) it is now finished.

Matters now being at Rest, the Duke of *Bovillon*, and Count *Hannaw* having returned home againe, his Highnesse removed to *Richmond*, where he lay untill the Progresse; the Pleasure of the River running close by the House, inviting him now and then to swimme, which he endeavoured to learne in the Evening, to the Dislike of many, who did see him swimme * after Supper, his Stomack being full, affirming it to be full of Danger, and that it was needlesse for him to adventure himselfe in the Water; but no Remedy, he would needs continue the same, and did untill his removing from thence. He did now also delight many Times to walke late at Night by the River's Side in Moone Light, to heare the Trumpets found an Eccho, which many suspected, because the Dew then falling did him small good.

But the Time of the Progresse now approaching (when as he was commanded) he must needs meet the King his Father at *Beaver Castle* in *Nottinghamshire* the second *Saturday* after the Beginning of the same, which now drawing neere, his Highnesse neither considering the Strength of his Body, the Greatnesse of the Journey (being neere fourescore and fixteene Miles) nor the extreame and wonderfull Heat of the Season, and notwithstanding my Persuasions to the contrary, determined to ride that great Journey in 2 Dayes, according to which he set forth on *Fryday* by one of the Clock in the Morning from his House at *Richmond*, comming to *Finchingbrooke* besides *Huntingdon*, a House pertaining to Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, Knight, Master of his Game, by tenne of the Clock in the Morning, which as they say is threescore Miles, in nine Houres posting, where he remained all that Night, the next Day having six and thirty Miles to *Beaver Castle*, where he met with his Father just at the Time prefixed.

But the Time of one Thing, I had almost forgot to tell you, how before his Comming from *Richmond* in intending to feast the Court at his Mannor of *Woodstock* about the End of this Progresse (it being the first Time of their generall Meeting there, since the House became his) had given Order to his Officers to provide a most magnifike Feast against their Comming to the foresaid House; withall having ordained a great Summer-house of greene

* His frequent Swimming immediately after Supper, was most pernicious to his Health; for it stopt his bleeding at Nose: whereupon the Bloud putrifying, engendered that fatall Fever which followed. Doctor *Mayerne*.

Boughes to be built in the Parke wherein the great Supper should be, all which was with Speed performed: meane while, although the Season was exceeding hot, his Highnesse did ride many and extraordinary Journeyes in the same (which as was thought) did much incline his boyling Bloud towards Inflammation.

At last, their Journies being towards an End, to *Woodstock* they came, where his Highnesse (according to his former Intention) did feast the Lords and Ladies at a long Table, neere which he himselfe did beare them Company from the *Wednesday* Night of their Comming, untill the *Sunday* Night, which (unknowne to him) he had appointed for the last great Farewell unto all his Friends; by this Time the appointed Night for this great Feast being come, his Highnesse did himselfe in Person come into the banqueting House, to see all Things in good Order, for great was his Care to give Contentment.

At last, the King and Queene being set at a Table by themselves at the upper End of the Roome, his Highnesse with his Sister, accompanied with the Lords and Ladies, sitting at another Table of thirty Yards long and more, by themselves, there was to be seene one of the greatest and best ordered Feasts as ever was seene, nothing wanting which any Way was fitting to adorn such a solemne Meeting; all which, to the generall Joy of the whole Court, his Highnesse, like to the Princely Bridegroom chearing and welcoming his Guests, there appeared an universall Contentment in all; but little knew he, that it was his last great Farewel to his Father, Mother, Sister, yea, unto the whole Court, that it was his last Feast of Feasts, one for all. And indeed, when we looke back unto the same, therein beholding his Highnesse's cheerefull Carriage, the Time, Order, State, Magnificence, and Greatness thereof, we may behold somewhat ominous therein.

The *Monday* after, the Court removing from thence, his Highnesse, after Leave obtained, hasted Home againe to *Richmond*, because of the Newes of the *Palsgrave's* Approach, whom he intended to grace with all possible Honour. Being returned, he began to give order for every thing, and to dispatch all Affaires both of his owne, and concerning the following intended Triumphes, for his Highnesse the *Palsgrave's* better Welcome: He now also of himselfe (I know not by what Motion) considering the great Paines, Deserts, and small Meanes of a Number of his Followers, who had spent much, and gotten nothing in his Service, did give order for a Number of severall Pensions, according to his Discretion, to some of them, promising also, after a while (that none should be discouraged) to remember the rest.

But now, whether the continuall Violences of his Exercises, or his too frequent Eating of Abundance of Grapes, and other Fruits, or some settled Melancholly, engendred by some unknowne Causes, I cannot determine, yet did he looke still more pale and thinne, from Day to Day, complaining now and then, of a cold, lasie, Drowfinesse in his Head, which (as I think) moved him many Times to aske Questions of divers about him, concerning the Quality, Cure, and Nature of the Feaver, called (for the strange Diversitie) *The new Disease*; belike, fearing some such like Thing by his Indisposition: He also used before this, now and then, and in his Sicknesse to sigh often,

whereof being sometimes demanded the Cause by his Phisitians, Doctor *Hamond*, and others neere him, he would sometimes reply, that he knew not, sometimes that they came unawares, and sometimes also that they were not without Cause.

At the Beginning of *October*, his continuall Head-ach, Lazinesse, and Indisposition increasing, (which notwithstanding because of the Time, he strove mightily to conceale) whereas oft before, he used to rise early in the Morning to walke the Fields, he did lye a-bed almost every Morning untill Nine of the Clocke, complayning of his Lazinesse, and that he knew not the Cause; during which Time (belike jealous of himselfe) he would many Mornings before his Rising, aske of the Groomes of his Bed-chamber, How doe I looke this Morning? And at other Times the same Question againe; which they, fearing no Danger, to make his Highnesse laugh, would put off with one Jest or other.

But he still continuing ill, the Tenth of the foresaid Moneth, he had two small Fits of an Ague, forcing him to keepe his Chamber; which his Highnesse finding, had some Speech with Doctor *Hamond*, his Physitian, willing belike to have taken some strong Phisicke, the sooner to have removed the Cause. But he not daring to be too bold with his Highnesse's Body, without a further Consent, did onely give unto his Highnesse a softening Glistre, which had its owne good Effects, stirring the Humours.

On the Morning, being *Tuesday*, the Thirteenth of *October*, he having (as was thought) taken Cold, had a great Loosenesse, his Belly opening 25 Times, avoiding a great deale of Choller, Flegme, and putrified Matter toward the Ende, yet for all this, on the Morrow, he finding himselfe (as he said) reasonable well, because of the *Palsgrave's* Comming, he hasted from thence to Saint *James's*, wherupon he gave Order, and would needes remove on *Thursday*, the Thirteenth of the same Moneth, notwithstanding any Perswasions whatsoever to the contrary, neither was it without great Danger (as they all shewed him) to hazard himselfe abroad so soone, his Body being yet open: but he affirming himselfe to be very well, would needes go on with his former Determination.

At last to Saint *James's* he came, seeming well, but that he looked pale and ill, so that sundry did speake suspitiously of his Lookes, fearing some Distemper in his Body: yet so strong was his Minde, that complaining of nothing, he did beare out the Matter very bravely in Shew, being so well, that he gave his Physitian (who had waited a long Time) Leave to goe Home to his House; meane while his Indisposition still continuing and increasing, there might have beene perceived in him a sudder great Change, for he began to be displeased almost with every thing, and to be exceeding curious in all Things, yet not regarding, but looking, as it were, with the Eyes of a Stranger upon them, for sundry Things shewed him, which before he had wonted to talke of, aske Questions, and view curiously, he now scarce vouchsafed to looke upon, turning them away with the Backe of his Hand, and departing, as who would say, I take Pleasure in nothing; yet was he wonderfully busie in providing, and giving Order for every thing be-
longing

longing to his Care, for his Sister's Marriage, advancing the same by all Meanes possible, keeping also his Highnesse the *Palsgrave* Company, so much as conveniently he could, together with Count *Henry* his Excellencie, *Grave Maurice* his Brother, whom he also much honoured and esteemed, belike because of a Noble and Heroicke Disposition, which he saw in him, fitting his Humour, with whom he used to play often at Cardes, and Tennis, delighting much in his Company; and above all the rest, one great Match they had at Tennis, on *Saturday* the 24. of *October*, the Day before his last Sicknesse, where his undaunted Courage, negligently, carelessly, and wilfully (neither considering the former weake Estate of his Body, Danger, nor Coldnesse of the Season) as though his Body had been of Brasse, did play in his Shirt, as if it had beene in the Heate of Summer; during which Time, he looked so wonderfull ill and pale, that all the Beholders tooke Notice thereof, muttering to one another what they feared: But he (the Match being ended) carried himselfe so well, as if there were no such Matter, having all this while a reasonable good Stomack to Meat; yet this Night, at his going to Bed, complaining more than usuall of his Lazinesse and Head-ache.

But oh whether goe I now? must I againe launch out into a Sea of Sorrowes, adding more Griefes unto our yet bleeding Wounds? Oh Death! was there no Remedy? When wilt thou make an End? Shall the Grave devour alwayes? Was thy Charge so strait that thou could'st shoote neither at great nor small, but at the *Prince* of our *Israel*? Doe sweete smelling Flowers so much delight thy grisly ghastly Senses Appetite, that thou wouldst gather none but our fairest well beloved, scarce blowne, Rose? Why didst thou so soone robbe us? I know (but that thou, who scornest to reason with thy Captives, disdainest to answer thy Slaves) thou couldst give us many Reasons: Wherefore I leave to reason with thee, and turning againe to my dolefull Relation, will begin, &c.

Quaquam animus meminisse horret, luctusque refugit;

For,

— *Quis talia fando*
Temperet à lacrimis? &c. —

On *Sunday* Morning the five and twenty of *October*, 1612. the Morrow after his Highnesse's violent Play at Tennies, it was told him (the Custome of his House being to have the Sermon betimes in the Morning, for the most Part where the Court lay so neere; because he used after his owne, to heare the King's also) that Master *Wilkinson* one of his Father's Chaplaines, was ready, and did present his Service to preach that Morning (if it pleased his Highnesse to heare him) which he no sooner heard, but contrary to his late usuall Custome of long Time (although that Morning he found himselfe somewhat drousie and ill) addressed himselfe to be made ready, for he wonderfully delighted to heare the said Master *Wilkinson*; ever since the Time (long before) in which he heard him preach a Sermon of Judgement, which he did so well like of, that many Times he did speake of the same, affirming it to have

have beene so excellent, that he in a Manner did shew them the same; long it was not ere his Highnesse was ready and gone to the Chappell to heare him.

But ere I proceed, give mee Leave I intreate you, to admire the wonderfull Providence and Goodnesse of God, which did so provide for him a Sermon of *Mortification*, or Preparation, which you will: For the Time, Text, powerfull Delivery, *Method*, &c. were also fitting to our following unthought of *Funerall*, as though an Angell had come the whole Weeke before from Heaven, prefixing unto him the Time, Necessity, Text, Order, and Amplifications thereof, so truly did he thunder out the mortall Misery of Mankind, but chiefly of *Princes*: The Text was out of *Job* the 14. and 1. Verse, *Man that is borne of a Woman, is of full short Continuance and of Trouble.* From which he shewed 3 Things; first, our miserable Entry into the World, and short Continuance; lastly, our miserable *Pilgrimage*, and Endurance in the World full of Trouble; in which the Misery and Troubles of all Estates were well shewed, but chiefly those of great Ones. Sermon being ended, his Highnesse did commend the same, being very attentive all the Time thereof; presently thereafter going into *Whitehall*, where he also did heare another Sermon with the King his Father; which being also done, to Dinner they went, his Highnesse in outward Appearance eating with a reasonable good Stomack, yet looking exceeding ill and pale, with hollow ghastly dead Eyes perceived of a great many.

The first Day.

After Dinner, for all his great Courage and Strife to over-master the Greatnesse of his Evill, dissembling the same, the Conquerour of all, about 3 a Clock in the Afternoone began to skirmish, with a suddaine Sicknesse and Faintnesse of the Heart (usuall unto him) whereupon followed shortly after a Shaking, with a great Heat and Headache, which from henceforth never left him; his Highnesse finding himselfe thus suddainely taken, was forced to take his Leave, departing Home unto his Bed; where being laid, he found himselfe very ill, remaining all this Evening in an Agony, having a great Drought (which after this could never be quenched but with Death) his Eyes also being so dimme, that they were not able to endure the Light of a Candle; for which that Night was ordained unto him a Cordiall of cooling *Ptisan* for quenching of his Thirst, with a moistning Broath to be given at the Ending of the Fit. This Night he rested ill.

The second Day.

On the Morrow after, being *Monday* the six and twenty of the Month, and the second of his Sicknesse; his Highnesse felt small or no Ease of his Headache, continuing bound in his Belly, his Pulse beating exceedingly, his Water being crude, thinne, and whitish, which moved Doctor *Mayerne*, his Majestie's chiefe Physitian, to appoint for him a softning Glistre, which accordingly to their Desire did worke very well. After which his Highnesse finding Intermision (which continued all that Day) did arise, and put on his

his Cloathes, playing at Cards that Day, and the next also, with his Brother the Duke of *Yorke*, and Count *Henry*: meane while there were many Messages sent from the Court, and every where else, to know how Things went, all which (no Creature surmising the least Danger) were answered with good Hopes, yet his Highnesse for all this looked ill and pale, spake hollow, and somewhat strangely, with dead sunk Eyes, his Drinesse of Mouth and great Thirst continuing, for the which that Night were ordained unto him by the foresaid Doctors, sharpe, tarte, cordiall and cooling Juleps, prepared with all kind of Cordials and Antidotes possible, his Brothes and Gellies being with the same Care ordained: yet his Drought and Head-ache continuing (which could not be stayed) he remained still very ill, this Night resting quietly.

The third Day.

On *Tuesday* the seven and twenty, the third Day of his Sicknesse, he found some Ease in the Morning, so that they were all in good Hope that it would have proved but some Tertian, or bastard Tertian at the most, notwithstanding that his Highnesse, ghastly rowling uncoath Lookes, did put them in some Feare.

This Day his Majesty did send Master *Nasmitb*, his Surgeon, to attend his Highnesse during his Sicknesse; unto whom, and divers others conferring of his Highnesse's Sicknesse, and the Danger of the same; Doctor *Mayerne* did say, that, in his Judgement, the surest Way for his Highnesse's Safety was bleeding (as was thought) very substantially proving from the very dangerous forenamed Accidents and Indications of this Tertian, which he feared to be venomous, by reason Humours seated in the naturall Parts, inclining, by reason of the Quantity, to a continuall; that Bleeding chiefly, and that in great Quantity with Reiteration (if Need so required:) Now whilest his Highnesse was strong, naturall Heate not being decayed, nor too much oppressed, before that Feaver turned continuall, and he weaker, and lesse able to endure hereafter, would prove the surest Way for his Safety. But the same his Opinion, not being allowed of the rest (whom by Conference, when he named, or spoke of Blood) he found directly opposite; there was as yet no Consultation for Blood-letting, nor any Inclination that Wayes.

This Morning he did rise and put on his Cloathes; but his Fit comming about Noone, first with a cold, then a great Heate, without any Sweat, continuing untill Eight a Clock at Night, he was forced to goe to Bed againe, this Night resting quietly.

The fourth Day.

On *Wednesday* the eight and twentieth, and fourth Day of his Sicknesse, in the Morning, came Master *Butler*, the famous Physitian of *Cambridge*, a marvellous great Scholler, and of long Practise, and singular Judgment, but withall very humerous; who (whatsoever he thought) comforting him with good Hopes, that he would shortly recover, and that there was no Danger; yet secretly unto others, did not let to speake doubtfully, (as they say, his Humour is) that he could not tell what to make of it, and that he did not well

well like of the same; adding further, that if he did recover, he was likely to lye by it for a great while, with divers other like Speeches; neither could he be perswaded, all the Time of his Highnesse's Sicknesse, to stay any longer with him than one Houre, or thereabouts, every Morning; and so in the Afternoone, to give his Counsell and Advice with the rest: what moved him I know not, whether he did mislike the *French Doctors Company*, or because the Cure was not committed to him as chiefe, or being jealous, and misliking his Highnesse's Disease, and therefore loved not to meddle too much in the Cure (which I rather imagine;) or whether his Health or Humour impeached the same, I dare not judge; the curious may best learne from himselfe; yet having at his Comming enquired what was done, he approved the same, and wished the Continuance of the same Proceedings, untill a further Judgement might be given of the same Event: yet did his Highnesse finde small or no Ease, but his Feaver, as yet not being continuall, he did rise and put on his Clothes, they all as yet conceiving reasonable good Hopes.

The former Daies and this, his Stomack was not quite lost, but he would now and then take some such Meate as the Physitians thought fitting; yet the Doctors, *viz. Mayerne, Hamond, Butler*, all considering the Greatnesse of the Danger, and the Strangenesse of the Disease, the Water in no Way shewing the same, which made them the loather to meddle, untill the *Crisis* were seene, his Highnesse remaining in the same Estate, the many dangerous forenamed Accidents, with the Good of the former Evacuations, his Belly now being hard bound, &c. would willingly have had more Doctors called for Consultation; which his Highnesse altogether refusing to allow of, because of the Confusion, They by a generall Consent (his Highnesse then having Intermission of his Fever) under all their Hands, did by their owne Report, give unto him a Purgation of *Sena* sod, and *Rhubarb*, infused in Cordiall and cooling Liquors, with Syrupe of *Roses* loosning, which working seven or eight Times, brought away great Store of putred Choler, and in the End Phlegme, the Urine inclining somewhat towards Concoction. But his Highnesse after the Working thereof, found not that Ease that was expected; yet was still fed with Hopes of his Recovery. But Night being come, (towards which, during all his Sicknesse, he grew worse than in the Morning, wherein he was more sober alwaies than in the Evening) his Headache, Drougths and other Accidents, continuing, though not with Extremity, he rested ill, and unquietly.

The fifth Day.

On *Thursday* the nine and twentieth, and fifth Day of his Sicknesse, Hopes began a little to diminish, howbeit that Morning his Headache was somewhat lessened, his Breath also (which before was short) being longer, which moved him to put on his Cloathes, endeavouring to rise as he had done before; but his Head being so giddy, that he was not able to stand alone, he was forced to betake him to his Bed againe, from henceforth ever keeping his Bed: Neverthelesse the tingling of his Eares, the Leapings and Boundings continuing

tinuing alike; as also a small Fitt comming upon him, with a little Coldnesse, the Fever thereafter being continuall, with many small Intermissions, and small and great Redoublings, the Violence whereof caused his Tongue to become blacke and drie, the Leapings, and Boundings, and ringing of the Eares encreasing. Many neere unto him, jealous of so bad Signes without Amendment, feared the worst, his Highnesse now being forced to keepe his Bed continually, his Head being so giddy, that he could not stand upright, his Eyes also so dimme, that he could not indure the Candle Light; yet still the Doctors, by Reason of his extraordinary Patience (not fully knowing the Danger which afterwards appeared) not willing nor daring to be too bold, untill some certaine further Knowledge, delaied to conclude of any Thing, save that his Highnesse should still be plyed with all Sorts of Cordiall Juleps, which Art, or Experience could thinke of. Master *Butler's* Advise, they say, was the same, that Cordials externall, and internall, the Restoratives and Diet begun, should be continued.

Thus, no other Course as yet being thought of, still expecting the Successe of new Daies; Delaies bred Danger, his Highnesse remained ill, having no Evacuation by Sweat, neither was it expedient (as was thought) to force the same, still expecting Nature's owne Time, which deceived them.

This Evening there appeared a fatall Signe about two Houres or more within the Night, bearing the Colours and Shew of a * *Rainbow*, which hung directly crosse and over Saint *James's* House, it was first perceived about Seven a Clock at Night, which I my selfe did see, which divers others looking thereupon with Admiration, continuing untill past Bed-time, being no more seene: This Night was unquiet, and he rested ill.

The sixth Day.

On *Friday* the thirtieth, and sixth Day of his Sicknesse, he remained in the same Estate, no Creature knowing what to say or make of his Sicknesse, some fearing one Thing, and some another, the Doctor's still attending the Issue of the eight Day, but for all that his Highnesse's Feaver remained continuall, withall the former cruell Accidents, for which this Morning was giving him a Glister for washing of his Bowels, in which he found some Ease.

About Three a Clock in the Afternoone came his lesser Doubling; during which, his Breath became short, his Face very red, his Pulse beating very swiftly; in which Fit his Nose began to bleed (as some thought about two Ounces) then after staying of it selfe, whereby he found some Ease, not having bled (as his Custome was) of a great while before.

From this Time forth, chiefly Doctor *Mayerne*, with Master *Nasmitb*, his Majestie's Chirurgion, began to propound the Necessity of Bleeding, as heretofore they had done, whereunto Nature now invited, the Feaver remaining continuall, with a great abounding Fulnesse, in a Constitution excessively hot, in a Body which had much used bleeding, deprived of that Benefit for some

* A *Lunar* Rainbow, very rare, and commonly fatall. *V. Arist. Meteor.*

Moneths before, yet the rest being sparing and loath to heare of the same, there was nothing done, this Day also passing as the rest; all this while the excessive Paine of his Head continuing, as also his Heate and Thirst, for which his Mouth and Tongue were continually washed; yet for all this his Highnesse and the rest were still encouraged, that he should shortly recover, although indeed he became still worse and worse. This Night he rested ill, being alwayes somewhat better in the Morning.

The seventh Day.

On *Saturday* the last of the Moneth, and seventh of his Sicknesse, there appeared no Amendment, his Highnesse continuing in a wonderfull excessive Heat, after which came the great redoubling, raving as he was awake, with Blacknesse, Drines, and Clifts in his Tongue, was continually applied with all Things needfull, but to no Purpose, save a little Ease for the present, as also the tingling of the Eares, Leapings and Boundings became greater, the Urine's more crude, yet no Way shewing the Danger of the Disease all this while, untill a little before his Death; over and above all other Griefes he found his Head exceedingly pained, a Thing lying as it had beene a Lumpe in his Forehead, which together with the Ulceration of his Throat, made him loth to speake, but when he must needs, and then not without great Paine, the Extremity, as it were, of the Evill overcomming and stupifying the Vitals and Senses, striving to subdue naturall Heat, and oppressing the Heart, notwithstanding the doubling and trebling of the Cordials to withstand the same.

This Day also, Nature (as the Day before) though not in Quantity, did (as was said) shew the Necessity of Bleeding, for which Cause it was with more Instance againe propounded, and urged, than ever, as the onely Meanes, under God, to save his Highnesse; at length after much adoe *pro & contra*, Doctor *Mayerne* urging, and Master *Butler* chiefly withstanding the same, mistaking the first Beginning of his Highnesse's Sicknesse, in the End, the three Doctors, *Mayerne*, *Hamond*, and *Butler* did agree, that on the Morrow being *Sunday* (the eighth broken, and the seventh whole Day of his last Sicknesse) a Vaine should be opened; all this while untill his Bleeding was past, they conceived good Hope of his Recovery, yet he remained dangerously ill; you must imagine that all this while of his Sicknesse, the whole World did almost every Houre send unto Saint *James's* for Newes; the better Sort who were admitted to visit him; or acquainted with those neere unto him, knowing the Danger, the rest fearing nothing, imagining it onely to have beene some common Tertian, for which Cause in many Places neere unto the City he was thought dead and gone, before they knew that he was dangerously sick. This Night was more cruell and unquiet unto him than any other.

The eighth Day.

On *Sunday* the first of *November*, and the eight Day of his Sicknesse, according to their former Agreement, after much adoe, Master *Butler* resisting to consent that he should be let Bloud, because (as he said) it was the
eighth

eighth Day, proffering to have left them, untill he was forced to stay and give his Consent; Doctor *Hamond* and others proving unto him, that it was not the eighth Day, his Highnesse being ill of a long Time before, (howsoever he strangely with a wonderfull Courage and Patience concealed the same;) his Highnesse being still after one, in the Presence of the foresaid Doctors, and divers others of very good Worth, in the Morning was drawne out of the *Median* of his right Arme, seven or eight Ounces of Bloud, during which Time he fainted not, bleeding well and abundantly, desiring and calling to them to take more, as they were about to stoppe the same, finding some Ease as it were upon the Instant: The Bloud being cold, was seene of all to be thinne, corrupt and putred, with a cholerick and blewish Water above, without any *Fibres*, or small Strings, therein scarce congealed.

This Day, after his Bleeding, he found great Ease, insomuch as since the Beginning of his Sicknesse he had not found himselfe so well, his Pulse inclining towards a more gentle Motion, missing his former wonted cruell Doublings, and his former Accidents being lesse and more mild. This Afternoone he was visited by his Royall Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, the *Palgrave*, with divers others of the Court; all which conceiving good Hopes, departed from thence reasonably cheerefull. Yet that Night (though better than others) he passed unquietly.

The ninth Day.

On *Monday* the second of *November*, and ninth of his Sicknesse, he became worse than ever, the great redoubling comming upon him, accompanied with Rednesse of Face, Shortnesse of Breath, Increase of Drought, Blacknesse of his Tongue, with excessive Heat, somewhat lesse than it was the seventh Day, and Benumbings, which now, with the Encrease of all the former Accidents tormented him; briefly, so many evill Signes appeared, that some of the Doctors then plainly affirmed, that by violence of the Disease, the Bloud and Humours were retired in Aboundance, with great Violence towards the Braine, filling the Veins abundantly (as afterwards in the opening did appeare) by reason whereof the Paine of his Head was extreame great, his Spirits being as it were overcome.

This Morning Doctor *Atkins* (a Phisitian of *London*, famous for his Practice, Honesty, and Learning) was sent by his Majesty to assist the rest in the Cure; whose Opinion (as they said) was, that his Highnesse's Disease was a corrupt putred Fever, the Seat whereof was under the Liver in the first Passages, the Malignity whereof, he thought, by reason of the Putrifaction (in almost the highest Degree) was venemous.

This Day and the next, he was visited by the King his Father, and others of the Court, whose exceeding Sorrow I cannot expresse; yet were they still fed with some good small Hopes of his Recovery. All this while, although he grew every Day worse and worse, yet none discouraged him with any Speech of Death (so loath they were to thinke of his Departure) he himselfe being so tormented with this, and the next Dayes Sicknesse, that he could

not thinke thereof; or if he had, yet the Physitians Courage, and Hope of Life, which good Opinion (his unspeakable Patience not any way complaining, so that he could not have beene knowne to be sicke, but by his Lookes) moved them to conceive, telling him there was no Danger, dashed the same.

This Night came upon him greater Alienations of Braine, Ravings and idle Speeches out of Purpose, calling for his Cloathes, and his Rapier, &c. saying, he must be gone, he would not stay, and I know not what else, to the great Griefe of all that heard him, whose Hopes now began to vanish.

The tenth Day.

On *Tuesday* the third of the Moneth, and the tenth of his Sicknesse, he became worse than before, all his former Accidents encreasing exceedingly, his Boundings being turned into Convulsions, his raving and benumbing becomming greater, the Fever more violent; whereupon Bleeding was againe proposed by Doctor *Mayerne*, and the Favourers thereof, who still affirmed, that he did mislike the too sparing Proceeding with his Highnesse; alledging, that in this Case of Extremity, they must (if they meane to save his Life) proceed in the Cure, as though it were to some meane Person, forgetting him to be a Prince, whom they had now in Hand, otherwise he said, (for ought he saw) because he was a Prince he must die, but if he were a meane Person, he might be saved. But this his Opinion being disallowed of most, they continued and increased their Cordials, giving unto him a Glyster, which brought away Abundance of corrupt and putred Matter, together with some Raysons, which (as was thought) he had eaten twelve Dayes before.

This Day also, for easing of the extreame Paine of his Head, the Hair was shaven away, and Pigeons and Cupping Glasses applyed to lessen and draw away the Humour, and that superfluous Blood from the Head, which he endured with wonderfull and admirable Patience, as though he had beene insensible of Paine; yet all without any good, save perhaps some small seeming Hope of Comfort for the present.

Now began the Pilots, who guided this fraile Barque of his Highnesse's Body, almost to despaire, to escape the ensuing Tempests; some of whose Lookes did now more than ever discourage the rest. For this Night he became very weake, the Fever augmenting, the Raving becomming worse than ever, in which he began to toss and tumble, to sing in his Sleepe, profering to have leaped out of the Bed, gathering the Sheets together, the Convulsions being more violent; In which Extremity, his Tongue, Mouth, and Throat being more dry than ever, yet called he not for any kind of Moisture, complaining of Thirst, which evidently shewed, that the Vehemencie of his Disease had overcome the Seat of Reason, otherwise he could not but have complained, as he did before.

The eleventh Day.

On *Wednesday* the fourth of November, and the eleventh Day of his Sicknesse,

ness, all Hopes of Recovery were lesse than ever, the Physitians, Chirurgeons, and Apothecaries beginning to be dismaied, but that like stout Pilots, they did beare it out bravely, so long as was possible; yet (as Men perplexed in such an Extremity) the most Part were of Opinion, that the *Crisis* was to be seene, before a finall Resolution, of which there was as yet small Appearance: all the former Accidents meane while encreased, the whole World beginning to be afraide. This Day a Cocke was cloven by the Backe, and applyed unto the Soles of his Feet, but in vaine; the Cordials also were redoubled in Number and Quantitie, but without any Profit.

This Afternoone his Majestie hearing of his undoubted Danger (although more sober than at other Times) came to see him; but being advertised how Matters went, and were likely to go, and what Addition of Griefe it would be unto him, to see his best beloved Sonne in that Extremity, he was at last perswaded to depart without Visitation, yet giving Order and Command before his Departure, that from thenceforth (because his Highnesse was continually molested with a Number, which out of their Love came to visit him) no Creature should be admitted to see him, save those who of Necessitie must tend upon him, untill the Event and Issue of his Disease was seene, which was accordingly done; his Highnesse for his more Ease, being removed into another longer and quieter * Chamber. But now all Things appearing to be out of Frame, and confusedly Evill, without Hope of Amendment, whereof the Archbishop of *Canterbury* hearing, he made so much the more Haste unto his Highnesse, whom after some Discourse fitting that Time, seeing so much Care to be taken for the mortall Body, the immortall Soule being † neglected; he asked his Highnesse, whether there had beene any Prayers said in his Chamber, since his Sicknesse, or no? To whom he answered, that there had not: aleaging the Cause to have beene, the continuall Toile of the Doctors, Apothecaries, and Surgeons about him; and further, that untill now, he was not put in Minde thereof. But that, for all that, he had not failed to pray quietly by himselfe, which his Answer pleased them well; the Archbishop againe demanded, if his Highnesse would now from thenceforth be contented to have Prayers said in his Chamber, which he willingly assented unto, asking which of his Chaplaines were there present; amongst whom, finding that Doctor *Milborne* Deane of *Rochester* was there present, he willed the said *Deane* to be called, as being one, whom for his Learning, good Carriage, and profitable Preaching, above all the rest he ever affected and respected.

The Archbishop meane while not willing too much to disquiet his Highnesse, called for to say Prayers that Evening at his Highnesse's bed-side, where speaking somewhat low, fearing to offend his distempered Eares, his Highnesse willed him to speake aloud, thereafter repeating the Confession

* Just over this Chamber (wherein he dyed) did the End of the fatall Rainebowe, aforementioned, hang (as Doctor *Mayerne* observed.)

† Notwithstanding the Prince was se-

riously remembred, to commend himselfe into the Hands of God (before this) by Doctor *Mayerne*, who found his Resolution therein, to be most heavenly and divine.

of his Faith Word by Word after him; from henceforth the foresaid Deane continued to pray dayly with him at his Bed-side untill his Departure. This Night was unquiet as the rest.

The twelfth Day.

On *Thursday* Morning the fifth of *November*, and twelfth of his Sicknesse, Newes was sent unto his Majesty of the undoubted Danger, and that there now remained no Hopes or Means of his Highnesse's Recovery, but with desperate and dangerous Attempts, which his Majesty considering, gave Leave and absolute Power to Doctor *Mayerne* (his chiefe Phisitian) to doe what he would of himselfe, without Advice of the rest, if in such an Extremity it were possible to doe any Thing for his Highnesse's Safety; but he weighing the Greatnesse of the Cure and Emminency of the Danger, would not for all that adventure, to doe any Thing of himselfe, without Advise of the rest (which he alwayes tooke) saying, that it should never be said in after Ages, that he had killed the King's eldest Sonne; his Majesty meane while (whose Sorrow no Tongue can expresse) not willing, nor being able to stay so neere the Gates of so extreame Sorrow, more like a dead, than a living Man, full of most wonderfull Heavinessse, removed to *Theobalds* (a House twelve Miles from *London*) there to expect the dolefull Event.

Meane while amongst the Doctors *Mayerne*, *Hamond*, *Butler*, and *Atkins*, Bleeding was now the third Time proposed; some of them (as I thinke Doctor *Mayerne*) affirming, that the Bloud, which by the Vapours being violently thrust upwards, filling the Braine, did cause by the maligne Acrimony and Quantity thereof, Ravings and Convulsions; which Accidents (although without seeming Paine, because the Spirits were oppressed) did put his Highnesse in imminent Danger, more than the Benumings, the Cause whereof was within the Ventricles of the Braine, as also the said hot and cholerick Bloud in the Membranes; all which considered, and that his Highnesse was yet of sufficient Strength of Body, his Pulse also able to endure, they said, the Opening of a Vein was in their Judgement the onely Meanes left: But the rest of the Counsell misliking this Advise, did conclude to double and treble the Cordials, making a Revulsion from the Head with a Clister, whose Working was to small Effect; save that his Highnesse became more sensible thereafter: In the meane Time the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, hearing of the Danger, came unto his Highnesse in great Haste; where finding him in extreame Danger, he thought it now more than high Time to goe about another Kind of Cure; and therefore, like a wise and skilfull Phisitian, first trying the Humour of his Patient, before he would proceed in the Cure, he addressed himselfe gently and mildly to aske how his Highnesse found himselfe since his Departure; at whose Reply, seeing every Thing amisse, he began againe further to feele his Mind, first preparing him his Antidote against the Feare of Death, that the Preparation thereunto, Meditation, and thinking thereof, could, nor would bring Death the sooner, but the contrary rather, arming himselfe so much the more against it; withall putting him in Mind of the *Excellency* and *Immortality* of the Soule, with the unspeakeable
Joyes

Joyes prepared for GOD's *Children*; and the Baseness and Misery of the Earth, with all the vaine, inconstant, momentary, and fraile Pleasures thereof, in respect of heavenly *Joyes*; with many other most excellent Meditations against the same Feare of Death.

Having thus prepared him to heare, he went further, putting him in Mind of the *Exceeding great Danger he was in*; and that although he might recover (as he hoped he should) yet he might also die; and that since it was an inevitable and irrevocable Necessity that *All must once die*, late or soone, (Death being the Reward of Sinne) he asked, if it should so fall out, whether or no he was well pleased to submit himselfe to the *Will of God*; to which he answered, yea withall his Heart. Then the Archbishop went on demanding Questions of his Faith; First of the Religion and Church wherein he lived; which his Highness acknowledged to be the onely true Church, wherein onely, and without which there was no Salvation; Then of his Faith in Christ onely, by him, and in him, without any Merits of his owne, being assured of the Remission of all his Sinnes; which he professed he did, hoping and trusting onely therein; Then of the Resurrection of the Body, Life Everlasting, and the Joyes of Heaven; all which he confessed and beleaved, hoping with all Saints to enjoy the same.

This Conference, with a great deale more, the Archbishop had with him to this Purpose; (which may also give unto you absolute Satisfaction of his Soules Health, if thereunto his Life be considered.) After which, fearing he should too much disquiet him, with many good Exhortations, he tooke Leave for that Time.

This Day being the fifth of *November*, a Day of everlasting Remembrance and Thanksgiving for our Deliverance from the Powder Treason, was Order given every where unto all Churches, to pray for his Highness, untill when, the great Danger was unknowne to the Commons, which was effectually as ever, untill his Death performed.

This Day, and at sundry other Times since his Confusion of Speech, he would many Times call upon Sir *David Murray* Knight (the onely Man in whom he had put choise Trust) by his Name *David, David, David*; who when he came unto his Highness, demanding his Pleasure, in Extremity of Paine, and Stupefaction of Senses confounding his Speech, sighing, he did reply, I would say somewhat, but I cannot utter it; which Forme he still used, so long as he had any perfect Sense or Memory.

This done, also (but too late) to assist the rest, came Doctor *Palmer*, and Doctor *Giffard*, famous Physitians for their Honesty, Learning, and Physick, who with the former foure went all six to a Consultation, what now remained finally to be done; wherein by some (as they say) was againe propounded the Necessity of Bleeding; the Opportunity whereof, by the Evacuation of his Belly, was now over passed.

In the End, the Doctors (long before this despairing of his Recovery) did at last agree upon *Diascordium*, as the onely Meanes (under GOD) now remaining, which tempered with cooler Cordials, was given him in the Presence of many honourable Gentlemen, about Tenne a Clock at Night, the
Operation

Operation whereof was small or none; neither all this while did Nature of it selfe incline towards Sweating, and to force the same they thought it to no Purpose. This Night was unquiet as the rest, his Accidents remaining in the same Sort, but now and then speaking, but so confusedly that he could not be understood.

Among the rest this Night, about Midnight, Master *Nasmitb* his Majestie's Surgeon, sitting on his Bed-side, his Highnesse pulled him unto him by the Hand, speaking unto him somewhat, but so confusedly, by reason of the rattling of his Throat, that he could not be understood; which his Highnesse perceiving, giving a most grievous Sigh, as it were in Anger turned him from him; thereafter (unlesse he were urged) never speaking unto him, or any.

In this Extremity Sir *David Murray* (who in this one Death suffered many) came unto him, intreating him, and asking him, that if he had any Thing to say which troubled him, that he would betimes make knowne his Mind: but his Spirits being overcome, and Nature weake, he was not able to say any Thing, save that of all other Businesse, he gave Order for the burning of a Number of *Letters* in a certaine Cabinet in his Closet, which presently after his Death was done.

Not long after (as I thinke) on *Friday* Morning about Three a Clock, his Back-bone, Shoulders, Armes and Tongue, by reason of the horrible Violence of the Convulsions, disjoyntly deviding themselves, the Effect shewing that the retentive Power was gone, the Spirits subdued, the Seat of Reason overcome, and Nature spent; in which Extremity, Fainting and Swooning, he seemed twice or thrice to be quite gone; at which Time there arose wonderfull great Shouting, Weeping, and Crying in the Chamber, Court, and adjoining Streets, which was so great (together with something else which they used) that they brought him againe.

This Crie was so great, that all those in the Streets thought he had beene dead; whereupon it went for the most part current, in the City and Countrey, that he was gone.

I am not able to expresse the unspeakeable Sorrow which every where was for this wofull Newes, chiefly in that dolefull House, you may imagine no Thought can thinke the Greatnesse thereof, nor Understanding conceive the same, this little which I have said, overlading my Weaknesse.

Thus given over of all into the Hands of God, did his Highnesse lie in extreame Paine; during which, still now and then (till two or three Houres before his Death) looking up, and speaking, or endeavouring to speake, which for Confusion and Extremity of Paine (being so neere gone) could not be understood, all the World were ready in this Despaire, to bring cordiall Waters *Diaphoretick*, and *Quintessentiall* Spirits to be given unto him; amongst which, one in the Afternoone was ministred; which set that little Nature remaining, on worke, forcing a small Sweat, which, too late, was the first he had, Sir *Walter Raleigh* also did send another from the Tower, which whether or no to give him, they did a while deliberate.

After

After the Operation of the first, his Highnesse rested quietly a little while, presently after falling into his former Extremities; whereupon (as the last desperate Remedy) with the Leave and Advise of the Lords of the Counsell there present, the Cordiall sent by Sir *Walter Raleigh* (after it had beene tasted and proved) was given unto him; but in vaine, save that forcing that Sparke of Life that remained, it brought him againe into a Sweat; after which, as before, he had some Rest for a little while. But, no Remedy, Death would needs be Conquerour; in vaine did they strive against the Streame, for he shortly after became wonderfull ill againe; Sight and Sense failing, as also all the infallible Signes of Death approaching; In which Extremity, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* being there present, who seeing it was now the Time of Times, before the last Gaspe, to minister some Comfort unto his Highnesse (if as yet there were any Sence remaining) came unto him, first speaking aloud; putting him in Mind of all those Things which he had spoken unto him the Day before in his perfect Sense, calling aloud in his Eare, to remember CHRIST JESUS, to beleieve, hope, and trust onely in him, with assured Confidence of Mercy, to lift up his Heart, and prepare him to meete the Lord JESUS, with many other divine Exhortations: Thereafter calling more loud than ever, thrice together in his Eare, Sir heare you mee, heare you mee, heare you mee; If you heare mee, in certaine Signe of your Faith, and Hope of the blessed Resurrection, give us for our Comfort a Signe, by lifting up of your Hands, which he did, lifting up both his Hands together: Again he desired him yet to give him another Signe, by lifting up his Eyes; which having done, they let him alone; for the Archbishop had with Streames of Teares, powred out at his Bed-side, a most exceeding powerfull passionate Prayer.

All this while also, from three a Clock in the Morning untill Night, there was continuall Prayer in the House, and in every Place where the Danger was knowne; by which his Time growing neerer and neerer, and he weaker and weaker; thus did he lie, patiently striving betwixt Death and Life, unavoidable Necessity, and GOD's Will forcing Patience, and againe invincible Courage and Magnanimity (loath to be overcome) shewing some Indignation and Contempt of Death: yea Death it selfe (for all his Cruelty) stood a long while hovering in Doubt what to doe, so did his Highnesse's young Yeares, his Triumphes at Hand, the Teares, and exceeding Sorrow of Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, the howling Cries of his Servants, and of the whole Land (who said, her Losse, above all was most unspeakeable) move his hard Heart to Pitty: But a greater Crie before this, having outcried those Cries (even the Crie of our Sinnes) there was no Remedy: for Death (although unwilling) not being able to resist the forepassed Decree, must needs strike the cruell Stroke; many Times did he from that Morning untill Night offer to shoote and thrust in his Dart a little, yet pulling it presently backe againe, as it were of Purpose delaying the Time, expecting some mercifull Message from Heaven, untill at last the cloudy Night bewraying the irrevocable Doome, by Nature's Decay, the Excesse of Paine having taken away the Sense thereof, of meere Pitty, that thereby he might open unto him the

Doore of Heaven for his Passage into Glory, being loath that the Angell, (who had long attended to convey his Soule unto Heaven, should make any longer Stay) he thrust his Dart quite thorow; after which, his Highnesse quietly, gently, and patiently, halfe a Quarter, or thereabouts, before eight a Clocke at Night, yeelded up his Spirit unto his Immortall Maker, Saviour, and Restorer, being attended unto Heaven, with as many Prayers, Teares, and strong Cries, as ever Soule was, on *Fryday* the sixth of *November*, 1612. The Corps shortly after (as the Custome is) was laide along upon a Table on the Floore, being the fairest, clearest, and best proportioned, without any kinde of Spot or Blemish, as ever was seene.

On the Morrow after came the Lords of the Councell, by Appointment from his Majestie, to give Order for the Opening of his Body, &c. which was the same Night effected, about Five a Clocke in the Evening, in Presence of the Physitians and Chirurgions who assisted the Cure, together with the Physician of the Prince *Palatine*, with many other Knights and Gentlemen, in the Chamber where he dyed, by the Chyrurgeons of his Majestie, and his late Highnesse, under all their Hands, as followeth.

The Skinne, like that of a dead Man, blacke; but no Way spotted with Blacknesse, or pale Markes, much lesse marked with Purples like Flea-bites, which could shew any contagious or pestilentiall Venome. About the Place of his Kidneys, Hips, and behind the Thighes, full of Rednesse; and by reason that with great Paine he had a long while lien upon his Backe, his Belly somewhat swollen and stretched out, by reason of the Windinesse which issued out of the smallest Opening made in the Navill, somewhat high naturally, incontinently the Belly falling; the Stomacke whole and wholsome within and without, having never all his Sicknesse Time beene troubled with Vomitting, Loathings, or Yealping, or any other Accident which could particularly shew that it was attainted. The Liver without, in his highest Parts, marked with small Spots, and in the lower with small blackish Lines, paler and blacker than was fitting: The Gall, and Bladder, void of any Humour, full of Wind: The Spleen on the top, and in the lower End blackish, filled with a blacke heavy Blood: The Kidneys faire, and without any Blemish: The Midriffe under the Filme, or Membrane, containing the Heart (which contained a little Moisture) spotted with blacke, as it were a leadish Colour, by reason of the Bruising: The Lungs almost for the greatest Part blacke, the rest all spotted with blacke, all imbrewed, and full of adust Blood, with a corrupt and thicke Serocitie, which by a Vent. made in the Body of the Lungs, came forth foaming in great Abundance; in which doing, and in cutting the small Skinne which invironeth the Heart, to shew the same, the Surgeon by chance having cut the Trunck of the great Veine, the most Part of the Bloud issued out into the Chest, leaving the lower Veines empty; upon Sight whereof the Company did draw Consequents of an extreame Heat and Fulnesse, the which yet appeared more evident in this, that the Windepipe with the Throat and Tongue were covered with a thicke Blackenesse; and amongst other Accidents, the Tongue cleft, and dry in
many

many Places: The Heart sound and dry, in all Appearance, good in all his Qualities.

The hinder Veines, which are in the inmost Filme of the Braine, called *Pia mater*, swolne and stufft with Abundance of Blood, a great deale more than naturall, the Substance of the Braine faire and cleare, but the Ventricles thereof full of a cleare Water, which after the Incision ranne forth in great Abundance: One Part of which Accidents (as they thought) was ingendred, onely by reason of the Fever maligne, by reason of the Putrifaction of divers Humours gathered together of a long Time before, his Highnesse not being subject to any dangerous Sicknesse by Birth; the other Part, by reason of the Convulsions, Resoundings, and Benummings, which by reason of the Fulnesse, choaking the naturall Heat, and destroying the Vitals, by their Malignitie, have conveyed his Highnesse to the Grave, without any Token or Accident of Poyson.

Thus (or very neere thus) lost we the Delight of Mankind, the Expectation of Nations, the Strength of his Father, and Glory of his Mother, Religion's second Hope: Foolish People imagine, that they have done enough, when they have railed upon the Physitians, as though they could have altered Providence, by prolonging his Life, never truly beholding the Omnipotent Power bereaving him, which although in his Sicknesse, untill the Blow was given, could not be seene, yet now (even of the Blind) may be easily discerned. And I pray you, if we narrowly looke upon the Practise of the Meanes, what Omission of the Duty shall we find therein? Some neere his Highnesse, together with Doctor *Mayerne*, at first called and wished he might bleed; others againe, misliked the same; both learned.

The Physitians, although jarring at first in their Propositions and Reasons, at last did every Thing by a common Consent under all their Hands; nothing was wanting, which either Art or Experience could thinke thereof, whatsoever they did, they always thought most safest and best. They toiled continually Day and Night, and if it pleased not GOD to give a Blessing to the Meanes, must they therefore be blamed? You know *Paul* may plant, and *Apollos* may water, but it is GOD that giveth the Increase. But imagine, there had beene any such Strife amongst them, the Physitians, as it is reported, what should we thinke thereof, but that the GOD of Order will sometime have his Will brought to passe, by a Kind of Confusion, as he overthrew the Tower of *Babel*, with the Hosts of *Midian*, &c. So in Physicke, when his Will must be done, if it please him to breake and take away the Staffe of Bread, not blessing the Meanes; who, I say, can lett him (whose Will must be our Law) to doe whatsoever he will.

Indeed his Highnesse's great and extraordinary Patience, striving so long to over master, and hide the same in his Health, in my Judgement, did much wrong the Physitians, who by Reason of his Patience, never dreamed of his Danger; as also his most wonderfull and matchlesse Patience all the Time of his Sicknesse, shewing no Kind of froward Disposition; lying in Shew (for any Complaints were heard of him) as though he had never been sicke nor sore. As also the Urines, which untill a little before his Death,

shewed no such Danger; with the dangerous unknowne State of his greatest Griefe closely rooted in his Head (as in the Opening hath beene seene) which could not at first be fully knowne, untill too late; the Picture of Death by a strange extraordinary Countenance, having from the Beginning possessed him: vaine Rumors also have beene spreade Abroad, that he was poysoned: But if the former Discourse be well considered, his Death, in my Judgement, will appeare to have beene naturall, grounded upon very urgent Causes. For the Phisitians in Opening found no such Cause in his Internalls, upon his Skinne being no kinde of Spot, or any such Suspition. To surmise as some have done, that he was poisoned by a *Sent*, considering the Premises, mee thinkes were great Folly, contrary to the Opinions of all the learned, who upon this Relation to his Majesty, proved him free from any such Infection: For my Part, my Skill reacheth not to determine of any Thing; onely I thinke it best to hold, that he died in the Rage of a malicious and extraordinary burning Feaver, wherein his Vitals and Senses were from the Beginning so over-pressed, stupified, and amazed, chiefly the Heart and Head, which notwithstanding all Cordials and other Helpes used (God not blessing the Meanes) could never be releevd.

The *Monday* after, the Right Honourable the Lords of the Privy Counsell of his Majesty, with exceeding Care came to Saint *James's*, to give Order for all Things belonging to so wofull a Businesse; according to which, the whole House, Chappell, great Chamber, Presence, Lobby, Privy Chamber, and Bed Chamber, were all hung in Black with all Things fitting, thick set with Scutcheons of his Highnesse's divers Armes, which being done, under the State in the Chamber where he first sickened, appointed for the Coffin, there was a Place erected above an Ell in Heigth, where it was to stand to be watched untill the Funerall; Threescore and tenne Gentlemen of his Servants, ordinary and extraordinary (which were all he had) being appointed Night and Day to attend the same, tenne at a Time, it being so ordered that the tenne who watched in the Night, did constantly wait the third Day after; Meane while was Order given that the Funerall should be solemnized on *Monday* the 7. of *December* following; untill which Time, I will not renew Griefes in remembring the unspeakeable Sorrow which was in that wofull House, now longing to doe their last Duty.

The Time of the Funerall now approaching, on *Thursday* the third Day of *December* the Coffin was removed from the Chamber where it stood all this while, unto the Privy Chamber, there being watched for that Night. On the Morrow it was removed from thence to the Presence Chamber, where it remained all that Night untill the next Day, being *Saturday* at three a Clock in the Afternoone, at which Time his Crowne and Cap of State were set upon a Cushion at the Head of the Coffin; after which the Heralds marching before the same, the Coffin was removed by the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber unto the great Chamber, where his Guard attended, in which it was set downe for the Space of a Quarter of an Houre; thereafter being lifted againe by the foresaid Gentlemen, it was brought downe Staires towards the Chappell, where againe for a pretty while it was set downe in the Court; where

where being lifted againe, the Gentlemen of his Majestie's Chappell singing mournfull Ditties before them, it was brought into the Chappell, and there placed under a Canopy set with great Armes of the Union at full, chained with divers other Scutcheons and severall Armes, there to remaine untill the Funerall Day; This *Sunday* at Night before the Funerall, his Representation was brought (made in so short Warning, as like him as could be) and apparelled with Cloathes, having his Creation Robes above the same, his Cap and Crowne upon his Head, his Garter, Coller, with a *George* about his Neck, his golden Staffe in his Right Hand lying crosse a little; briefly, every Thing as he was apparelled at the Time of his Creation; which being done, it was laid on the Back on the Coffin, and fast bound to the same, the Head thereof being supported by two Cushions, just as it was to be drawne along the Streets in the Funerall Chariot, drawne by eight black Horses, decked with his severall Scutcheons and Plumes.

But now the Time being come, and all Things to adorne the Triumphes of his mournfull *Hadadrimon's* black Day, the Funerall being foure Houres in Marshalling and Marching, set forth about Tenne a Clock in the Morning, there being (as was thought) the Number of 2000 Mourners in black; the Relation whereof were now to no Purpose, since the Order, Rankes, and Names are already printed in a Booke to be seene: As it passed along, the whole World, sensible and insensible Things, and Creatures seemed to mourn, and have Compassion, Heaven and Earth and all: There was to be seene an innumerable Multitude of all Sorts of Ages and Degrees of Men, Women, and Children, whose wonderfull Sorrow who is able to expresse? Some holding down their Heads, not being able to endure so sorrowfull a Sight, all mourning, which they expressed by severall Sorts of Lamentation and Sorrow, some Weeping, Crying, Howling, Wringing of their Hands, others halfe dead, Swooning, sighing inwardly, others holding up their Hands, passionately bewayling so great a Losse, with Rivers, nay, with an Ocean of Teares: Well, on they came at last to *Westminster-Abbey*, the Buriall Place, where after the dolefull Musick of all Sorts being ended, the Coffin was set under a great stately Herse, built quadrangle-wise with eight Pillars, shewing three to the View on each side four square, Canopy like, rising small on the Top, trimmed and set thick within and without with divers Scutchions, small Flagges, and Pensils of his Highnesse's severall Armes of the Union chained, *Scotland, Wales, Cornewall, Chester, Rothsay, Carrick, &c.* mingled here and there, with his Highnesse's Motto, *Fax mentis honestæ Gloria*, and that of the Funerall Herse, *Juvat ire per Altum*. After which the whole Assembly having taken their Places, Banners, Bannarets, and Pensills of all Sorts being at rest, after an universall Silence, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (who was appointed to doe his Highnesse the last Duty) was seene in the Pulpit, who with a grave sober Countenance, shewing the inward Sorrow of his Heart, after a little Pause and Prayer, did with exceeding Passion make the Funerall Sermon; of which, though you write that you are marvailous desirous to heare the Relation, yet I am loath to say any Thing, fearing to wrong so great and grave a Person: Neverthelesse, since I have adven-
tured

tured thus farre (I hope without Offence) I shall here (as neere as I can remember) rehearse a Word or two thereof, whereby you may judge of the rest.

The Text was out of the 82. *Psalme*, the sixth and seventh Verses: *I have said yee are Gods, and yee are Children of the most high: But yee shall die as a Man, and yee Princes shall fall like others.* Where after he had most learnedly, by way of Introduction, spoken of the Authour, Occasion, Scope, and Meaning of this *Psalm*, he divided the same into two maine Branches. First, the Exaltation of *Princes*; *I have said yee are Gods, &c.* Secondly, in what Respect they are so called. Again, in the Humiliation, lest they should be out of Measure exalted, he admirably proved, by infinite Variety of Examples, both divine and morall, the Vanity and Inconstancy of Greatnesse, with all the shadowish Toyes thereof: Thirdly, for ocular Proove and Use of all, inviting their Eyes to the present dolefull Spectacle of their late ever renowned *Prince*, who, not long agoe, was as fresh, brave, and gallant as the best of them, unto whom all the Delights and Pleasures of the World did begge for Acquaintance, lacking nothing which Heart could wish for, who yet now for our Sinnes lay thus low, bereaved of Life and all Being, was forced to prove the Truth of this Text, not onely to fall, but to fall as others.

After which, when he had most truly and excellently shewed a Part of his Highnesse's Excellencies, and many noble Vertues (for all was not possible) chiefly his rare and singular Piety both in himselfe, and in the Government of his Houshold, which he so extolled, that he professed he would not be ashamed hereafter to propose the same for a Rule unto himselfe. For Consolation unto them all, he shewed the exceeding Measure of Felicity, his Highnesse had attained unto by Death, and that now, in Respect of himselfe he was not to be pittied, being compared with those, who had out lived him, the same one brave Ship lying amongst a Number of others, all tending towards one Haven, whither at length they must needs all come, or ship-broken perish by the Way, which setting forth betimes, as it were, new, fresh, and strong, with a faire Gale of Wind, arriveth quickly without any Danger at the Haven of Safety; whereas the rest loytering a long Time by these, and these Inticements, set forth at last in a more dangerous Season, some overladen, some missing of their Way, some with Leakes, some wracked, some starved, some drowned, all exceedingly Tempest-beaten, with much adoe recovering their desired Haven; Even so, he said, his late Highnesse had gotten the like Advantage of all those who had out-lived him; all which laded with infinite more Sinnes, indangering their safe Passage, must either perish by the Way, or storme beaten, arrive with much Toyle, whither he betimes with Ease attained. So with Exhortation unto all, to make right Use thereof, with exceeding great Passion and many Teares, he ended.

This very Day also the two Universities, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, did solemnize this blacke Day, with all the Signes of Sorrow which could be imagined, having in their two Universitie Churches Funerall Sermons, all mourning, both in Heart, Habite, and Countenance; the Forerunners of which

which their extreame Sorrow, long before this, in their severall Bookes of mourning *Epitaphs* burst forth, *Oxford* in her *Iusta Oxon*: and *Cambridge* in her *Epicedium Cantabrig*. &c. with divers other Orations to this Purpose. The Funerall Sermon, in *Saint Maries, Oxon*, was preached by Doctor *Goodwin*, Deane of *Christ-Church* Colledge there; the Text being out of *Esay*, the 57. 1. *The Righteous perisheth, and no Man considereth it in his Heart; and mercifull Men are taken away from the Evill to come.* In which he was not onely exceedingly moved himselfe, but also moved the whole Univerfitie and City, to shedde Fountaines of Teares.

The other of *Cambridge*, was preached by Doctor *Carey*, Master of *Christs* Colledge, and Vice-Chancellour of the Univerfitie, his Text being out of the second of *Samuel*, Chap. 3. verse 34. the last Words of the Verse: *And all the People wept againe for him.* In speaking whereof, and weeping himselfe, he made all the People weepe againe and againe.

The Archbishop's Sermon (as aforesaid) being ended, the Earles, Lords, and Barons, &c. by this Time having offered up their severall Banners, and Honours which they carryed; as also the great Officers of his House, Sir *Thomas Challenor* Chamberlaine, Sir *Charles Cornwallis* Treasurer, Sir *John Holles* Comptrouler, together with his three Gentlemen-Ushers, *Walter Alexander*, *Anthony Abington*, and *John Lumley*, having all by degrees (Sir *Thomas Challenor* beginning) broken their White Staves and Rods crosse-wise over the Coffin, thereby resigning their Places, the Assembly dissolved; the Coffin with the Representation (as is before said) remaining still under the Hearse, to be seene of all, untill the 19. of the said Moneth of *December*, when decked and trimmed with Cloathes, as he went when he was alive, Robes, Collar, Crowne, Golden Rodde in his Hand, &c. it was set up in a Chamber of the said Chappell at *Westminster*, amongst the Representations of the Kings and Queenes, his famous Predecessors, where it remaineth for ever to be seene.

He was of a comely, tall, middle Stature, about five Foot and eight Inches high, of a strong, streight, well-made Body (as if Nature in him had shewed all her cunning) with somewhat broad Shoulders, and a small Waiste, of an amiable Majesticke Countenance, his Haire of an aborne Collour, long faced, and broad Forehead, a piercing grave Eye, a most gracious Smile, with a terrible Frowne, courteous, loving, and affable; his Favour, like the Sunne, indifferently seeming to shine upon all; naturally shamefaced, and modest, most patient, which he shewed both in Life and Death; slow to Anger, that even then, when he was many Times most offended, he would (overcomming himselfe) say nothing; mercifull he was after he had a little punished the Offendors; neither did hee judge rashly, but after due Examination of both Parties; Dissimulation he esteemed most base, chiefly in a Prince, not willing, nor by Nature being able to flatter, fawne, or use those kindly, who deserved not his Love. Quicke he was to conceive any thing, not rash, but mature in Deliberation, yet most constant having resolved: true of his Promise; most secret even from his Youth, so that he might have beene trusted in any thing that did not force a Discovery: being of a close Disposition,

tion, not easie to be known, or pried into: of a fearlesse, noble, heroicke, and undaunted Courage; thinking nothing unpossible, that ever was done by any: a few faire Words prevailed more with him, than all the Threats of the World: very pittifull and tender-hearted unto any in Misery, whom, upon Petition, he ever some Way releevd.

Most ardent in his Love to Religion, to which Love, and all the good Causes thereof, his Heart was bent by some Meanes or other (if he had lived) to have shewed, and some Way to have compounded the unkind Jarres thereof; he well shewed his Love to good Men, and Hatred of the Evill, in discerning a good Preacher from a vaine-glorious, in whom above all Things he abhorred Flattery, loving and countenancing the Good; of the Idle and Loytering never speaking but with Disdaine; in which he shewed he had a Heart flexible to Good, and all kind of Goodnesse, which (as I thinke) was the Cause one Day, he uttered this Speech of the Deane of *Rockester* his Chaplaine.

That he thought, whereas he and others like him, at their first Entry into the Pulpit, did looke him in the Face, their Countenance did, as it were say unto him: Sir, you must heare me diligently; you must have a Care to observe what I say: As also in his Constancie in observing the Prayer Time, duely before Dinner and Supper, which untill his Death he never willingly omitted, whatsoever Hast he had, or were it never so late.

What should I yet adde, his Conscience of an Oath, that he was never heard (I now appeale to Envy it selfe) to take God's Name in vaine, with an Addition of any other seeming Light, much lesse horrible Oathes, with full swinge of Passion; witnesse the Testimony of the Most Reverend, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in his Funerall Sermon, wherein was remembred by him, (amongst many other Things) that ever memorable Reply of his Highnesse, who being asked one Day (by one that greatly rejoyced, his Highnesse was no Swearer) why he did not sweare in Play aswell as others; to his eternal Praise made this Reply, That he knew no Game worthy of an Oath.

To live long he never desired, nor aspired, many Times saying, that it was to small Purpose for a brave gallant Man, when the Prime of his Dayes were past, to live so long untill he was full of Aches, Soares, &c. uttering contemptible Speeches of Death; affirming many Times, that he neither desired, nor aspired, or hoped to live long, and that when he should be sicke three or foure Daies together, then God have Mercy on me, would he say.

Popery, with all the Adjuncts and Adherents thereof, he hated to the Death; yet he would now and then use particular Papists very kindly, shewing that he hated not their Persons, but their Opinions.

I must not forget his Love to Learning, to the Muses, to all the Learned who any Way did excell; to the two Universities, chiefly *Oxford* (because mourning *Cambridge* did never enjoy his Presence) whose unspeakeable Sorrow for his Death, will shew the great Portion of his Love they enjoyed. I should but increase Sorrow, to tell you how exceeding kindly their Vice-chancellor, Doctors, Graduates, and Students were used, when they came to see him at *Woodstock*; what Care he had to give them Contentment, how
carefull

carefull he was, and what speciall Commands were generally given throughout the whole House, that they should not want the same; of his mild and grave Carriage towards them, and his loving Speeches in their Absence.

No lesse carefull he was to obey the King his Father in every Thing, being also very diligent to oblerve and honour the Queene his Mother, so much as in him lay, or as possible he might; wise he was to know and not know, see and not see, almost every Thing which was done or said. Wonderfull was his Care and Wisedome in governing of his House, and Revenues, giving Order and seeing every Thing done almost himselfe, so that scarce were there any of his Houshold Servants whom he did not know by Name, amongst whom there was not one knowne or suspected Papist, his Care being so great, that all Communicants Names should be written up, that he might know if there were any, that would not receive.

So that I may most truly affirme, that since the Beginning of Princes no House did ever exceede him in all Things; His Revenues he left increased by thousands a Yeare; sparing he was, yet liberall where either Honesty, Desert, or Poverty did move him; neither (whatsoever the World thinke) was he ever knowne to give away any Thing, or promise any Thing but upon mature Deliberation; as for those Pensions which he gave a little before his Death, they were either given to such as had very well deserved them, or who having spent their Meanes in his Service, he could not out of his noble Disposition but relieve, thinking it better to doe so, than bestow upon them other unknowne Suites and Leases, which otherwise he must needs have done; he was loving and kind to Strangers, whose Hearts upon small Acquaintance he did easily gaine. In State Matters and Petitions not pertaining unto him, he was ever sparing and not willing to meddle: In his owne Affaires touching Coppy-holds, Leases, or any Thing of like Nature, whatsoever Abuses were, he ever redressed, or minded to helpe, upon Petition of the Party aggrieved.

Friday being the Day wherein he died (I know not by what naturall Inclination, or Motion) he did not of a long Time before his Death love, misliking it above all the Dayes of the Weeke, upon which he would not willingly use any kind of Exercise, or ride any Journey, sometimes not so much as play at Cards thereon, alleaging that he continually found some Indisposition upon that Day, and that he never had good Luck upon a *Friday*, such an ominous Conceit of the Dismalnesse of this Day having possessed him, which at length proved to be the Period of his Dayes.

He loved and did mightily strive to doe somewhat of every Thing, and to excell in the most excellent; he greatly delighted in all Kind of rare Inventions and Arts, and in all Kind of Engines belonging to the Warres, both by Sea and Land: In the Bravery and Number of great Horses; in shooting and levelling of great Peeces of Ordnance; in the Ordering and Marshalling of Armes; in Building and Gardening, and in all Sorts of rare Musique, chiefly the Trumpet and Drumme; in Limming, Painting, and Carving, in all Sorts of excellent and rare Pictures, which he had brought unto him from all Countries.

What should I say more of him? over and above all these Things, he had a certaine Kind of extraordinary unspeakable Excellency, my fraile Penne and dull Stile not being able to expresse the same, gathered (out of Question) by him long agoe from the plentifull Garden of the King his Fathers all admired *Bazilicondoron*, long since in his Youth dedicated unto him.

I dare sweare, none will thinke an ill Thought, much lesse speake an ill Word of him, unlesse it be some *Janus-faced Machivillian*, or hollow-hearted Gunpowderers, who as they would have blowne up King, Progeny, and State, cannot choose now but barke against him, who was a Terroure to all the Papists in Christendome.

As he was a Man, no question but he had Imperfections as others (otherwise he could not have conversed with Men) which I professe, I neither knew, nor delighted to search after; or if I had, you know of all others, I am rather bound to cover and conceale the same with *Shem* and *Japhet*, than with *Ham* to shew his Nakednesse; if I were able, yet certainly whatsoever they were, such a Number of noble Vertues did cover and weigh downe the same, eclipsing their Light, that they could not easily be perceived, unlesse it were perhaps by some maliciously bent, who though they might have gathered great Store of Honey, have rather chosen (like Drones) to open the Gall; whom I also leave to the Gall of Bitternesse, untill it consume them.

Wherefore now since his Soule resteth in Heaven (whereof I intreat you doubt not) let us also leave him: For his good Life in generall, his unfaigned Love to Religion, his Love to good Men, his sound and saving Knowledge, and Practise of the same, his attentive and reverent Hearing of the Word, his humble flexible Heart, easily cast downe and drawne by the same, with many other good Things, which were in him, are sure Signes of the Favour of God, and consequently of his Salvation. To which if we consider with what innumerable Prayers, and strong Cries, his Soule was attended unto Heaven, we may rest fully satisfied of his Felicity: For although the Extremity of Paine from the Beginning of his Sicknesse, did as it were stupifie and bereave him of Sense, that he could not give those wished Testimonies to the World at full; (the LORD choosing to try him in the Furnace of Affliction) yet since we shall be judged not according to our Death, but according to our Life; (although his Death in such an Extremity, as is shewed, was very good) we may certainly conclude, that his Soule now praiseth God.

Wherefore when we misse him where we were wont to see him, let us lift up our Mindes to a higher Watch-tower, remembring that his Soule now resteth in Heaven, where all Cares, Troubles, Sores, Sicknesse, Crosses, and Afflictions, shall no more annoy him; where the Feares, Jarres, Jealousies, Discontentments, Mutinies, Uproares, and Dissentions of State shall never vex him; where he shall hunger no more, thirst no more, desire no more, having all Tears wiped from his Eyes, in Place of those fraile ones, which could not here endure the Sight of the Candle, now beholding Him whose Eyes are tenne thousand Times brighter than the Sunne, following the Lambe
whither-

whithersoever he goeth, and in the Heaven of Heavens injoying the blessed Fruition of his G O D, in the Company of Millions of his Saints and Angels, waiting for the full Revelation and Felicitie of the Sonnes of G O D, and Renovation of us all, when G O D shall be All in All; where let us leave him (of whom we are not worthy untill we be gathered unto him) admiring his incomprehensible Wisdome which did bereave us, untill he let us know by Experience, how he will bring Light out of Darknesse: For since he is Goodnesse it selfe, his Will (whatsoever it be) must needs be good: And I pray you, what, how many, how great, and how wonderfull Things hath the Almighty done with this one Blow? In humbling of some, curbing the Pride of others, casting some downe, and againe in raising up of others, letting all see, as in a Mirrour, the vaine Inconstancie of Greatnesse, making some others inexcusable, if they receive no good from so sensible a Lesson, with infinite more, knowne onely to the All-sufficient, All-seeing Majesty.

Let us therefore admire the infinite and incomprehensible Wisdome of Almighty God, which so soone translated him from this Vale of Darknesse, and Misery, into that marvellous Joy and Light, although it seem strange unto our blind Eyes: For what know we but that the boyling head-strong Passions of Youth, evill Company (which corrupteth good Manners) the Raines of Liberty, the Corruption of Time, with infinite other Inticements, whereunto Flesh and Blood are prone, might have corrupted him, when dying with a consumed Body, and a more corrupted Soule, he might with an evill Conscience (though full of Years) have gone to the Grave, with farre more Hatred, loaded with innumerable more Sinnes, than now he did; when by the contrary, with the Love, Prayers, and Teares of all, he was attended unto Heaven.

Thus have I beene bold to trouble you, and out of my Love (for satisfying your Curiosity) to exceede the Bounds of a short Letter; which if you mildly censure, with an impartiall Judgement, pardoning and excusing what you finde amisse, you shall encourage me ever to remaine, as still I am

Your assured Friend,

CHARLES CORNWALLIS.

Reasons of the present Judgement of the Universitie of OXFORD, concerning The Solemn League and Covenant; The Negative Oath; The Ordinances concerning Discipline and Worship. Approved by general Consent in a full Convocation, *June 1st, 1647.* And presented to Consideration.

A Solemn League and Covenant, for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honour and Happinesse of the KING, and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms, *England, Scotland, and Ireland.*

WE Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, Citizens, Burgeses, Ministers of the Gospel, and Commons of all Sorts in the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by the Providence of God living under one King, and being of one Reformed Religion, having before our Eyes the Glory of God, and the Advancement of the Kingdom, of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Honour and Happinesse of the King's Majesty, and His Posterity, and the true publick Liberty, Safety, and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every one's private Condition is included, and calling to Mind the treacherous and bloody Plots, Conspiracies, Attempts, and Practices of the Enemies of God against the true Religion, and Professors thereof, in all Places, especially in these three Kingdoms, ever since the Reformation of Religion, and how much their Rage, Power, and Presumption are of late, and at this Time increased and exercised; whereof the deplorable Estate of the Church and Kingdom of Ireland, the distressed Estate of the Church and Kingdom of England, and the dangerous Estate of the Church and Kingdom of Scotland, are present and publick Testimonies; We have now, at last, (after other Means of Supplication, Remonstrance, Protestations, and sufferings) for the Preservation of our selves and our Religion from utter Ruine and Destruction, according to the commendable Practice of these Kingdoms in former Times, and the Examples of God's People in other Nations, after mature Deliberation resolved and determined to enter into a mutual and solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe, and each one of us for himself, with our Hands lifted up to the most High God, do swear:

I.

THAT we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in our severall Places and Callings, the Preservation of the Reformed Religion in the Church of Scotland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, against our common Enemies; the Reformation of Religion in the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government, according to the Word of God, and the Example
of

of the best reformed Churches: And shall endeavour to bring the Church^s of God in the three Kingdoms, to the nearest Conjunction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession of Faith, Form of Church Government, Directory for Worship and Catechizing; that we and our Posterity after us may as Brethren live in Faith and Love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

II.

That we shall in like Manner, without Respect of Persons, endeavour the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, (that is, Church Government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellours and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, and all other Ecclesiasticall Officers depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, Heresie, Schism, Profanenesse, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine, and the Power of Godlinesse; lest we partake in other Men's Sins, and thereby be in Danger to receive of their Plagues, and that the Lord may be one, and his Name one in the three Kingdoms.

III.

We shall with the same Sincerity, Reality and Constancy, in our severall Vocations, endeavour with our Estates and Lives, mutually to preserve the Rights and Privileges of the Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to preserve and defend the King's Majestie's Person and Authority, in the Preservation and Defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms, that the World may bear Witnesse with our Consciences of our Loyalty, and that we have no Thoughts or Intentions to diminish his Majestie's just Power and Greatness.

IV.

We shall also with all Faithfulnesse endeavour the Discovery of all such as have been, or shall be Incendiaries, Malignants, or evill Instruments, by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Faction or Parties amongst the People, contrary to this League and Covenant that they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive condign Punishment, as the Degree of their Offences shall require or deserve, or the supreme Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively, or others having Power from them for that Effect, shall judge convenient.

V.

And whereas the Happinesse of a blessed Peace between these Kingdoms, denied in former Times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto us, and hath been lately concluded, and settled by both Parliaments, we shall each one of us, according to our Place and Interest, endeavour that they may remain conjoynd in a firm Peace and Union to all Posterity; and that Justice may be done upon the wilfull Opposers thereof, in Manner expressed in the precedent Articles.

VI.

We shall also according to our Places and Callings in this common Cause of Religion, Liberty and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and persuing thereof,

thereof, and shall not suffer our selves directly or indirectly by whatsoever Combination, Perswasion or Terrour to be divided and withdrawn from this blessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make Defection to the contrary Part, or to give our selves to a detestable Indifferency or Neutrality in this Cause, which so much concerneth the Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and the Honor of the King; but shall all the Daies of our Lives zealously and constantly continue therein, against all Opposition, and promote the same according to our Power, against all Lets and Impediments whatsoever; and what we are not able our selves to suppress or overcome, we shall reveal and make known, that it may be timely prevented or removed; all which we shall do as in the Sight of God.

And because these Kingdoms are guilty of many Sins and Provocations against God, and his Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present Distresses and Dangers, the Fruits thereof; We profess and declare before God and the World, our unfeigned Desire to be humbled for our own Sins, and for the Sins of these Kingdoms; especially that we have not as we ought valued the inestimable Benefit of the Gospel, that we have not laboured for the Puritie and Power thereof, and that we have not endeavoured to receive Christ in our Hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in our Lives, which are the Causes of other Sins and Transgressions so much abounding amongst us: And our true and unfeigned Purpose, Desire, and Endeavour for our selves, and all others under our Power and Charge, both in publick and in private, in all Duties we owe to God and Man, to amend our Lives, and each one to go before another in the Example of a real Reformation, that the Lord may turn away his Wrath and heavy Indignation, and establish these Churches and Kingdomes in Truth and Peace. And this Covenant we make in the Presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the same, as we shall answer at that great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts shall be disclosed; Most humbly beseeching the Lord to strengthen us by his Holy Spirit for this End, and to blesse our Desires and Proceedings with such Successe, as may be Deliverance and Safety to his People, and Encouragement to other Christian Churches groaning under, or in Danger of the Yoke of Antichristian Tyranny, to joyn in the same, or like Association and Covenant, to the Glory of God, the Enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the Peace and Tranquillity of Christian Kingdoms and Common-wealths.

The Negative Oath.

I A. B. Do swear from my Heart, that I will not directly, nor indirectly, adhere unto, or willingly assist the King in this War, or in this Cause, against the Parliament, nor any Forces raised without the Consent of the two Houses of Parliament, in this Cause or War: And I do likewise swear, that my comming and submitting my self under the Power and Protection of the Parliament, is without any Manner of Design whatsoever, to the Prejudice of the Proceedings of this present Parliament, and without the Direction, Privy, or Advice of the King, or any of his Council, or Officers, other than
wha

what I have now made known. So help me God, and the Contents of this Book.

Reasons why the University of OXFORD cannot submit to the Covenant; the Negative Oath; the Ordinance concerning Discipline and Directory, mentioned in the late Ordinance of Parliament, for the Visitation of that Place.

WHEREAS by an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the Visitation and Reformation of the University of Oxford, lately published, Power is given to certain Persons therein named as Visitors, to enquire concerning those of the said University, that neglect to take the solemn League and Covenant, and the Negative Oath being tendred unto them, and likewise concerning those that oppose the Execution of the Ordinances of Parliament concerning the Discipline and Directory, or shall not promote or cause the same to be put in Execution according to their several Places and Callings, We the Masters, Scholars, and other Officers and Members of the said University, not to judge the Consciences of others, but to clear our selves before God and the World from all Suspicion of Obstinacy, whilst we discharge our own, present to Consideration the true Reasons of our present Judgement concerning the said Covenant, Oath and Ordinances: Expecting so much Justice, and hoping for so much Charity, as either not to be pressed to conform to what is required in any the Premisses, further than our present Judgements will warrant us; or not condemned for the refusing so to do, without clear and real Satisfaction given to our just Scruples.

SECT. I. *Of the Preface to the Covenant.*

THE Exceptions against the Introductory Preface to the Covenant, although we insist not much upon, because it may be said to be no Part of the Covenant: yet among the Things therein contained, the Acknowledgement whereof is implicitly required of every Covenantant.

1. We are not able to say, *that the Rage, Power, and Presumption of the Enemies of God* (in the Sense there intended) *is at this Time increased.*
2. Nor can truly affirm, that we had used or given Consent to any *Supplication or Remonstrance* to the Purposes therein expressed.
3. Nor do conceive the entering into such a mutuall League and Covenant to be a lawfull, proper, and probable Means to *preserve our Selves, and our Religion from Ruine and Destruction.*
4. Nor can we believe the same to be *according to the commendable Practice of these Kingdoms, or the Example of God's People in other Nations.* When we find not the least Foot-step in our Histories of a sworn Covenant ever entered into by the People of this Kingdom upon any Occasion whatsoever; nor can readily remember any commendable Example of the like done

done in any other Nation: but are rather told, by the Defenders of this Covenant, that (a) *the World never saw the like before.*

SECT. II. *Of the Covenant in gross.*

FIRST we are not satisfied, how we can submit to the taking thereof, as it is now imposed under a Penalty.

1. Such Imposition (to our seeming) being repugnant to the Nature of a Covenant: which being a Contract, implyeth a (b) *voluntary mutuall Consent* of the Contractors; whereunto Men are to be induced by Perswasions, not compelled by Power. In so much that the very Words of this Covenant in the Preface, Conclusion, and whole Frame thereof runne in such a Form throughout, as import a Consent rather grounded upon prudentiall Motives, than extorted by Rigour.
2. Without betraying the Liberty, which by our Protestation we are bound, and in the third Article of this Covenant, must swear, *with our Lives and Fortunes to preserve.* To which Liberty the Imposition of a new Oath other than is established by Act of Parliament, is expressed in the (c) *Petition of Right*, and by the Lords and Commons in their (d) *Declarations* acknowledged to be contrary.
3. Without acknowledging in the Imposers, a greater Power then, for ought that appeareth to us, hath been in former Time challenged; Or can consist with our former Protestation (if we rightly understand it) in sundry the most material Branches thereof.

Neither, secondly, are we satisfied; although the Covenant would not be imposed upon us at all, but only recommended to us, and then left to our Choice.

1. How we should in Wisdom and Duty (being Subjects) of our own Accord and free Will enter into a Covenant, wherein He, whose Subjects we are, is in any wise concerned, without his Consent, either expressed or reasonably presumed. It being in his Power (as we conceive) by the Equity of the Law, *Numb. 32.* to annull and make void the same at his Pleasure.
2. How we can (now that His Majestie hath by His publique (e) *Interdict* sufficiently made known His Pleasure in that Behalf) enter into a Covenant, the taking whereof he hath expressly forbidden; forfeiting that Obedience,

(a) Such an Oath, as for Matter, Persons, and other Circumstances, the like hath not been in any Age or Oath we read of in sacred or humane Stories. Mr. Nye, *Covenant with Narrative*, p. 12.

(b) *Pactis est duorum pluriumve in idem placitum consensus*, L. 1. ff. de Pactis.

(c) Whereas many of them have had an Oath administred unto them not warrantable by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, They do humbly pray that no

Man hereafter be compelled to take such an Oath — All which they most humbly pray — as their Rights and Liberties according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm. *Petit. of Right. 3 Carol.*

(d) It is declared, 16 Jan. 1642. *That the King cannot compel Men to be sworn without an Act of Parliament.* *Exact Collect.* pag. 859, 860.

(e) Proclam. of 9. Octob. 19 Car.

which

which (as we are perswaded) by our natural Allegiance and former Oaths, we owe unto all such His Majestie's Commands, as are not in our Apprehension repugnant to the Will of God, or the positive Laws of this Kingdom.

SECT. III. *Of the first Article of the Covenant.*

WHerein, first, we are not satisfied, how we can with Judgement swear to endeavour to preserve the Religion of another Kingdom.

1. Whereof, as it doth not concern us to have very much, so we profess to have very little Understanding.
2. Which (so farre as the Occurrents of these unhappy Times have brought it to our Knowledge, and we are able to judge) is in three of the four specified Particulars, *viz. Worship, Discipline, and Government*, much worse; and in the fourth (that of *Doctrines*) not at all better than our own; which we are in the next Passage of the Article required to reform.
3. Wherein if hereafter we shall find any Thing (as upon farther Understanding thereof it is not impossible we may) that may seem to us favouring of *Popery, Superstition, Heresie, or Schism, or contrary to sound Doctrine, or the Power of Godlinesse*; we shall be bound by the next Article to endeavour the Extirpation, after we have bound our selves by this first Article to the Preservation thereof.
4. Wherein we already find some Things (to our thinking) so far tending towards (f) *Superstition* and (g) *Schism*, that it seemeth to us more reasonable that we should call upon them to reform the same, than that they should call upon us to preserve it.

Secondly, we are not satisfied in the next Branch, concerning the Reformation of Religion in our own Kingdom, in *Doctrines, Worship, Discipline, and Government*; how we can swear to endeavour the same, (which without making a Change therein cannot be done,)

I. Without manifest Scandal to the Papist and Separatist.

1. By yeelding the Cause, which our godly Bishops and Martyrs, and all our learned Divines ever since the Reformation have both by their Writings and Sufferings maintained; who have justified, against them both, the Religion established in the Church of *England* to be agreeable to the Word of God.
2. By justifying the Papists in the Reproaches and Scorn by them cast upon our Religion, whose usual Objection it hath been and is, that we know not what our Religion is; that since we left them, we cannot tell where to stay; and that our Religion is a (b) *Parliamentary Religion*.

(f) *Viz.* In accounting Bishops Antichristian, and indifferent Ceremonies unlawful.

(g) *Viz.* In making their Discipline and Government a Mark of the true Church, and the setting up thereof, the

erecting of the Throne of Christ.

(b) Let us not be blamed if we call it Parliamentary Religion, Parliament Gospel, Parliament Faith. *Harding, Confut. of Apology*, part 6. chap. 2.

3. By a tacite Acknowledgement that there is something both in the Doctrine and Worship, whereunto their Conformity hath been required, not agreeable to the Word of God; and consequently justifying them both, the one in his Recusancy, the other in his Separation.

4. By an implied Confession, that the Laws formerly made against Papists in this Kingdom, and all Punishments by Vertue thereof inflicted upon them, were unjust in punishing them for refusing to joyn with us in that Form of Worship, which our selves (as well as they) do not approve of.

II. Without *manifest Wrong unto our selves*, our Consciences, Reputation and Estates, in bearing false Witness against our selves, and sundry other Waies by swearing to endeavour to reform that, as corrupt and vitious.

1. Which we have formerly by our personal Subscriptions approved, as agreeable to God's Word: and have not been since either condemned by our own Hearts for so doing, or convinced in our Judgements by any of our Brethren that therein we did amisse.

2. Which in our Consciences we are perswaded, not to be in any of the four specified Particulars (as it standeth by Law established) much lesse in the whole four, against the Word of God.

3. Which we verily believe (and, as we think upon good Grounds) to be in sundry Respects much better, and more agreeable to the Word of God, and the Practise of the Catholique Church, than that which we should by the former Words of this Article swear to preserve.

4. Whereunto the Laws yet in Force require of all such Clerks as shall be admitted to any Benefice, the Signification of their hearty Assent, to be attested openly in the Time of Divine Service before the whole Congregation there present, within a limited Time, and that under Pain (upon Default made) of the Losse of every such Benefice.

III. Without *manifest Danger of Perjury*: This Branch of the Article (to our best Understandings) seeming directly contrary,

1. To our former solemn Protestation, which we have bound our selves neither for Hope, Fear, or other Respect, ever to relinquish. Wherein the Doctrine which we have vowed to maintain, by the Name of the *true Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England*, we take to be the same, which now we are required to endeavour to reform and alter.

2. To the Oath of Supremacie, by us also taken, according to the Laws of the Realm, and the Statutes of our University in that Behalf. Wherein having first testified and declared in our Consciences, that the *King's Highnesse is the only supreme Governour of this Realm, we do after swear to our Power to assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Privileges, Prebeminences, and Authorities granted or belonging to the King's Highnesse, his Heirs, and Successors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm*. One of the which Privileges and Prebeminences, by an expresse Statute so annexed, and that even, *in terminis*, in the self-same Words in a Manner with those used in the Oath, is the whole Power of Spiritual or Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, for the Correction and Reformation of all Manner of Errors and

Abuses

Abuses in Matters Ecclesiastical: as by the (i) Words of the said Statute more at large appeareth. The Oath affording the *Proposition*, and the Statute the *Assumption*, we find no Way how to avoid the *Conclusion*.

SECT. IV. *Of the second Article of the Covenant.*

FIRST, it cannot but affect us with some Grief and Amazement, to see that ancient Form of Church-Government, which we heartily (and, as we hope, worthily) honour; as under which our Religion was at first so orderly, without Violence or Tumult, and so happily reformed; and hath since so long flourished with Truth and Peace, to the Honour and Happiness of our own, and the Envy and Admiration of other Nations, not only,

1. Endeavoured to be extirpated; without any Reason offered to our Understandings, for which it should be thought necessary, or but so much as expedient so to do. But also,
2. Ranked with *Popery, Superstition, Heresie, Schism* and *Prophanenesse*; which we unfainedly profess our selves to detest as much as any others whatsoever.
3. And that with some Intimation also, as if that Government were some Way or other so *contrary to sound Doctrin, or the Power of Godlinesse*, that whosoever should not endeavour the Extirpation thereof, must of Necessity *partake in other Men's Sins*, which we cannot yet be perswaded to believe.
4. And we desire it may be considered, in Case a Covenant of like Form should be tender'd to the Citizens of *London*, wherein they should be required to swear, they would sincerely, really and constantly without Respect of Persons, endeavour the Extirpation of *Treason, the City Government* (by a Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Sheriffs, Common-Council and other Offices depending thereon) *Murther, Adulterie, Theft, Cousenage, and whatsoever shall be, &c. lest they should partake in other Men's Sinnes*, whether such a tendry could be looked upon by any Citizen, that had the least Spirit of Freedom in him, as an Act of Justice, Meekness and Reason?

Secondly, for Episcopal Government, we are not satisfied how we can with a good Conscience swear to endeavour the Extirpation thereof, 1. in *Respect of the Thing it self*. Concerning which Government we think we have Reason to believe.

1. That it is (if not *Jure divino* in the strictest, that is to say, expressly commanded by God in his Word, yet) of *Apostolical Institution*, that is to say, was established in the Churches by the Apostles, according to the Mind and after the Example of their Master *Jesus Christ*, and that by Vertue of their ordinary Power and Authority derived from him, as deputed by him Governors of his Church.

(i) Such Jurisdictions, Privileges, Superiorities and Preheminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, as by any, &c. for the Visitation of the Ecclesiastical State and Persons, and for Reformation, Order and Correction of the same, and of all manner of Errors, Heresies, Schisms, Abuses, Of-

fences, Contempts and Enormities, shall for ever by Authority of this present Parliament be united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. *An Act restoring to the Crown the antient Jurisdiction, &c. 1 Elizab. 1.*

2. Or at least, that *Episcopal Aristocracy* hath a fairer Pretention, and may lay a juster Title and Claim to a divine Institution than any of the other Forms of Church-Government can do; all which yet do pretend thereunto, viz. that of the *Papal Monarchy*, that of the *Presbyterian Democracy*, and that of the *Independents* by particular Congregations, or gathered Churches.

II. But we are assured by the undoubted Testimony of antient Records and later Histories, that this Form of Government hath been continued with such an universal, uninterrupted, unquestioned Succession in all the Churches of God, and in all Kingdoms that have been called Christian, throughout the whole World for fifteen hundred Years together; that there never was in all that Time any considerable Opposition made there against. That of *Arius* was the greatest, wherein yet there was little of Consideration, beside these two Things: that it grew at the first but out of Discontent; and gained him at the last but the Reputation of an Heretique. From which Antiquity and Continuance, we have just Cause to fear, that to endeavour the Extirpation thereof,

1. Would give such Advantage to the Papists, who usually object against us, and our Religion, the Contempt of Antiquity, and the Love of Novelty; that we should not be able to wipe off the Asperision.
2. Would so diminish the just Authority due to the consentient Judgement and Practise of the universal Church (the best Interpreter of Scripture in Things not clearly exprest; for *Lex currit cum praxi*;) that without it we should be at a Losse in sundry Points both of *Faith* and *Manners*, at this Day firmly believed and securely practised by us; when by the Socinians, Anabaptists, and other Sectaries we should be called upon for our Proofs. As namely, sundry Orthodoxal Explications concerning the Trinity and Co-equality of the Persons in the God-head, against the *Arians* and other Heretiques; the Number, Use and Efficacy of Sacraments; the Baptising of Infants; national Churches; the Observation of the Lord's Day; and even of the Canon of Scripture it self.

Thirdly, *in Respect of our selves*; we are not satisfied how it can stand with the Principles of *Justice*, *Ingenuity*, and *Humanity*, to require the Extirpation of Episcopal Government (unlesse it had been first clearly demonstrated to be unlawfull) to be sincerely and really endeavoured, by us,

1. Who have all of us, who have taken any Degree, by subscribing the 39 Articles, testified our Approbation of that Government: one of those (k) Articles affirming the very Book containing the Form of *their Consecration* to contain in it nothing contrary to the Word of God.
2. Who have most of us, (viz. as many as have entred into the Ministry) received Orders from their Hands: whom we should very ill requite for laying their Hands upon us, if we should now lay to our Hand, to root them up, and cannot tell for what.
3. Who have sundry of us, since the Beginning of this Parliament, subscribed our Names to Petitions exhibited or intended to be exhibited to the

High Court, for the Continuance of that Government. Which as we then did sincerely and really, so we should with like Sincerity and Reality, still (not having met with any Thing since to shew us our Errour) be ready to do the same again, if we had the same Hopes we then had of the Reception of such Petitions.

4. Who hold some of us our Livelyhood, either in whole or in Part, by those Titles of *Deans, Deans* and *Chapters*, &c. mentioned in the Articles; being Members of some Collegiate or Cathedrall Churches. And our Memories will not readilie serve us with any Example in this kind since the World began; wherein any State or Profession of Men, though convicted (as we are not) of a Crime that might deserve Deprivation, were required to bind themselves by Oath, *sincerely and really to endeavour* the rooting out of that (in it self not unlawfull) together wherewith they must also root out themselves, their Estates and Livelyhoods.

5. Especially it being usual in most of the said Churches, that such Persons as are admitted Members thereof, have a personal Oath administred unto them, to maintain the Honour, Immunities, Liberties, and Profits of the same; and whilst they live to seek the Good, and not to do any Thing to the Hurt, Hindrance, or Prejudice thereof; or in other Words to the like Effect.

Fourthly, *in Respect of the Church of England*: we are not satisfied how we can swear to endeavour the Extirpation of the established Government, no Necessitie or just Cause for so doing, either offering it self, or being offered to our Understandings.

1. Since all Change of Government unavoidably bringeth with it, besides those that are present and evident, sundry other Inconveniencies, which no Wit of Man can possibly foresee to provide against, till late Experience discover them: We cannot be sure, that the Evils which may ensue upon the Change of this Government, (which hath been of so long Continuance in this Kingdom, is so deeply rooted in the Lawes thereof, and hath so near a Conjunction with, and so strong an Influence upon the Civill State and Government, as that the Change thereof must infer the Necessity of a great Alteration to be made in the other also) may not be greater than the supposed Evils whatsoever they are, which by this Change are sought to be remedied. For there are not yet any come to our Knowledge of that desperate Nature, as not to be capable of other Remedy, than the utter Extirpation of the whole Government it self.

2. Whereas the House of Commons have (1) remonstrated, that it was far from their Purpose, or Desire, to *abolish the Church Government*, but rather

(1) — give Advantage to this Malignant Party to traduce our Proceedings: They infuse into the People that we mean to abolish all Church Government — *Remonst.* 15. Dec. 1641. *Exact. Collect.* pag. 19. The Lords and Commons do declare, That they intend a due and necessary

Reformation of the Government and Liturgy of the Church; and to take away nothing in the one or in the other, but what shall be evil, and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burthensome. *Declar.* 9. April. 1642. *Exact. Coll.* p. 135.

that

that all the Members of the Church of England should be regulated by such Rules of Order and Discipline as are established by Parliament, and that it was Malignancy to infuse into the People that they had any other Meaning: We are loth by consenting to the second Article to become guilty of such Infusion, as may bring us within the Compass and Danger of the fourth Article of this Covenant.

3. Since it hath been declared by sundry (m) Acts of Parliament, That the holy Church of England was founded in the State of Prelacy within the Realm of England: We dare not by endeavouring the Extirpation of Prelacy, strike at the very Foundation, and thereby (as much as in us lieth) co-operate towards the Ruine of this famous Church; which in all Conscience and Duty we are bound with out utmost lawful Power to uphold.

Lastly, In Respect of our Obligations to his Majesty by our Duty and Oathes: we are not satisfied how we can swear to endeavour the Extirpation of the Church-Government by Law established, without Forfeiture of those Obligations.

1. Having in the Oath of Supremacy acknowledged the King to be the onely supream Governour in all Ecclesiastical Causes, and over all Ecclesiastical Persons; and having bound our selves both in that Oath, and by our Protestation, To maintain the King's Honour, Estate, Jurisdictions, and all manner of Rights: it is clear to our Understandings, that we cannot without Disloyalty and Injury to Him, and double Perjury to our selves, take upon us without his Consent to make any Alteration in the Ecclesiasticall Lawes or Government, much lesse to endeavour the Extirpation thereof: Unlesse the Imposers of this Covenant had a Power and Meaning (which they have openly (n) disclaimed) to absolve us of that Obedience, which under God we owe unto His Majesty, whom they know to be intrusted with the Ecclesiastical Law.

2. We cannot sincerely and really endeavour the Extirpation of this Government, without a sincere Desire and real Endeavour, that His Majesty would grant His Royal Assent to such Extirpation. Which we are so far from desiring and endeavouring, that we hold it our bounden Duty by our daily Prayers to beg at the Hands of Almighty God, that he would not for our Sins suffer the King to do an Act so prejudicial to his Honour and Conscience, as to consent to the Rooting out of that Estate, which by so many Branches of his (o) Coronation Oath, he hath in such a solemn Man-

(m) Statute of Carlisle. 25 E. I. recited 25 E. III.

(n) They infuse into the People, that we mean — to leave every Man to his own Fancy — absolving him of that Obedience which he owes under God unto His Majesty, whom we know to be intrusted with the Ecclesiastical Law, as well as with the Temporal. *Exact Collect. ubi sup.* p. 19.

(o) That he will grant, keep, and confirm the Laws, Customs, and Franchises

granted to the Clergy by the glorious King S. Edward. And that he will grant and preserve unto the Bishops, and to the Churches committed to their Charge, all Canonical Priviledges and due Law and Justice; and that he will protect and defend them as every good King in his Kingdom ought to be Protector and Defender of the Bishops and the Churches under their Government. *Vide Exact Collect.* p. 290, 291.

ner sworn, by the Assistance of God, to his Power to maintain and preserve.

3. By the Lawes of this Land (*p*) the *Collation of Bishopricks* and (*q*) *Deanaries*; the (*r*) *Fruits and Profits* of their Lands and Revenues during their Vacancies; the (*s*) *first Fruits and yearly Tenths* out of all Ecclesiastical Promotions; and sundry other Priviledges, Profits, and Emoluments, arising out of the State Ecclesiastical, are established in the Crown, and are a considerable Part of the Revenues thereof; which, by the Extirpation of Prelacy, as it is in the Article expounded, or by subsequent Practice evidenced, will be severed and cut off from the Crown, to the great Prejudice and Damage thereof. Whereunto, as we ought not in common Reason, and in order to our Allegiance as Subjects, yield our Consent; so having sworn expressly *to maintain the King's Honour and Estate*, and to our Power to assist and defend all Jurisdictions, &c. belonging to His Highness, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of the Realm, we cannot without manifest Perjury (as we conceive) consent thereunto.
4. The Government of this Realm being confessedly an *Empire* or (*t*) *Monarchy*, and that of a most excellent Temper and Constitution; we understand not how it can become us to desire or endeavour the Extirpation of that Government in the Church, which we conceive to be incomparably of all other the most agreeable, and no way prejudicial to the State of so well a constituted Monarchy. In so much as King *James* would often say, what his long Experience had taught him, *No Bishop, no King*. Which Aphorism, though we find in sundry Pamphlets of late Years to have been exploded with much Confidence and Scorn; yet we must professe to have met with very little in the Proceedings of the late Times, to weaken our Belief of it. And we hope we shall be the less blamed for our Unwillingness to have any actual Concurrence in the Extirpation of Episcopall Government: seeing of such Extirpation there is no other Use imaginable, but either the Alienation of their Revenues and Inheritances, (which how it can be severed from *Sacrilege* and *Injustice* we leave others to find out) or to make Way for the introducing of some other Form of Church Government: which whatsoever it shall be, will (as we think) prove either destructive of, and inconsistent with Monarchiall Government, or at leastwise more prejudicial to the peaceable, orderly, and effectual Exercise thereof, than with a well-regulated Episcopacy can possibly be.

(*p*) See Stat. 25. *Hen. VIII.* 20. & 1. *Ed. VI.* 2.

(*q*) See Stat. 39. *Eliz.* 8.

(*r*) Stat. 14. *Ed. III.* 4, & 5. & 17. *Ed. III.* 14.

(*s*) Stat. 26. *Hen. VIII.* 3. & 1. *Eliz.* 4.

(*t*) — *Supremam potestatem & merum imperium apud nos habet Rex.* *Cambd.* Whereas by sundry divers old authentick

Histories and Chronicles it is manifestly declared and expressed, that this Realm of *England* is an Empire, and so hath been accepted in the World, governed by one Supream Head and King, having the Dignity and royall Estate of the Imperial Crown of the same. Stat. 24. *H. VIII.* 12. See also 1. *Elizab.* 3.

SECT. V. *Of the other Parts of the Government.*

HAVING insisted the more upon the two first Articles, that concern Religion and the Church, and wherein our selves have a more proper Concernment: We shall need to insist the less upon those that follow, contenting our selves with a few (the most obvious) of those many great, and (as we conceive) just Exceptions,, that lye there against.

I. In the third Article, we are not satisfied that our Endeavour to preserve and defend the King's Majesties Person and Authority is so limited, as there it is, by that Addition: *In the Preservation and Defence of the true Religion, and Liberties of the Kingdom.* Forasmuch as

1. No such Limitation of our Duty in that Behalf is to be found, either in the Oathes of Supremacy and Allegiance, (which no Papist would refuse to take with such a Limitation) nor in the Protestation, nor in the Word of God.
2. Our Endeavour to preserve the Rights and Priviledges of Parliaments, and Liberties of the Kingdomes, is required to be sworn of us in the same Article without the like or any other Limitation added thereunto.
3. Such Limitation leaveth the Duty of the Subject at so much Loosenesse, and the Safety of the King at so great Uncertainty; that whensoever the People shall have a Mind to withdraw their Obedience, they cannot want a Pretence, from the same, for so doing.
4. After we should, by the very last Thing we did (*viz.* swearing with such a Limitation) have made our selves guilty of an actual and real Diminution (as we conceive) of his Majestie's just Power and Greatnesse: the Obtestation would seem very unseasonable (at the least) with the same Breath to call the World to bear Witnesse with our Consciences, that we had no Thoughts or Intentions to diminish the same.
5. The swearing with such a Limitation is a Testimony of the Subjects Loyalty (to our seeming) of a very strange Nature: which, (the Principles of their severall Religions salved) the Conscience of a most resolute Papist or Sectary may securely swallow, and the Conscience of a good Protestant cannot but strein at.

II. In the fourth Article,

1. We desire it may be considered, whether the imposing of the Covenant in this Article do not lay a Necessity upon the Son, of accusing his own Father, and pursuing him to Destruction, in Case he should be an Incendiary, Malignant, or other evill Instrument, such as in the Article is described. A Course, which we conceive to be contrary to Religion, Nature and Humanity.
2. Whether the swearing according to this Article, doth not rather open a ready Way to Children that are sick of the Father, Husbands that are weary of their Wives, &c. by appealing such, as stand between them and their Desires, of Malignancy, the better to effectuate their unlawful Intentions and Designes.

3. Our

3. Our selves having solemnly protested to maintain the Liberty of the Subject, and the House of Commons having publicly declared against the Exercise of an Arbitrary Power, with Order that their said Declaration should be printed and published in all the Parish Churches and Chappels of the Kingdome; there to stand and remain as a Testimony of the Clearness of their Intentions; whether the subjecting of our selves and Brethren by Oath, unto such Punishments as shall be inflicted upon us (without Law or Merit) at the sole Pleasure of such uncertain Judges as shall be upon any particular Occasion *deputed for that Effect*, of what mean Quality or Abilities soever they be, even to the taking away of our Lives, *if they shall think it convenient so to do*, though the Degree of our Offences shall not require or deserve the same; be not the betraying of our Liberty in the lowest, and the setting up of an Arbitrary Power in the highest Degree that can be imagined.

III. The Substance of the fifth Article, being the Settling and Continuance of a firm Peace and Union between the three Kingdomes, since it is our bounden Duty to desire, and according to our several Places and Interests by all lawfull Means to endeavour the same: we should make no scruple at all to enter into a Covenant to that Purpose, were it not

1. That we do not see, nor therefore can acknowledge *the Happiness of such a blessed Peace between the three Kingdomes* (for we hope *Ireland* is not forgotten) as in the Article is mentioned: So long as *Ireland* is at War within it self, and both the other Kingdoms engaged in that War.
2. That since no Peace can be firm and well-grounded that is not bottom'd upon Justice, the most proper and adequate Act whereof is, *Jus suum cuique*, to let every one have that which of Right belongeth unto him; we cannot conceive how a firm and lasting Peace can be established in these Kingdomes, unlesse the respective Authority, Power, and Liberty of *King, Parliament, and Subject*, as well every one as other, be preserved full and entire, according to the known Lawes, and continued unquestioned Customes, of the several Kingdomes in former Times, and before the Beginning of these sad Distractions.

IV. In the sixth Article we are altogether unsatisfied.

1. The whole Article being grounded upon a Supposition, which hath not yet been evidenced to us, *viz.* that *this Cause*, meaning thereby (or else we understand it not) the joyning in this Covenant of mutual Defence for the Prosecution of the late War, was *the Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdomes*; and that it so much concerned *the Glory of God, and the Good of the Kingdomes, and the Honour of the King*.
2. If all the Premisses were so clear, that we durst yeeld our free Assent thereunto, yet were they not sufficient to warrant to our Consciences what in this Article is required to be sworn of us; unlesse we were as clearly satisfied concerning the Lawfulness of the Means to be used for the supporting of such a Cause. For since Evil may not be done, that Good may come thereof; we cannot yet be perswaded, that *the Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace*, may be supported; or *the Glory of God, the Good of the*

Kingdomes, and the Honour of the King, sought to be advanced, by such Means, (as to our best Understandings) are both improper for those Ends, and destitute of all Warrant from the Lawes, either of God, or of this Realm.

Lastly, in the Conclusion, our Hearts tremble to think, that we should be required to pray that *other Christian Churches might be encouraged by our Example to join in the like Association and Covenant, to free themselves from the Antichristian Yoke, &c.* Wherein

1. To omit that we do not know any *Antichristian Yoke* under which we were held in these Kingdomes, and from which we owe to this either War or Covenant our Freedom: unlesse by the Antichristian Yoke be meant Episcopal Government, which we hope no Man that pretendeth to Truth and Charity will affirm.
2. We do not yet see in the Fruits of this Association or Covenant among our selves, any thing so lovely as to invite us to desire (much less to pray) that other Christian Churches should follow our Example herein.
3. To pray to the Purpose, in the Conclusion of the Covenant expressed, seemeth to us all one in Effect, as to beseech Almighty God, the God of Love and Peace.
 1. To take all Love and Peace out of the Hearts of Christians, and to set the whole Christian World in a Combustion.
 2. To render the Reformed Religion, and all Protestants odious to all the World.
 3. To provoke the Princes of *Europe* to use more Severity towards those of the Reformed Religion: if not (for their own Security) to root them quite out of their several Dominions.
 4. The Tyranny and Yoke of Antichrist, if laid upon the Necks of Subjects by their lawful Soveraignes, is to be thrown off by *Christian Boldness* in confessing the Truth, and *patient Suffering* for it; not by taking up Armes, or violent Resistance of the Higher Powers.

SECT. VI. *Some Considerations concerning the Meaning of the Covenant.*

OUR aforesaid Scruples are much strengthened by these ensuing Considerations.

First, that whereas no Oath, which is contradictory to it self, can be taken without Perjury; because the one Part of every Contradiction must needs be false: This Covenant either indeed containeth, or at leastwise (which to the Point of Conscience is not much less effectual) seemeth to us to contain sundry Contradictions; as namely, amongst others, these:

1. To preserve as it is, without Change, and yet to reform and alter, and not to preserve, *one and the same Reformed Religion.*
2. Absolutely and without Exception to preserve; and yet upon Supposition to *extirpate* the self same Thing, viz. the present Religion of the Church of Scotland.

3. To

3. To reform Church-Government established in *England*, and *Ireland*, according to the Word of God: and yet to extirpate that Government which we are perswaded to be according thereunto, for the introducing of another whereof we are not so perswaded.
4. To endeavour really the Extirpation of Heresies, Schisms, and Propbanness; and yet withall to extirpate that Government in the Church, the Want of the due Exercise whereof, we conceive to have been one chief Cause of the Growth of the said Evills; and do believe the Restoring and Continuance thereof would be the most proper and effectual Remedy.
5. To preserve with our Estates and Lives, the Liberties of the Kingdome; that is, (as in the Protestation is explained) of the Subject; and yet contrary to these Liberties, to submit to the Imposition of this Covenant, and of the Negative Oath, not yet established by Law; and to put our Lives and Estates under the Arbitrary Power of such as may take away both from us when they please, not onely without, but even against Law, if they shall judge it convenient so to do.

Secondly, we find in the Covenant, sundry Expressions of dark or doubtfull Construction, whereunto we cannot sweare in Judgement, till their Sense be cleared and agreed upon. As, who are the *Common Enemies*? and which be the *best reformed Churches*? mentioned in the first Article. Who (in the fourth Article) are to be accounted *Malignants*? How far that Phrase of *hindring Reformation* may be extended? What is meant by the *supreme Judiciary of both Kingdomes*? and sundry other.

Thirdly, by the Use that hath been made. of this Covenant, (sometimes to Purposes of dangerous Consequence) we are brought into some Fears and Jealousies, least by taking the same we should cast ourselves into more Snares than we are yet aware of. For in the first Article,

1. Whereas we are to endeavour the Reformation of Religion in this Kingdome, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best reformed Churches:

1. The Reformation in Worship (whereby we could not suppose any more was intended (according to their former (u) Declaration) than a Review of the Service-book, that the Translations might be in some Places amended, some Alterations made in the Offices and Rubricks, or at most some of the Ceremonies laid aside for the Reasons of Expediency and Condescension) hath produced an utter Abolition of the whole Form established: without substituting any other certain Form in the Room thereof.

2. The Reformation in Point of Discipline and Government intended (so far as by the Overtures hitherto made we are able to judge) is such, as we conceive not to be according to the Word of God, nor (for any Thing we

(u) The Lords and Commons do declare, That they intend a due and necessary Reformation of the Liturgy of the Church; and to take away nothing therein but what shall be evill, and justly offensive, or at least unnecessary and burthensome. *Declarat. 9. Apr. 1642. Exact Coll. pag. 135.*

know) according to the Example of any Church that ever was in the World (best or worst) since the Creation.

II. In the second Article, our Grief and Fears had been lesse, if we could have observed *the Extirpation of Popery, Heresie, Schism, and Prophaneness*, to have been as really intended and set on with as much Speed and Animosity, as the Extirpation of *Prelacy*, and that which some call *Superstition*. But when we see, under the Notions of rooting out Prelacy and Superstition, so much Quickness used to fetch in the Revenues of the Church and the sacred Utensils (no otherwise guilty of Superstition, for ought we know, than that they are worth something;) and on the other Side, so little yet done toward the Extirpation of Heresie, Schism, and Profaneness, (as Things of less temporal Advantage :) We cannot dissemble our Suspition, that the Designers of this Covenant might have something else before their Eyes besides what in the Beginning of the Introduction is expressed; and that there is something meant in this Article, that looketh so like Sacrilege, that we are afraid to venture thereon.

III. In the third Article

1. Although we should not otherwise have apprehended any Matter of Danger or Moment in the ordering of the Particulars in the Article mentioned: yet since M. *Challoner* in his *Speech*, and others have made Advantage thereof to inferre from that very Order, that the Defence of the King's Person and Authority ought to be with Subordination to the Preservation of the Rights and Priviledges of Parliaments, and the Liberties of the Kingdome, (*w*) which are *in the first Place*, and before it to be endeavoured; we hope we shall be excused, if we dare not take the Covenant in this Sense; especially, considering that if the Argument be of any Force, it will bind us at least, as strongly to endeavour the Maintenance of *the King's Person, Honour, and Estate* in the first Place, and the rest but subordinately thereunto; because they are so ordered in the Protestation: And then that Protestation having the Advantage of preceding, it will bind us more strongly, as being the first Obligation.

2. Whereas some have been the rather induced to take the Covenant in this Particular by being told, that that Limitation, *in the Preservation and Defence of the true Religion and Liberties of the Kingdome* was not to be understood exclusively: yet when we find that the House of Commons in their Answer to the Scottish Papers, doe (*x*) often presse that Limitation, as without which the endeavouring to preserve the King's Majestie's Person and Authority ought not to be mentioned; it cannot but deterre us from taking the Covenant in this Particular so understood.

(*w*) From whence it is most evident, that the Rights and Priviledges of the Parliaments, and Liberties of the Kingdom, are in the first Place to be preserved. *Answ. to Scottish Papers*, 18. Nov. 1646. page 21.

(*x*) We observe you mention the De-

fence of the King twice from the Covenant, yet in both Places leave out *In the Preservation and, &c.* pag. 39. & 46. a main Clause, without which the other Part ought never to be mentioned. pag. 56.

3. Espe-

3. Especially being told in a late Pamphlet, that the King not having preserved the Liberties of the Kingdom, &c. as of Duty he ought, is thereby become a *Tyrant*, and so ceaseth to be a King, and consequently that his Subjects cease to be Subjects, and owe him no longer Subjection. Which Assertion, since we heartily detest, as false and scandalous in the Supposition, and in the Inference seditious and divelish; we darre not by subscribing this Article seem to give the least Countenance thereunto.
4. But it striketh us with Horror to think what Use hath been made of this fourth Article; concerning the Punishment of Malignants, &c. as by others otherwaies; so especially by *the Corrector of a Speech without Doors*, written in the Defence of Mr. *Challoner's* Speech: who is so bold as to tell the Parliament, that they are bound by their Covenant (for the bringing of evill Instruments to condigne Punishment) to destroy the King and his Posterity, and that they cannot justifie the taking away of *Strafford's* and *Canterbury's* Lives for Delinquency, whilst they suffer the chief Delinquent to go unpunished.

SECT. VII. *Of the Salvo's.*

THE *Salvo's* that we have usually met withall, for the avoyding of the aforefaid Scruples, either concerning the whole Covenant, or some Particulars therein of special Importance, we find upon Examination to be no Way satisfactory to our Consciences.

The first is that we may take the Covenant *in our own Sense*: but this (in a Matter of this Nature, *viz.* an imposed promisory Oath, in the Performance whereof others also are presumed to be concerned) seemeth to be,

1. Contrary to the Nature and End of an Oath, which unless it be full of Simplicity, cannot be sworn in Truth and Righteousness, nor serve to the ending of Controversies and Contradictions, which was the Use for which it was instituted, *Heb. 6.*
2. Contrary to the End of Speech? God having given us the Use of Speech for this End, that it might be the Interpreter of the Mind; it behoveth us as in all other our Dealings and Contracts, so especially where there is the Intervention of an Oath, so to speak, as that they whom it concerneth, may clearly understand our Meaning by our Words.
3. Contrary to the End of the Covenant it self. Which being the Confirmation of a firm Union among the Covenanters, that by taking thereof they might have mutuall Assurance of mutuall Assistance and Defence; If one may be allowed to take it in one Sense, and another in a contrary; the Covenanters shall have no more Assurance of mutuall Assistance each from other after the taking of the Covenant, than they had before.
4. Contrary to the solemn Profession made by each Covenant (in expresse Terms in the Conclusion thereof) *in the Presence of Almighty God the Searcher of all Hearts*, that he taketh it with a true Intention to perform the same, as he shall answer it at the great Day.

II. This will bring a Scandall upon our Religion,

1. That

1. That we practise that our selves, which we condemn in Papists, *viz.* Swearing with Jesuitical Equivocations and mental Reservations.
2. That we take the glorious and dreadfull Name of God in vain; and play fast and loose with Oathes: in as much as what we swear to Day in one Sense, we may swear the direct contrary to Morrow in another. And
3. It will give Strength to that Charge which is layed to the Presbyterian Party, in special, both (y) by *Jesuites* and (z) *Sectaries*; that there is no Faith to be given to Protestants, whatever they swear; because they may swear one Thing in their Words, and in their own Sense mean another.

The second Way is, to take the Covenant with these or the like general *Salvo's* expressed, *viz.* *So far as lawfully I may; So far as it is agreeable to the Word of God, and the Lawes of the Land; saving all Oathes by me formerly taken, &c.* But

1. We believe this mocking of God would be so far from freeing us from the Guilt of Perjury, that thereby we should rather contract a new Guilt of most vile and abominable Hypocrisie.
2. It seemeth all one unto us (the Thing being otherwise supposed unlawfull) as if we should swear to kill, steal, commit Adultery, or forswear our selves, so far as lawfully we may.
3. If this would satisfie the Conscience, we might with a good Conscience not only take the present Covenant, but even subscribe to the *Council of Trent* also; yea, and to the *Turkish Alcoran*; and swear to maintain and defend either of them, *viz.* so far as lawfully we may, or as they are agreeable to the Word of God.

Thirdly, for the *second Article* in particular, in the Branch concerning the Extirpation of Church-Government, we are told, that it is to be understood of the whole Government, taken collectively and in *sensu composito*, so as if we do endeavour but the taking away of *Apparitors* only, or of any other one kind of inferiour Officers belonging to the Ecclesiasticall Hierarchy, we shall have sufficiently discharged our whole Promise in that Particular without any Prejudice done to Episcopacy. But

1. Neither the Composers of the Covenant by their Words, nor the Imposers of it by their Actions, have given us the least Signification that they meant no more.
2. Yea rather, if we may judge either by the Cause or the Effects, we may well think there was a Meaning to extirpate the whole Government, and every Part thereof in the Article expressed. For
1. The Covenant being (as we have no Cause to doubt) framed at the Instance of the *Scots*, and for the easier procuring of their Assistance in the

(y) *Hæretici nec Deo, nec hominibus servant fidem. — Speciatim hoc addo, Calvinistas in hac re deteriores esse quam Lutheranos. Nam Calvinistæ nullam servant fidem: Fura, perjura. — Lutherani moderatiores sunt.* Becan. 5. Manual. Controv. 14. n. 4. & 6.

(z) Invent Oathes and Covenants for the Kingdom, dispence with them when he pleaseth, swear and forswear as the Wind turneth, like a godly Presbyter. Arraig. of Persec. in Epist. Dod.

late War, was therefore in all Reason so to be framed and understood, as to give them Satisfaction, and (considering what themselves have (a) declared against Episcopacy) we have little Reason to believe the taking away Apparitors, or any Thing lesse than the rooting out of Episcopacy it self, would have satisfied them.

2. The Proceedings also, since the entring of this Covenant, in endeavouring by *Ordinance of Parliament* to take away the Name, Power, and Revenues of Bishops do sadly give us to understand, what was their Meaning therein.

Fourthly, as to the Scruples that arise from the Sovereignty of the King, and the Duty of Allegiance as Subjects; we find two several Ways of answering, but little Satisfaction in either.

I. The former, by saying (which seemeth to us a Piece of unreasonable and strange Divinity, that *Protection* and *Subjection* standing in relation either to other, the King being now disabled to give us Protection, we are thereby freed from our Bond of Subjection. Whereas

1. The Subjects Obligation (*Jus subjectionis*) doth not spring from, nor relate unto the actual Exercise of Kingly Protection; but from and unto the Princes Obligation to protect (*Jus protectionis*.) Which Obligation lying upon him as a Duty, which he is bound in Conscience to perform, when it is in his Power so to do; the relative Obligation thereunto lyeth upon us as a Duty which we are bound in Conscience to perform, when it is in our Power so to do. His Inability therefore to perform his Duty doth not discharge us from the Necessity of performing ours, so long as we are able to do it.

2. If the King should not protect us, but neglect his Part, though having Power and Ability to perform it; his voluntary Neglect ought not to free us from the faithful Performance of what is to be done on our Part. How much less then ought we to think our selves disobliged from our Subjection, when the Non-protection on his Part is not from the Want of Will, but of Power?

II. The latter (wherein yet some have triumphed) by saying that the Parliament being the supreme Judicatory) of the Kingdome, the King, *where-soever in Person*, is ever present *there in his Power*, as in all other Courts of Justice: and that therefore whatsoever is done by them is not done without the King, but by him. But craving Pardon first if in Things without our proper Sphere we hap to speak improperly or amisse; we must next crave leave to be still of the same Mind we were, till it shall be made evident to our Understandings, that the King is there *in his Power*, as it is evident to our Senses that he is not there *in his Person*: Which so far as

(a) By the Covenant, both Houses of Parliament, and many Thousands of other His Majestie's Subjects of *England* and *Ireland* stand bound as well as we to hinder the setting up of the Church Government by Bishops in the Kingdome of *Scotland*: And that we as well as they stand bound to endeavour the Extirpation thereof in *England* and *Ireland*. *Scots Declar. to the States of the United Provinces*, 5. Aug. 1645. recited in *Answer to the Scots Papers*, pag. 23.

our natural Reason and small Experience will serve us to judge, all that hath been said to that Purpose can never do.

For, first, to the Point of Presence:

1. We have been brought up in a Beliefe that for the making of Lawes, the actual (b) *Royal Assent* was simply necessary; and not only a virtual Assent supposed to be included in the Votes of the Two Houses: otherwise what Use can be made of his Negative Voice? or what need to (c) *desire his Royal Assent*, to that which may be done as well without it?
2. The (d) Statute, providing that *the King's Assent to any Bill signified unto his Great Seal* shall be to all Intents of Law as valid and effectual, as if he were personally present, doth clearly import that as to the Effect of making a Law, the King's Power is not otherwise really present with the two Houses, than it appeareth either in his Person or under his Seal: Any other *real Presence* is to us a Riddle, not much unlike to that of *Transubstantiation*: an imaginary Thing, rather devised to serve Turns, than believed by those that are content to make Use of it.
3. Such Presence of the King there, when it shall be made appear to us either from the Writs, whereby the Members of both Houses are called together, or by the standing Lawes of the Land, or by the acknowledged Judgement and continued Practice of former and latter Ages, or by an Express from the King himself, clearly declaring his Mind to that Purpose, we shall then as becometh us, acknowledge the same, and willingly submit thereunto.

And as for the Argument drawn from the *Analogy* of other Courts, wherein the King's Power is always supposed to be virtually present, under Submission we conceive it is of no Consequence.

1. The Arguments *à minore* and *à majore* are subject to many Fallacies; and unless there be a Parity of Reason in every requisite Respect between the Things compared, will not hold good: A petty Constable (they say)

(b) The old Formes of Acts of Parliament were, *The King willeth; provideth, ordaineth, establisbeth, granteth, &c. by the Assent of Parliament, &c.* See Statutes till

1. Hen. IV. After that, *The King, of the Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the special Instance and Request of the Commons of this Realm hath ordained, &c.* See Statutes 1. Hen. IV. till 1. H. VII.

A Form of such Petition of the Commons, See 1. Rich. III. 6. *Prayen the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, that where, &c. Please it therefore your Highness, by the Advice and Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in this your present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, to ordain, &c.*

No Bill is an Act of Parliament, Ordi-

nance, or Edict of Law, although both the Houses agree unanimously in it, till it hath the Royal Assent. *Ancient Customes*, pag. 54.

Assemblée de ceux trois Estats est apellee un Act de Parliament: car sans tous trois n'est aucun Act de Parl. Finch Nomotech. fol. 21.

We admit that no Acts of Parliament are complete, or formally binding without the King's Assent. H. P. *Answer to David Jenkins*, pag. 6.

(c) — which if your Majesty shall be pleased to adorn with your Majesty's Royal Assent, (without which it can neither be complete and perfect, nor —) *Stat. 1 Jac. 1.*

(d) *Stat. 33. Hen. III. 21.*

may

may do something which a Justice of Peace cannot do: And the Steward of a petty Mannor hath Power to administer an Oath, which (as we are told) the House of Commons it self hath no Power to do.

2. That the High Court of Parliament is the supream Judicatory, we have been told it is by Vertue of the King's Right of presiding there, he being (e) the *Supream Judge*, and the Members of both Houses his Council: which being so, the Reason of Difference is plain between that and other Judicatories in sundry Respects.

1. The Judges in other Courts are deputed by him, and do all in his Name, and by his Authority; and therefore the Presence of his Power in those Courts of ministerial Jurisdiction is sufficient, his personal Presence not necessary, neither hath he any personall Vote therein at all. But in the High Court of *Parliament*, where the King himself is the supream Judge, judging in his own Name and by his own Authority, his Power cannot be presumed to be really present without either the actual Presence of his Person, or some virtuall Representation thereof signified under his Great Seal.

2. The Judges in inferiour Courts, because they are to act all in his Name, and by his Authority, do therefore take Oaths of Fidelity for the right exercising of Judicature in their severall Places; sitting there, not by any proper Interest of their own, but onely in Right of the King, whose Judges they are, and therefore they are called the King's Judges and his Ministers. But in the High Court of Parliament, the Lords and Commons sit there in Council with the King as Supream Judge, for the Good of the whole Realm; and therefore they are not called the King's Judges, but the King's Council; and they have their severall proper Rights and Interests peculiar and distinct both between themselves, and from that of the Kings; by reason whereof they become *distinct* (f) *Orders*, or as of late Times they have been stiled (in this Sense as we conceive) (g) *three distinct Estates*. Each of which being supposed to be the best Conservators of their own proper Interest, if the Power of any one Estate should be presumed to be virtually present in the other two, that Estate must needs be inevitably liable to suffer in the proper Interests thereof. Which might quickly prove destructive to the whole Kingdome: The Safety and Prosperity of the whole consisting in the Conservation of the just Rites and proper Interest of the main Parts, *viz.* The King, Lords, and Commons, inviolate and entire.

(e) *Dominus Rex habet ordinariam jurisdictionem, dignitatem & potestatem super omnes qui in regno suo sunt. — Ea quæ jurisdictionis sunt & pacis — ad nullum pertinent nisi ad coronam & dignitatem Regiam, nec à coronâ separari possunt. Bract. cited by Stamford, lib. 2. cap. 2.*

(f) For in our Laws, the Clergy, Nobility, and Communalty, are the three

Estates. — We your said most loving, faithful, and obedient Subjects, (viz. the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons) representing your three Estates of your Realm of England, 1. Eliz. 3. — The State of the Clergy being one of the greatest States of this Realm. 8. Eliz. 1.

(g) See Finch, *supra* ad lit. (b)

3. The Judges of other Courts, forasmuch as their Power is but ministerial and meerly judicial, are bounded by the present Laws, and limited also by their own Acts: so as they may neither swerve from the Laws, in giving Judgment, nor reverse their own Judgments after they are given. But the High Court of *Parliament*, having (by reason of the King's Supream Power presiding therein) a Power Legislative as well as Judicial, are not so limited by any earthly Power, but that they may change and over-rule the Laws, and their own Acts at their Pleasure. The King's Personall Assent therefore is not needfull in those other Courts, which are bounded by those Laws whereunto the King hath already given his Personall Assent; but unto any Act of Power beside, beyond, above, or against the Laws already established. We have been informed, and it seems to us very agreeable to Reason, that the King's Personall Assent should be absolutely necessary: Forasmuch as every such Act is the Exercise of a Legislative rather than of a Judicial Power; and no Act of Legislative Power in any Community (by Consent of all Nations) can be valid, unless it be confirmed by such Person or Persons as the Sovereignty of that Community resideth in. Which Sovereignty, with us, so undoubtedly resideth in the Person of the King, that his ordinary Style runneth, — *Our (b) Soveraigne Lord the King*: And he is in the Oath of Supremacy expressly acknowledged to be *the onely Supreme Governour within his Realms*. And we leave it to the Wisdome of others to consider what Misery and Mischief might come to the Kingdom, if the Power of any of these *three Estates* should be swallowed up by any one or both the other, and if then under the Name of a Judicial, there should be yet really exercised a Legislative Power.

4. Since all Judicial Power is radically, and originally in the King, (who is for that Cause styled by the Laws (i) *the Fountain of Justice*) and not in any other Person or Persons, but by Derivation from him: it seemeth to us evident, that neither the Judges of inferiour Courts of ministerial Justice, nor the Lords and Commons assembled in the High Court of *Parliament*, may of Right exercise any other Power over the Subjects of this Realm, than such as by their respective Patents and Writs issued from the King, or by the known established Laws of the Land, formerly assented unto by

(b) The Crown of *England* hath been so free at all Times, that it hath been in no earthly Subjection, but immediately to God in all Things touching the Regality of the said Crown. — 16. *Rich. II.* 5. *Omnis sub eo est, & ipse sub nullo, nisi tantum sub Deo. Parem autem non habet Rex in regno suo, quia — Item nec multo fortius superiorem aut potentiorum habere debet, quia sic esset inferior suis subjectis.* Bract. conten. 1. Rubr. 36.

— *Cui αὐτοκρατορικῶν, legibus ipsis legum*

vim imponendi potestatem Deus dedit. Finch Nomotech. in Epist. Dedic. to K. *James*.

(i) *Fons Justitiæ.* Bract. By War to intend the Alteration of the Laws in any Part of them, is to levy War against the King, and consequently Treason by the Stat. of 25 *Edw. III.* — because they are the King's Laws. He is the Fountain from whence in their several Channels they are derived to the Subject. *Master Saint John's Speech concerning the Earl of Strafford*, page 12.

the

the Kings of this Realm doth appear to have been from him derived unto them. Which Laws, Patents and Writs being the exact Boundary of their severall Powers, it hath not yet been made appear to our Understandings, either from the Laws of the Realm, or from the Tenour of those Writs by which the Parliament is called, that the two Houses of Parliament have any Power without the King to *order, command, or transact*; but with him (*k*) to *treat, consult and advise* concerning the great Affairs of the Kingdome. In which Respect they have sundry Times in their Declarations to his Majesty, called themselves by the Name of his great Councell. And those Laws and Writs are (as we conceive) the proper Topick, from which the just Power of the honourable Houses can be convincingly deduced: and not such frail Collections as the Wits of Men may raise from seeming Analogies and Proportions.

SECT. VIII. *Of the Negative Oath.*

WE are not satisfied, how we can submit to the taking of the *Negative Oath*.

1. Without Forfeiture of that *Liberty*, which we have sworn and are bound to preserve. With which Liberty we conceive it to be inconsistent, that any Obligation should be laid upon the Subject, by an Oath not established by Act of Parliament.
2. Without abjuring our (*l*) *naturall Allegiance*, and violating the *Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance* by us formerly taken. By all which being bound to our Power to *assist the King*, we are by this *Negative Oath* required to swear, from our Heart, *not to assist him*.
3. Without *Diminution of his Majestie's just Power and Greatness*, contrary to the third Article of the Covenant; by acknowledging a Power in the two Houses of Parliament, in Opposition to the King's Power. Whereas we profess our selves unable to understand; how there can be any lawfull Power exercised within this Realm, which is not subordinate to the Power of the King.

SECT. IX. *Of the Ordinances concerning the Discipline and Directory.*

FIRST, concerning them altogether; we are not satisfied how we can submit to such Ordinances of the two Houses of Parliament, not having the *Royall Assent*.

1. As are contrary to the established Laws of this Realm, contained in such Acts of Parliament as were made by the joynt Consent of the King, Lords and Commons.

(*k*) — *Et ibidem vobiscum colloquium habere, tractare super dictis negotiis tract. vestrumq; concilium impensur:* Writ to the Lords.

Allegiance is bounden to serve and assist his Prince and Sovereigne Lord at all Seasons when Need shall require. 11. Hen. VII. 18.

(*l*) Every Subject by the Duty of his

2. Nor so onely, but also pretend by Repeal to abrogate such Act or Acts. For, since *Ejusdem est potestatis destruere cujus est constituere*, it will not sink with us, that a lesser Power can have a just Right to cancell and annull the Act of a greater.

3. Especially the whole Power of ordering all Matters Ecclesiastical being by the Laws, (m) in exprefs Words, *for ever annexed to the Imperiall Crown of this Realm*. And upon what Head that Crown ought to stand, none can be ignorant.

II. As to the particular Ordinances: those that concern the *Discipline*, first.

1. If under that Title be comprehended the *Government* also: we cannot submit thereunto, without consenting to the Eradication of a Government of reverent Antiquity in the Church. Which (notwithstanding the severall Changes of Religion within this Realm) hath yet from Time to Time been continued and confirmed by the Publique Laws and Great Charters of the Kingdom: than which there cannot be a more ample Testimony that it was ever held agreeable to the Civill Government and the Subjects Liberty. Which also the successive Kings of this Realm at their severall Coronations have solemnly sworn to preserve. And the Continuance whereof for sundry Reasons before (upon the second Article of the Covenant) specified, we heartily wish and desire.

2. But if the Word *Discipline* be taken (as it is in the first Article of the Covenant) as *contra-distinguished unto the Government*: there is something even in that also, wherein we are not fully satisfied, viz. the leaving of so much Power in so many Persons, and those, many of them of mean Quality, for the keeping back of Thousands of well-meaning Christians from the Benefit and Comfort of the blessed Sacrament. An Austerity, for which there appeareth not to us any probable Warrant from the Word of God: But which seemeth rather repugnant, as to the generall Principles of Christian Prudence and Charity, so to the Directions and Practice of St. Paul in particular, 1 Cor. 5. 1, &c. who in a Church abounding with sundry Errors and Corruptions both in Faith and Manners, (having first given Order for the Excommunicating of one onely Person, that by shameless Continuance in a notorious Sin had brought a foul Scandall upon the Gospel) sufficing himself then with a general Proposal of the great Danger of *unworthy Communicating*, remitteth every other particular Person to a *Self-Examination*; without any Order either to Ministers or Lay-Elders to exclude any from the Holy Communion upon their Examination. 1 Cor. 11. 28, &c.

III. As to the Ordinance concerning the *Directory* in particular: we cannot without regret of Conscience, (during our present Judgement, and the Continuance of the present Laws) consent to the taking away of *the Booke of Common Prayer*.

1. Which by our Subscriptions most of us have approved; with a solemn Promise therewithall, in the publique Service to use the Form prescribed therein, and no other.

(m) Stat. Eliz. 1.

2. Which,

2. Which, according to our said Subscription and Promise, and our bounden Duty according to the Statute (n) in that Case provided, we have hitherto used in our Churches, Chappels, and other Oratories, to the great Benefit and Comfort of our Souls.
3. Which we verily believe not to contain any Thing which (with such favourable Construction as of right ought to be allowed to all Manner of Writings) is not justly defensible; which hath not been by learned and godly Men sufficiently maintained, against such Exceptions as have been heretofore taken thereat; and which we are not confident (by the Assistance of Almighty God) we shall be able to justify (as Occasion shall be offered) against all Papists, and other Oppugners or Depravers thereof whatsoever.
4. Which is established by an *Act of Parliament*, made (in peaceable Times) by as good and full Authority as any under Heaven can have over us. Which doth so weigh with us, that as it freeth us from the Necessity of giving in any particular Exceptions against the *Directory*, or any Thing therein contained: so it layeth an inevitable Necessity upon us of continuing the Form of Prayer therein enjoined, and of not admitting any *Directory* or other Form to the Prejudice thereof, till the said Act shall by the like good and full Authority be repealed.

In which Statute there is not onely an *express Command* given to all Ministers for the using of the same; but there are also *Sanctions of severe Punishments* to be inflicted upon such of them as shall refuse so to do; or shall preach, declare, or speak any thing to the Derogation or Depraving the Book of Common Prayer, or of any Thing therein contained, or any Part thereof, with Punishments also to be inflicted upon every other Person whatsoever (*the Lords of the Parliament not excepted*) that shall in like Manner declare or speak against the said Book; or shall by Deed or Threatening compel, or otherwise procure or maintain any Minister to say open Prayer, or to minister any Sacrament, in any other Manner or Form than is mentioned in the said Book; or shall interrupt or hinder any Minister in the Use of the said Formes, as by the Words of the said Statute more at large may appear.

Which Statute also hath had such an universal powerful Influence into the succeeding Times, that in all such (o) Statutes as have been since made against Popish Recusants, the refusing to *be present at Common-Prayer, or to receive the Sacrament according to the Forms and Rites* mentioned in that Book, is expressed as the most proper legall Character, whereby to distinguish a *Popish Recusant* from a true Protestant. In so much that Use hath been made of that very Character in sundry Acts, since the Beginning of this present Parliament, for the taxing of double Payments upon *Recusants*.

Thus have we clearly and freely represented our present Judgment concerning the said Covenant, Negative Oath, and Ordinances; which upon better Information in any particular, we shall be ready to rectifie. Only we

(n) 1. Eliz.

(o) Stat. 23. Eliz. 1. & 29. Eliz. 6. & 35. Eliz. 1. & 2. & 3 Jac. 4. & 5.

desire it may be considered, that if any one single Scruple, or Reason in any the Premises remain unsatisfied, (though we should receive full Satisfaction in all the rest) the Conscience would also remain still unsatisfied. And in that Case, it can neither be reasonable for them that cannot satisfy us to presse us, nor lawfull for us that cannot be satisfied to submit to the said Covenant, Oath and Ordinances.

Quis damnaverit eum, qui duabus potentissimis rebus defenditur, Jure & mente?
Quintil.

Rom. 14. 22. Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that which he alloweth.

A True and Exact Copy of a treasonable and bloody Paper, called the Fanaticks New Covenant: Which was taken from Mr. DONALD CARGILL, at *Queens-Ferry*, the Third Day of *June*, Anno Dom. 1680. one of their Field-Preachers, a declared Rebel and Traytor.

Together with their execrable Declaration, published at the Cross of *Sanquhair*, upon the Twenty-two Day of the said Month of *June*, after a solemn Procession and Singing of Psalms, by CAMERON, the notorious Ringleader of, and Preacher at, their Field Conventicles, accompanied with Twenty of that wicked Crew.

A True and Exact Copy of a Treasonable Paper, &c.

WE Under-Subscribers, for our selves, and all that join with us, and adhere to us, being put to it by God, our Consciences, and Men; Do bind our Souls with a solemn and sacred Bond, lest on the one Hand we should be carried with the Stream of the Apostacy and Defection of the Church in this Time, and on the other Hand, lest we should (not being so engaged) vanish in Vanity, and be without a right Rule in good Designs: We judged it our Duty again to covenant with God, and one another, and to publish this *DECLARATION* to the World of our Purposes, that Men may know our most inward Thoughts, the Rules that we walk by, and the outmost Ends that we have before our Eyes for this Intent, that these who are Lovers of God, zealous of His reigning in Glory, and desirous of Reformation, and the Propagation of his Kingdom, may have Occasion no more to be jealous of our Intentions, and others may have no Ground to load us with odious and foul Aspersions; but that all knowing the
Truth

Truth of us, if they shall strive against us, and Truth with us, shall do it without Excuse, and against Conviction; and that these who shall join with us, may do it upon solid and undoubted Grounds, and both they and we may expect Grace from Him, faithfully to persevere, and happily to be successful in so good Purposes.

It is true, We are not ignorant of the great Unmindfulness, Failing, Counteracting, and Mocking that has been in our former Vows and Covenants with God, and of the great Judgments that have, and are like to follow such impious and sinful dealing with God in such weighty Matters, (for which we both ought and desire to be humbled before Him) which cannot but make us with great Trembling of Heart enter into new ones, knowing both our own Weakness and Readiness to relapse, and the great Hazard and Danger of such Relapses: Yet, the Desire of recovering and preserving a Remnant, and the Conviction of this, as the most convenient Mean, the Zeal to God's Glory, and Christ's Reigning, (which is the highest and most acceptable Duty Man can perform to God) hoping for His Mercies, (who is witness to the Integrity of our Hearts, and the Rightness of our Intentions) that he will instruct, direct, accept, and prosper us, we go forward, declaring, that nothing else but what we here express is our Design.

I.

We covenant and swear, that we take the only true and living God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be our God, and betake our selves to the Merits and Righteousness of his Son, as the alone Righteousness that can justify us before God; and that we take his Scriptures and Word to be the Object of our Faith, and Rule of our Conversation in all Things; and that we shall give up our selves to Him to be Renewed, Instructed, and in all Things ruled by His Spirit, according to that Word; and shall earnestly endeavour, by His Grace, to render to Him that Love, Worship and Obedience, that His Word requires, and His Goodness engages us to.

II.

That we shall to the utmost of our Power, advance the Kingdom of our Christ establish'd throughout the Land, (if at any Time hereafter God shall give us this Opportunity) Righteousness, and the true reformed Religion, in the Truth of its Doctrine, in the Purity and Power of its Worship and Ordinances, and in its Discipline and Government, and free the Church of God from the Thralldom, Tyranny, Incroachment, and Corruption of Prelacy on the one Hand, and Erastianism on the other. And that we shall to our Power, relieve the Church and Subjects of this Kingdom, (we being called thereto, by His giving of us Power, Power being God's Call to do Good,) of that Oppression that hath been exercised upon their Consciences, Civil Rights and Liberties, that Men may serve Him holily, without Fear, and possess their Civil Rights in Quietness, without Disturbance.

III.

That we shall endeavour to our utmost, the Extirpation of the Kingdom of Darkness, and whatsoever is contrair to the Kingdom of Christ, and especially Idolatry, and Popery in all the Articles of it, as we are bound in
our

our national Covenant; and Superstition, Will-worship, and Prelacy, with its Hierarchy, as we are bound in our Solemn League and Covenant; and that we shall with the same Sincerity, endeavour (God giving us Assistance) the Overthrow of that Power that hath established that Prelacy and Erastianism over the Church, and exercises such a lustful and arbitrary Tyranny over the Subjects, seeking again to introduce Idolatry and Superstition in these Lands, contrair to our Covenants: And in a Word, that we shall endeavour the Extirpation of all the Works of Darkness, and the Relicts of Idolatry and Superstition, (which are both much enlarged and revived in our Times,) and execute righteous Judgment impartially (according to the Word of God, and Degree of Wickedness) upon the Committers of these Things, but especially, Blasphemy, Idolatry, Atheism, Sorcery, Perjury, Uncleaness, Profanation of the Lord's Day, Oppression and Malignancy; that being thus zealous for God, he may delight to dwell among us.

IV.

Seriously considering, that the Hand of our Kings has been against the Throne of the Lord, and that now for a long Time, the Succession of our Kings, and the most Part of our Rulers with him, hath been against the Purity and Power of Religion and Godliness, and Freedom of the Church of God, and hath degenerate from the Vertue and good Government of their Predecessors into Tyranny, and hath of late so manifestly rejected God, his Service and Reformation, as a Slavery, as they themselves call it in their publick Papers, (especially, in these last Letters to the King, and Duke of *Lauderdale*) disclaiming their Covenant with God, and blasphemously inacting it to be burnt by the Hand of a Hangman, governed contrary to all right Laws, Divine and Humane, exercised such Tyranny, and Arbitrary Government, oppressed Men in their Consciences and Civil Rights, used free Subjects (Christian and Reasonable Men) with less Discretion and Justice than their Beasts; and so not only frustrate the great End of Government, (which is, that Men may live godly, holily, and peaceably under them, and might be maintained in their Rights and Liberties from Injury and Wrong) but hath also walked contrary to it; so that it can no more be called a *Government*, but a *lustful Rage*, exercised with as little right Reason, and with more Cruelty than in Beasts, and they themselves can be no more called *Governours*, but *publick Grassators*, and *publick Judgments*, which all Men ought as earnestly to labour to be free of, as of Sword, Famine, or Pestilence raging amongst us; and besides, hath stopped (instead of punishing) the Course of Law and Justice against Idolaters, Blasphemers, Atheists, Murtherers, Incestuous and Adulterous, and other Malefactors; and instead of rewarding the Good, hath made Butcheries and Murthers on the Lord's People, sold them as Slaves, imprisoned, forfaulted, banished and fined them, upon no other Account, but for Maintaining the Lord's Right to rule Consciences, against the Usurpations of Men, for fulfilling their Vows, and repelling unjust Violence, which innocent Nature allows to all; of all which, and more Particulars, we can give (we speak as before God) innumerable and sure Instances: Neither can it be thought, that there is Hope of their
returning

returning from these Courses, having so often shewed their Natures, and Enmities against God, and all Righteousness, and so often declared, and renewed their Purposes and Promises of persevering in these Courses. And, suppose they should dissemble a Repentance of these Evils, and profess to return to better Courses, being put to Straits, or for their own Ends, (for upon no other Account can we reasonably expect it;) and though it might be thought, that there might be Pardon for what is done, (which we cannot yet see to be, without the Violation of the Law of God, and a great Guiltiness on the Land, from which Guiltiness the Land can never be free, but by executing of God's righteous Judgments upon them, for omitting of so greatly deserved, and so necessarily requisite a Justice;) yet they cannot be believed, after they have violated all Tyes that human Wisdom can devise to bind Men; and beside, there will be something of Folly found, to think to bind a King that pretends to Absoluteness: and our Fathers, or rather our selves, at first judged it not warrantable to receive Him, without consenting to, and swearing of the Covenant: And if so, the renouncing and disclaiming thereof, we ought at present to judge, to be a just and reasonable Ground of rejecting Him upon these Grounds, being assured of God's Approbation, and Men's, whose Hearts are not utterly byassed, and their Consciences altogether corrupted, and knowing assuredly, that the upholding of such, is to uphold Men, to bear down Christ's Kingdom, and to uphold Satan's, and the depriving of Men of right Government, and good Governours, to the ruining of Religion, and undoing of humane Society. We then seeing the innumerable Sins and Snares, that are in giving Obedience to their Acts; on the other Hand, seeing, if we shall acknowledge their Authority, and refuse Obedience to their sinful Commands, the endless Miseries that will follow, and siding with God (who we hope will accept and help us to a Liberation from their Tyranny) against his stated and declared Enemies; do reject that King, and these associate with Him, from being our Rulers, because standing in the Way of our right, free and peaceable serving of God, propagating His Kingdom and Reformation, and overthrowing Satan's Kingdom, according to our Covenant; and declares them henceforth to be no lawful Rulers, as they have declared first to be no lawful Subjects, upon a Ground far less warrantable, as Men unbyassed may see; and that after this, we neither owe, nor shall yield any willing Obedience to them, but shall rather suffer the outmost of their Cruelties and Injustice, untill God shall plead our Cause, and that upon these Accounts; because, they have altered and destroyed the Lord's established Religion, overturned the fundamental and establish'd Laws of the Kingdom, taken altogether away Christ's Church and Government, and changed the Civil Government of this Land (which was by King and free Parliaments) into Tyranny, where none are associate to be Partakers of the Government, but only those who will be found by Justice to be guilty Criminals, and all others excluded; even those, who by the Laws of the Land by Birth had a Right to, and a Share in that Government, and that only, because not of the same Guiltiness and mischievous Purposes with themselves: And also,

all free Elections of Commissioners for Parliaments, and Officers for Government, are made void by their making those the Qualifications of Admission to these Places, which by the Word of God, and the Laws of this Land, were the Cause of their Exclusion before, so that none can look upon us, or judge us bound in Alledgiance, to them, unless they say also we are bound in Alledgiance to Divels, they being his Vicegerents, and not God's.

V.

We then being made free, by God and their own Doings, He giving the Law, and they giving the Transgression of that Law, which is the Cause that we are loosed now from all Obligations, both Divine and Civil to them, and knowing that no Society of Men that hath Corruption in them (which always is ready to beget Disorders, and do Injuries, unless restrained and punished by Laws and Government) can be without Laws and Government, and withal, desiring to be governed in the best Way that is least lyable to Inconveniencies and Tyranny, we do declare, that we shall set up over our selves, and over all that God shall give us Power, Government, and Governours, according to the Word of God, and especially according to that Word *Exod. 18. v. 21.* *Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the People, able Men, such as fear God, Men of Truth, bating Covetousness;* and that we shall no more commit the Government of our selves, and the making of Laws for us, to any one single Person, and lineall Successor, we not being tyed as the *Jews* were, by God, to one Family; Government not being an Inheritance, but an Office, which must be squared, not to the Interest and Lust of a Man, but to the Good of the Common-wealth; and this kind of Government by a single Person, &c. being most liable to Inconveniencies, (as sad and long Experience may now teach us,) and aptest to degenerate into Tyranny. Moreover, we declare, that these Men whom we shall set over us, shall be engaged to govern us principally by that Civil, or Judicial Law, given by God to His People of *Israel*, especially in Matters of Life and Death, and in all other Things also, so far as they teach, except only that Law, (*viz.* anent Slaves) which does not agree with that Christian Liberty, established in all Christendom, only violated by our Tyrants, (and some others of late) and that of Divorces and Poligamy; the one being not a Law, but a Permission granted, upon the Account of the Hardness of their Hearts, the other being a sinful Custom, contrair to the first Institution of Marriage, crept into the Church: We know that Men of malignant and perverse Spirits, that have not a higher God than a wicked King, which suits only with their lustful Licentiousness; and it may be others with them, that seemed to be of better Principles, will raise an ignorant Clamour upon this, that it is a Fifth Monarchy, and we Fifth-Monarchy-Men, and will labour to amuse the People with strange Terms, and put odious Names on good Things, to make them hateful, as their Way is; but if this be their Fifth-Monarchy, we both are, and ought to be such, and that according to His Word.

VI.

It being the Work of the Ministers of the Gospel, to preach, propagate, and defend the Kingdom of God, and to preserve the Doctrine, Worship,
Dis

Discipline, Government, Liberties, and Priviledges of the same, from all Corruptions and Incroachments of Rulers, and all others. And seeing, that the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland*, (at least the greatest Part of them before) not only were defective in Preaching, and testifying against the Acts of these Rulers, for overthrowing Religion and Reformation, abjuring our Covenant made with God, establishing a Government in the Church, which that King calls His own Government, (and so not God's) contrair to our Covenant; Against inacting of that blasphemous (so *Calvin* calls that Supremacy of *Henry* the Eighth, upon which this Prerogative is founded, and from which it is derived, and is no less, if not more injurious to Christ, and inslaving to his Church) and sacrilegious Prerogative given to a King over the Church of God, and against the other Acts and Incroachments of His Church, and hindered others also who were willing, and would have testified against them, and censured some that did it, (for which, together with the other Causes in their Trust and Administration, we may say, God hath left them to do worse Things) but also hath voted in that Meeting, (which they are pleased to call an Assembly of Ministers, but how justly, let Men judge) an Acceptation of that Liberty, founded upon, and given by vertue of that blasphemously arrogated and usurped Power; and hath appeared before their Courts to accept of that Liberty, and to be enacted and authorized there as Ministers, and so hath willingly (for this is an elicit Act of the Will, and not an Act of Force and Constraint) translated the Power of sending out, ordering, censuring, (for as they accept of their Liberty from them, so they submit to their Censures and Restraints, at least all of them who were yet tried with it, and others of them appeared and acknowledged before their Courts, that they would not have done these Things that they were charged with, if they had thought it would have offended them) Ministers departing from the Court of Christ, and Subjection to the Ministry, to the Courts of Men, and Subjection to the Magistrate, (which had been impious and injurious to Christ and His Church, though they had been righteous and lawful Rulers) and by their changing of Courts, (according to Common Law) hath changed their Masters, and of the Ministers of Christ are become the Ministers of Men, and bound to answer to them as oft as they will; and as by the Acceptation of this Liberty in such Manner, they have translated the Power, so they have given up, and utterly quit the Government, and a Succession of a Presbyterian Ministry; for as these were not granted them of their Masters, so they exercise their Ministry without them, and so by this, as the Ecclesiastick Government is swallowed up in the Civil, (if the rest had followed them) the Ministry should have also been extinct with themselves, and the whole Work of Reformation had been buried in Oblivion, not so much as the Remembrance of it kept up: These, together with the other of their Commissions in Preaching, the Lawfulness of paying that Tribute declared to be imposed for the bearing down of the true Worship of God, (which they falsely termed *Seditious Conventicles*) and their advising these poor Prisoners to subscribe the Bond, and consequently could not but so advise all others, if put to it, (for the Hazard that Men were in, will not make a real Change of the

Morality of that Action) and beside, the rest may be put to it upon the same Hazard, and so if the one should advise, (which consequently they must do) and the other should subscribe, this would altogether close that Door which the Lord hath made Use of in all the Churches of *Europe*, for casting off the Yoke of the Whore, and restoring the Truth and Purity of Religion and Reformation, and Freedom of the Churches, and should have stopped all Ingrefs for Men, when once brought under Tyranny, to recover their Liberty again. These Ministers then, not being Followers of Christ, who before *Pontius Pilate*, gave a good Confession, which was, that he was a King, and no King, if he have not Power to order his House and Subjects, and they not following him, nor his Ministers, if not asserting and maintaining of this his kingly Power, against all Incroachers and Usurpers of it; and besides, we being commanded, *If any Brother walk disorderly, from such to withdraw*; and although in the Capacity we now are in, we neither have, nor assume to our selves Authority to give out definite and authoratative Sentences of Deposition and Suspension against these Ministers; yet we declare, which is proper for us to do, that we neither can, nor will hear Preaching, nor receive Sacraments from these Ministers that have accepted of, and voted for that Liberty; and declare all who have encouraged and strengthened their Hands, by hearing and pleading for them, all those who have trafficked for an Union with them, without their renouncing and repenting of these Things, all those that do not testifie faithfully against them, and after do not deport themselves suitably to their Testimonies, and all who joyn not in publick with their Brethren, who are testifying against them; we declare, that we shall not hear them preach, nor receive Sacraments from them, at least, till they stand in Judgment before these Ministers, and be judged by them who have followed the Lord, and kept themselves free of these Defections: And as our Hearts have cleaved to these Ministers, while they were on the Lord's-side, and subjected our selves to them, so we shall still cleave to those that abide following Him, and shall be subject to them in the Lord.

VII.

Then we do declare and acknowledge, that a Gospel-Ministry, is a standing Ordinance of God, appointed by Christ, to continue in the Church until the End of the World; and that none of us shall take upon him the Preaching of the Word, or administering the Sacraments, unless called, and ordained thereto, by the Ministers of the Gospel: And as we declare, that we are for a standing Gospel Ministry, rightly chosen, and rightly ordained, so we declare, that we shall go about this Work in Time to come, with more Fasting and Praying, and more carefull Inspection into the Conversation and Holiness of these Men that shall be chosen and ordained; the Want of which formerly, hath been a great Sin, both in Ministers and People, which hath not been the least Cause of this Defection.

The Declaration and Testimony of the True-Presbyterian, Anti-Prelatick, and Anti-Eraastian, and Persecuted Party in SCOTLAND.

IT is not amongst the smallest of the Lord's Mercies to this poor Land, that there hath always been some who have given a Testimony of every Course of Defection which we were guilty of, which is a Token for good, that he does not as yet intend to cast us off altogether, but that he will leave a Remnant, in whom he will be glorious, if they (through His Grace) keep themselves clean still, and walk in His Way and Method, as it hath been walked in, and owned by Him in our Predecessors (of truly worthy Memory) their Time, in their carrying on of our noble Work of Reformation, in the several Steps thereof, from Popery and Prelacy, and likewise from Eraastian Supremacy, so much usurped by Him, who it is true (so far as we know) is descended from the Race of our Kings; yet He hath so far deborded from what He ought to have been, by His Perjury and Usurpation in Church-matters, and Tyranny in Matters Civil, as is known by the whole Land, that we have just Reason to believe, that one of the Lord's great Controversies against us is, that we have not disowned Him, and the Men of His Practices, whether inferiour Magistrates, or any others, as Enemies to our Lord and His Crown, and the true Protestant and Presbyterian-Interest in their Hands, our Lord's espoused Bride and Church. Therefore, although we be for Government, and Governours, such as the Word of God, and our Covenant allows, yet we for our selves, and all that will adhere to us, as the Representatives of the true Presbyterian-Church, and covenanted Nation of *Scotland*, considering the great Hazard of lying under such a Sin, do by these Presents, disown *Charles Stuart*, who hath been reigning, or rather (we may say) tyrannizing on the Throne of *Scotland*, or Government thereof, (forfaulted several Years since by his Perjury and Breach of Covenant with God and his Church) and Usurpation of his Crown and royal Prerogatives therein, and many other Breaches in Matters Ecclesiastick, and by his Tyranny and Breach of the very *Leges Regnandi* in Matters Civil; for which Reasons, we declare, that several Years since he should have been denuded of being King, Ruler, or Magistrate, or having any Power to act, or to be obeyed as such: As also, being under the Standard of Christ, Captain of Salvation, we declare War against such a Tyrant and Usurper, and all the Men of his Practices, as Enemies to our Lord Jesus Christ, his Cause and Covenants, and against all such as have strengthened him, sided with him, or any Ways acknowledged him in his Usurpation and Tyranny, Civil and Ecclesiastick, yea, and against all such as shall strengthen, side with, or any Ways acknowledge any other in the like Usurpation and Tyranny, far more against such as would betray or deliver up our free reformed Mother Church, into the Bondage of Antichrist, the Pope of *Rome*.

By this we homologat the Testimony given at *Rutherglen*, the twentieth of *May*, 1679. and all the faithful Testimonies of these that have gone before

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before us, as of these also that have suffered of late; and we do disclaim that Declaration published at *Hamiltoun*, *June*, 1697. chiefly, because it takes in the King's Interest, which we are several Years since loosed from, because of the foresaid Reasons, and others, which may after this (if the Lord will) be published. As also, we disown, and by this resent the Reception of the Duke of *York*, a profest Papist, as repugnant to our Principles and Vows to the most high God, and as that which is the great (though alace too just) Reproach of our Church and Nation: We also, by this, protest against his succeeding to the Crown, and whatever hath been done, or any are essaying to do in this Land, (given to the Lord) in Prejudice to our Work of Reformation.

And to conclude, we hope none will blame us for, or offend at, our rewarding these that are against us, as they have done to us, as the Lord gives the Opportunity. This is not to exclude any that have declined, if they be willing to give Satisfaction to the Degree of their Offence.

Given at *Sanghuair*, the 22. of *June*, 1680.

These are the true and exact Copies of the Fanaticks New-Covenant, and Declaration; collationed with the Originals, which are kept amongst the Records of His Majestie's Privy-Council; and attested by

A. L. GIBSON, *Cl. Sti. Concilii*,
And W. L. PATERSON, *Cl. Sti. Concilii*.

A Letter from Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, *Thomas Scot*, *Jo. Berners*, and *John Weaver*, Esquires; Delivered to the Lord FLEETWOOD: Owning their late Actions in endeavouring to secure the *Tower of London*, for the better Service of the City and Commonwealth. 1659.

S I R,

U Nderstanding you have received some Disturbance of late, in examining divers Persons about a Design to surprize the *Tower*; to save your further Trouble, we doe hereby freely own our utmost and hearty Endeavours to have put that Place into more faithfull and confiding Hands, and that by Authority from the Council of State, who, at the passing of that Resolve, had the sole Legall Power from the *Parliament*, of ordering, directing, and disposing of all the Garrisons and Forces of this Commonwealth, both by Sea and Land; an Action so honest and honourable, as
would

would not onely have given Check to your Exorbitances at *Wallingford House*, and *White-Hall*, but was almost necessary to the preserving the Peace and Safety of this great City, by giving Advantage to them, to put themselves into a regular Posture of Defence, and such an Encouragement to the sober Party amongst them, as would (through God's Mercy) have utterly defeated the Designs of the Common Enemy.

Sir, Let us tell you, this Designe was not so vain but that we had (by the Blessing of God) possesst that Place some Weeks since, had we not been frustrated by our Mistake in the Courage and Fidelity of a Person, whose Opportunity, Interest, and Duty, (if not Principles) gave us better Hopes: But in this Age we are to complain and wonder at nothing, yet we cannot but highly resent the Confidence of sending for one of our Number by a Party of Souldiers; as if Red-coats and Muskets were a *Non Obstante* to all Law and publique Priviledge, not as if that Person, or any of us, are afraid or ashamed to own the Enterprize, before any that have a lawful Authority to demand an Account of it; which, we are sure no Single Person, Juncto, or Pack of Men, at *White-Hall*, or *Wallingford-House*, have a Pretence to.

Sir, We have the Witnesse with our own Spirits, that we have and doe cordially wish the Preservation and Good of you and your Family; but if the LORD hath said, you shall not hearken, but be hardned in your Way, we must acquiesce in his Providence, and with Sorrow look upon that Ruine which is flowing in upon you, as upon one in whom we thought we had seen some good.

Sir, Consider that in the Day of Trouble, which is certainly comming upon you, what Support you will have to your Spirit, when you shall be assaulted with the Shame you have brought upon God's People, with the Breach of Faith to the Parliament, from whom you received your Commission; with the Ruine you have brought upon your native Countrey (unlesse the Lord by his own Almighty Arm prevent it) and with the Misery you have led the poor Soldiers into; who instead of being the Instruments of securing and settling the Peace and Liberty of these Nations, enjoying the Honour and Quiet thereof, their Arrears fully paid, future Pay and Advancement settled and established, in order, and with the Blessing of their Countreymen, are now become the Instruments of nine Men's Ambition, have made the whole Nation their Enemies, and are exposed again to the Hardship and Hazard of a new unnaturall War, without Prospect of ever hoping that the Issue of these Affairs can leave their new Masters so rich (though Conquerors) as to satisfie their Arrears, or so secure as to trust Preferment in any Hands but such whose fanatick Principles or personall Relations makes them irreconcilable to the publick Interest: But God (we trust) has raised up a Deliverer, having by admirable Providence put an Opportunity and Power into the Hands of Generall MONK, the ablest